LOCALIZING GLOBAL SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT
Localizing global sport for development
Globalizing Sport Studies

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Localizing global sport for development

Iain Lindsey, Tess Kay, Ruth Jeanes and Davies Banda

Manchester University Press
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Globalizing Sport Studies series editor’s preface

There is now a considerable amount of expertise nationally and internationally in the social scientific and cultural analysis of sport in relation to the economy and society more generally. Contemporary research topics, such as sport and social justice, science and technology and sport, global social movements and sport, sports mega-events, sports participation and engagement, and the role of sport in social development, suggest that sport and social relations need to be understood in non-Western developing economies, as well as European, North American and other advanced capitalist societies. The current high global visibility of sport makes this an excellent time to launch a major new book series that takes sport seriously, and makes this research accessible to a wide readership.

The series Globalizing Sport Studies is thus in line with a massive growth of academic expertise, research output and public interest in sport worldwide. At the same time, it seeks to use the latest developments in technology and the economics of publishing to reflect the most innovative research into sport in society currently underway in the world. The series is multidisciplinary, although primarily based on the social-sciences and cultural-studies approaches to sport.

The broad aims of the series are to: act as a knowledge hub for social scientific and cultural studies research in sport, including, but not exclusively, anthropological, economic, geographical, historical, political science and sociological studies; contribute to the expanding field of research on sport in society in the United Kingdom and internationally by focusing on sport at regional, national and international levels; create a series for both senior and more junior researchers that will become synonymous with cutting-edge research, scholarly opportunities and academic development; promote innovative discipline-based, multi-, inter- and trans-disciplinary theoretical and methodological approaches to researching sport in society; provide an English-language outlet for high quality non-English writing on sport in society; publish broad overviews, original empirical research studies and classic studies from non-English sources; and
thus attempt to *realise* the potential for *globalizing* sport studies through open-content licensing with ‘Creative Commons’.

*Localizing Global Sport for Development* is the result of extensive research by the authors into ‘sport for development’ (SfD) in Zambia since 2006. Whilst being informed by the burgeoning SfD literature, the authors add to this in two distinctive ways: detailed examination of the interaction between the global and local dimensions of SfD policies and practices over a long period of time in a particular location, and critical reflections on the research methods that have underpinned their work and that of others in SfD to date. In so doing, the authors explore the implications for future work in the field of focusing on ‘the local’.

The first three substantive chapters of the book set the scene. They locate the authors’ research within the SfD literature, examine the suitability of Zambia as a context for a ‘localized’ approach to SfD research, and assess SfD policies and practices in general. Aligned with empirically orientated development-studies literature, a distinctive feature of the book is the self-reflection the four authors bring to bear on the process of knowledge production as they have worked together in various combinations to conduct their research. Since 2006 they have conducted ten research projects addressing several development issues, such as HIV/AIDS and gender inequality, that were pertinent to Zambia and have been addressed by SfD programmes elsewhere. The book thus provides a more wide-ranging, detailed and holistic account of SfD than many previous studies.

The following three chapters focus on the actors, especially young people, involved in SfD and the local context within which SfD operates in Zambia. A distinctive feature of the discussion considers the way that young people are often well equipped to provide critical and knowledgeable accounts of the issues they face and which SfD organizations seek to alleviate. These chapters also examine young people’s engagement in, and responses to, various dimensions of SfD provision.

Unlike other accounts of SfD, *Localizing Global Sport for Development* provides a richly detailed examination of the varied practices and experiences of Zambian SfD and explores the contribution of locally grounded research to understanding SfD in general. In doing so, the relationships between the local dimensions of SfD and broader, global, influences are assessed. The book suggests that similar in-depth, contextually grounded, and localized, understandings will be central to improving SfD practices and policies in the future.

John Horne,
Preston and Edinburgh, 2016
Acknowledgements

This book is the result of research on and with sport for development in Zambia over a period of almost ten years. As researchers and co-authors, undertaking this work has been an ongoing learning process and, as such, it has had a significant influence on us, personally and professionally, individually and collectively. We value what we have gained all the more because we have been fortunate that many others have contributed hugely to our work in a multitude of ways. First and foremost, we would like to thank our families for their unstinting support and patience, especially when we have been away from home or consumed in the writing of this book; our gratitude to Hannah, Alastair, Isla and Angus; Bridget, Dora and Moses; Jonny, Jonty and Scarlett; and Guy and Kats.

Throughout our engagement with research in Zambia, we are grateful for the support provided by the various universities that have employed and funded us, as well as the motivation and advice from colleagues in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in academia. We especially thank Peter Warburton, who not only provided the initial impetus (and ongoing drive) for the IDEALS programme but also generously allowed us to accompany it in our first research visit to Zambia in 2006. IDEALS has continued to be supported strongly by UK Sport, who have also managed the funds for some of our research projects, as have International Inspiration. The encouragement and expertise of Catherine Sweet, Ollie Dudfield, Nick Pink, Joanna Knight and Clare Barrell from UK Sport have been invaluable throughout our work in Zambia and in sport for development elsewhere. Across many of our visits to Zambia, we have been accompanied by colleagues who have not only contributed to the research but have been wonderful travelling companions: Alan Grattan, Joe Bancroft, Julie Fimusamni, Ian Sadler, Jonathan Magee, Louise Mansfield, Mandy Asghar, Mark Dransfield, Megan Chawansky, Sarah Palmer-Felgate and Shane Collins. We are also very appreciative of the forbearance of series editor John Horne in waiting for this book over a period of time during which not only did our ideas and writing crystalize but our academic and personal circumstances changed repeatedly.
Most importantly, however, our research would not have been possible without the contributions of the great number of Zambians with whom we have worked and spent time. Alice Saili, Sylvester Mbewe and Rhoda Banda Ndalama helped make arrangements for our visits and research, during which numerous young people and adults were willing to share their perspectives on their lives, work, communities and country with us. Some we spoke to on only a single occasion, others we have been in close touch with throughout the period of our research: we are indebted to you all for the warmth of your welcome and your support for our work. We hope that we have done your contributions justice and that you can identify some aspects of your work and engagement with Zambian sport for development in this book.

We must give special thanks to those with whom we have worked particularly closely across several research projects, who have repeatedly offered their advice, insights and company, among them Annie Namukanga, George Kakomwe, Greg Shikombelo, Nyachi Muzeya and Sharon Musdeke. We are also indebted to the founders and leaders of the EduSport Foundation and Sport in Action, Clement Chileshe, Frankson Mushindu, Oscar Mwaanga and Michael Mwaango, whose encouragement and knowledge have always been invaluable to us.

These words cannot do full justice to everything that our involvement in Zambia has given us – our heartfelt thanks go not only to those named here but also to the countless others who have contributed to our experiences and this book.
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community-Based Organization</td>
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<td>DATF</td>
<td>District HIV/AIDS task force</td>
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<td>DelPHE</td>
<td>Development Partnerships in Higher Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>DfID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Fédération Internationale de Football Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRZ</td>
<td>Government of the Republic of Zambia</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<td>IDEALS</td>
<td>International Development through Leadership and Excellence in Sport</td>
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<td>II</td>
<td>International Inspiration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAO</td>
<td>Kicking AIDS Out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSYCD</td>
<td>Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MYSA</td>
<td>Mathare Youth Sports Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAC</td>
<td>National HIV/AIDS Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIF</td>
<td>Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports</td>
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<tr>
<td>NORAD</td>
<td>Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSCZ</td>
<td>National Sports Council of Zambia</td>
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<tr>
<td>PATF</td>
<td>Provincial HIV/AIDS task force</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDP</td>
<td>Sport for Development and Peace</td>
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<td>SDPIWG</td>
<td>Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>SfD</td>
<td>Sport for Development</td>
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<td>SOCs</td>
<td>State-Owned Corporations</td>
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<td>SWAps</td>
<td>Sector-Wide Approaches</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNAIDS</td>
<td>United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNIP</td>
<td>United National Independence Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNOSDP</td>
<td>United Nations Office for Sport for Development and Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZNAN</td>
<td>Zambian National AIDS Network</td>
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Introduction

This book emerges from the authors’ shared experiences of conducting research into ‘sport for development’ in Zambia since 2006. The period during which we have been carrying out this work has been one of burgeoning growth in the use of sport to foster social change, during which sport for development (hereafter, SfD) has emerged as a ‘new social movement’ (Kidd, 2008) operating on a truly global scale. Like many researchers, we have been among the beneficiaries of this surge of interest, activity and funding, which has given us opportunities to conduct studies in countries and contexts which have had profound and enduring impacts on us personally as well as professionally. Like others, too, we have found that undertaking this work has continually exposed us to a myriad of challenging questions about the value of SfD, and the justification for researchers like ourselves to be involved in this field. Nevertheless, as with the SfD movement itself, academic interest in this field has expanded dramatically across widening geographic domains. The sheer scale and momentum of SfD has come itself to present particular dilemmas. We have especially come to share concerns that the global expansion of SfD may be obscuring the need for detailed understanding and analysis of the intricacies of enacting social change within and across contexts themselves characterized by complexity.

It is these considerations that underpin the twofold purpose of Localizing global sport for development. First, the book seeks to examine how local dimensions of SfD in Zambia correspond to increasingly established and recognized aspects of the global movement. This analysis encompasses policies and practices associated with both sport and development across multiple levels, and also connects the experiences of participants and other intended beneficiaries with the multifaceted contexts in which they live their lives. In aspiring to present a more rounded account of ‘local’ SfD than has previously been available, we draw on a diverse suite of studies undertaken over an extended period that, nevertheless, share a common orientation towards situating Zambian SfD within its broader contexts. The second purpose of the book is, therefore, to
Localizing global sport for development

reflect on our methodological commitment to understanding and contextualizing local SfD. Ongoing consideration is given throughout the book to the research methods that have underpinned the findings that are presented. Overall, we seek to differentiate our approach to focusing on ‘the local’ from other prominent strands of SfD research and, in so doing, explore implications for future work and understanding in this field.

The suitability of Zambia as context for our localized approach to SfD research lies not only in the country’s place as an early site, and subsequent host, of significant African SfD organizations and programmes. More generally, Zambia may also be considered a quintessential location for development efforts owing to features of its history and geography as well as social and economic status. Its location is a central one in southern Africa, being landlocked and surrounded by eight countries. In the post-war emergence of African countries from colonialization, Zambia achieved independence in 1964 – the 33rd African, and 8th British, colony to do so. Today, Zambia is home to a population of approximately 14.54 million. The majority live in urban areas along the ‘line of rail’ running from the Copperbelt region, through the capital, Lusaka, and on to Livingstone in the south of the country, bordering Zimbabwe. Compared with its neighbouring countries and others in Africa, Zambia has been proud of its relatively peaceful status since independence, with seven contested presidential elections being held since its return to multiparty democracy in 1991 (World Bank, 2013). Nevertheless, and despite also being blessed with abundant natural resources, Zambia has been one of the worst economically performing countries in Africa (Noyoo, 2008; UNDP, 2013). Although overall economic growth over the last decade has seen Zambia being reclassified as a Lower Middle Income Country, there remains substantial inequality with 60% of the Zambian population living below the national poverty line (World Bank, 2013), a figure that has little changed since 2006 (Gentilini and Sumner, 2012). Likewise, according to the broader measures of the international Human Development Index (HDI), Zambia was 163rd out of all 186 countries in 2012, with the UNDP (2011: 31) stating that ‘other than the countries … which have faced civil strife and economic upheavals during the recent past, no other country has faced Zambia’s deterioration, stagnation and sluggish improvement in HDI over the past 30 years’.

Zambia has also ‘found itself at the epicentre of the HIV pandemic in Central and Southern Africa’ (UNDP, 2011: 31) since the first case of the disease was diagnosed in 1984. While prevalence of HIV infection has dropped somewhat in recent years, standing at 13.3% of 15- to 49-year-olds in 2013–14 (GRZ/NAC,
the pandemic has had profound consequences that have left no one in the country unaffected. Approximately 680,000 Zambian children have already been orphaned by the pandemic, leaving just under half the population of the country under the age of 15 (UNDP, 2011). Gender inequality in Zambia is also strongly connected with HIV, with young females between 15 and 24 years old being more than twice as likely to be infected than males of the same age. Comparatively, Zambia stood 136th out of 146 countries in the international Gender Inequality Index (UNDP, 2012). Collectively, the interlinked problems affecting Zambia mean that the country has long been subject to international development efforts and policies. As recently as 2009, Zambia remained significantly dependent on overseas aid, which was valued at US$919 million, the equivalent of 7% of gross domestic product (GDP) (UNDP/Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2011).

The Zambian contexts that have been briefly introduced here will be explored in more detail and in connection to SfD throughout the subsequent chapters of the book. However, in order to contextualize our research, it is important to now explain its origins and development, through offering an overview of the studies we have undertaken, identifying the organizations we have worked with and describing the types of methods we have prioritized in our data collection.

Undertaking research in Zambia: an evolving agenda

Our association as a research team began relatively informally in 2003 when Davies Banda, a Zambian national completing a taught masters programme at Loughborough University, asked Tess Kay to supervise his dissertation study of peer leaders’ use of sport to deliver HIV/AIDS education in Lusaka. Davies had strong personal links with the Zambian founders of the Education through Sport (EduSport) Foundation and Sport In Action, the two local and indigenous NGOs that would be involved in his study, but little research background; Tess had substantial experience of research into sport and social justice in the UK, but none of working in Africa or in connection with HIV/AIDS education. This initial collaboration was therefore an educative experience on both sides, and led to some shared ideas about conducting further research that might be of value to the Zambian NGOs. At this point in time, SfD research and activity were beginning to gain momentum, raising questions and challenges for policymakers and academics, but most especially for the practitioners involved in delivering programmes on the ground.
These ideas came to fruition three years later in the summer of 2006, when Tess, with Davies’ support, put together a team of Loughborough University youth sport researchers to spend two weeks working with EduSport and Sport in Action in Lusaka. This research was undertaken in association with, and alongside, the first occurrence of UK Sport’s IDEALS programme, in which students from Loughborough and other UK universities (collectively known as the Wallace Group) worked with the two Zambian NGOs in delivering SfD activities in Lusaka communities. Iain Lindsey and Ruth Jeanes were senior members of this initial research team, bringing with them their respective specialisms in sport policy analysis and participatory research with children and young people. The research carried out during this visit was very much a developmental learning experience for all involved. Multiple formal and informal exchanges of knowledge and understanding took place between the groups of Zambian and UK personnel involved in IDEALS – and also between our motley collection of researchers! We also had the opportunity to develop some initial links with UK Sport and other international organizations that were beginning to increase their involvement in SfD activities in Zambia.

Since 2006, the four of us have worked together in various combinations to continue our research in Zambia. Inclusive of our initial research engagement in 2006, we have visited Zambia on more than a dozen occasions and conducted ten separate studies. We have been especially fortunate in having opportunities to conduct some studies of our own design, supported by our academic institutions, but also to undertake others commissioned by external funding agencies and shaped by their requirements in terms of policy priorities and preferred methodologies. All of the studies have shared a focus on the utilization of sport to address various cross-cutting development issues, such as HIV/AIDS and gender inequality, which are pertinent to Zambia and have been addressed by SfD programmes elsewhere. A further common feature across these studies has been their connection, in varying ways and to various degrees, with two Zambian NGOs, EduSport and Sport in Action, with which we started our research in 2006. As such, we have given considerable attention to NGOs that play an important role in Zambian SfD and, more generally as a type of non-state provider, have been the locus of much SfD activity across the globe.

Our approaches to the design and undertaking of these studies have been continuously refined based on the learning we have gained over the period of our engagement in Zambia. Increasingly, we have sought to enable more active engagement and involvement of Zambian stakeholders within the research process, and this has been especially the case with regard to our work with
EduSport and Sport in Action. All studies have gathered data on the perspectives of a range of stakeholders, from individual young people participating in sport activities through to national policymakers and international donors, in order to examine different dimensions of the relationship between sport and development in Zambia. Our collective ‘reach’ has been greatly enhanced by Davies’ proficiency in four local languages (Nyanja, Bemba, Tonga and Lozi), the first two being the common languages in Zambia’s urban areas. Davies’ ability to switch to local languages to put interviewees at ease or to enable further elaboration of critical viewpoints in more informal chat has been used with diverse interviewees including SfD NGOs, government departments and also national sports association officials.

In the following chapter, the shared methodological orientation associated with all of our studies will be explained and discussed in relation to other research on SfD. To ground these discussions and those that follow in subsequent chapters, an overview of our individual studies is provided in Table 1 and the descriptions that follow.

**Table 1** Research Studies in Zambia, 2006–13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Timeline of studies</th>
<th>Study purpose and orientation</th>
<th>Data collected</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Study 1</strong></td>
<td>Researcher-designed exploratory research with EduSport and Sport in Action, facilitated by Davies and conducted by Ruth, Iain, Tess and other Loughborough University colleagues</td>
<td>75 interviews with (i) staff of the two NGOs; (ii) individuals involved in the delivery of the sport programmes, for example peer leaders and volunteers; (iii) personnel from delivery-level partner organizations, e.g. schools; and (iv) young people participating in sport activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Summer 2006, Lusaka</strong></td>
<td>Study purpose and orientation</td>
<td>Data collected</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Studies 2 and 3</strong></td>
<td>Researcher-designed studies of (i) partnership working in the delivery of HIV/AIDS education through sport, led by Iain and Davies, and (ii) the use of sport to deliver HIV/AIDS education, led by Ruth and Tess</td>
<td>(i) 14 interviews on partnership working with 22 participants from the NAC, the ZNAN, the Ministry of Education and the MSYCD, and both SfD and other NGOs addressing HIV/AIDS and health, and (ii) focus-group discussions with 68 young people who were either pupils in schools in Lusaka or involved in SfD programmes in Lusaka communities</td>
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### Table 1 Research Studies in Zambia, 2006–13 (Continued)

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<th>Timeline of studies</th>
<th>Study purpose and orientation</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Study 4</strong> 2007–10, Lusaka</td>
<td>Evaluation of II in Zambia by Tess and Ruth as part of a larger project commissioned by UK Sport, the British Council and UNICEF to evaluate Phase 1 of II in five countries</td>
<td>Interviews with (i) British Council, UNICEF and UK Sport staff; (ii) officers of the MSYCD and Ministry of Education; (iii) staff of five Lusaka-based SfD NGOs; (iv) volunteers and paid staff of NSAs and the NSCZ; (v) teachers in secondary schools; (vi) peer leaders in the community setting; and (vi) focus groups with c. 60 young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Study 5</strong> June 2009, Lusaka</td>
<td>Researcher-designed research into Local Partnerships in Youth and Community Development, undertaken by Iain in collaboration with Dr Alan Grattan and funded by University of Southampton</td>
<td>37 interviews were undertaken with &gt;60 paid or volunteer adult workers in local organizations undertaking youth and community work in two Lusaka communities; additional knowledge was gained from extensive informal discussions with staff from Sport in Action and EduSport who were involved in the conception, design and implementation of the research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Study 6</strong> 2008–13, Kabwe, Lusaka and Ndola</td>
<td>Researcher-designed doctoral research conducted by Davies, focused on the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS by national sport associations in Zambia; funded by York St John University</td>
<td>30 semi-structured (face-to-face and telephone) interviews, one focus group discussion and documentary analysis; interviews with (i) case-study national sport associations of football, basketball and netball; (ii) two SfD NGOs; (iii) colonial government employees; and (iv) officials of the Ministry of Education, MSYCD, NSCZ and NAC</td>
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### Table 1  Research Studies in Zambia, 2006–13 (Continued)

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<th>Timeline of studies</th>
<th>Study purpose and orientation</th>
<th>Data collected</th>
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| **Study 7**  
2009–13, Lusaka and Livingstone | Externally commissioned collaborative research led by Tess and Ruth to evaluate EduSport’s Go Sisters project and build in-country research capacity; funded by the UK’s DfID | Seven field visits of one to two weeks producing more than 2100 completed short questionnaires, nearly 300 reports from interviews conducted by Go Sisters participants and peer leaders, and more than 100 reports of qualitative data collection by the researchers from Go Sisters and EduSport staff, external stakeholders and peer leaders |
| **Study 8**  
Summer 2009, Lusaka | Researcher-designed study of the development of girls’ and womens’ football in Zambia, by Ruth with Dr Jonathan Magee | In-depth interviews were conducted with 14 young women and 8 mothers and grandmothers as well as with representatives from the Football Association of Zambia |
| **Study 9**  
2010–13, Lusaka and Kabwe | Curriculum development-focused research examining approaches to mainstream HIV/AIDS in teacher training courses, led by Davies in collaboration with Dr Michelle Jones and Sylvester Mbewe; funded by the DfID through its DelPHE | Collaborative training workshops which utilized focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews to explore approaches towards mainstreaming HIV/AIDS within the teacher-training curriculum; development and delivery of a university-credit-bearing Continuous Professional Development Certificate in Theory and Practice of Project Design and Performance Measurement Skills for local SfD and other NGOs; first course was delivered in Lusaka in June 2013 |
Table 1  Research Studies in Zambia, 2006–13 (Continued)

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<th>Timeline of studies</th>
<th>Study purpose and orientation</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Study 10</strong>&lt;br&gt;Spring 2013, Lusaka</td>
<td>End-of-project evaluation of capacity building of Go Sisters for DfID, led by Tess in collaboration with Dr Louise Mansfield</td>
<td>An external evaluation to assess the contribution of the DfID’s five-year funding (2008–13) to (i) organizational capacity building of EduSport and (ii) expansion of the Go Sisters programme; it involved (i) nine stakeholder interviews with relevant representatives of communities, the MSYCD and other SfD NGOs, and (ii) a review of a five-year archive of project documentation and review of selected data from Study 7</td>
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**Study 1 – exploratory visit to Zambia**

Study 1 comprised exploratory research conducted with EduSport and Sport in Action in 2006 by Ruth, Iain, Tess and other colleagues from Loughborough University. We were interested in seeing how SfD worked on the ground and understanding the operation of the two NGOs and the IDEALS programme, and hoped the visit would allow us to meet young people participating in, and involved in the delivery of, sport activities. We also hoped our visits and research activities in Zambia would help us form some opinions on how realistic, valuable and justifiable it could be for external, white, researchers like ourselves to ‘drop in’ to undertake research in local communities. During this time we undertook a total of 75 interviews with EduSport and Sport in Action staff, their peer leaders and other volunteers involved in delivering SfD activities, representatives of schools and other organizations that were partners in this delivery, and young people participating in these activities.

**Study 2 – HIV/AIDS partnership working – and Study 3 – HIV/AIDS education through sport**

Research conducted in 2007 through funding secured by Davies from York St John University had a twofold focus: (i) research led by Iain and Davies to explore issues associated with partnership working that had begun to emerge
to us as important from initial engagement with Zambian SfD, and (ii) research led by Ruth and Tess, based on feedback from NGO staff and other in-country stakeholders, to further explore the delivery of HIV/AIDS education through sport and better understand the pedagogical underpinning and practical implementation of this approach.

The research into partnership working (Study 2) obtained 14 interviews involving 22 individual participants. For the first time, this data collection went beyond that directly involved in SfD to encompass representatives of the NAC, the ZNAN, the Ministry of Education and the MSYCD, as well as NGOs that primarily addressed HIV/AIDS and other health issues. At times, this engagement with stakeholders in the wider development sector proved to be a humbling experience that emphasized our naiveté as researchers in this field. Other opportunities during this visit, especially our attendance at a Stakeholders’ Forum organized by the Lusaka DATF where a number of presentations were made by NGOs involved in HIV/AIDS programmes, were useful in developing our practical understanding of broader development sectors and the range of organizations involved in development work.

The research to examine how sport was used as an educative platform (Study 3) involved 68 young people in six focus groups undertaken in Lusaka. The focus groups took place within a number of schools, and in other community locations so as to engage young people involved in SfD activities who were not necessarily attending school. The research connected with that undertaken the previous year and enabled us to speak with more young people than was previously possible and also to expand on some of the issues that were raised from our first study. We were also able to utilize our developing understanding of how to undertake research with young people, adapting also to practical issues in the research process, to facilitate extensive and rich conversations with young people from a variety of communities in Lusaka.

**Study 4 – evaluating II Phase 1 in Zambia**

Tess and Ruth conducted research from 2007 as the Zambia researchers in a larger team commissioned by UK Sport, the British Council and UNICEF to undertake a three-year evaluation of the implementation and impact of the II programme in five countries. This resulted in yearly visits, one to two weeks long, between 2008 and 2010. Our role as external evaluators was primarily to support in-country staff to undertake their own monitoring and evaluation but we also undertook interviews with in-country staff at the British Council,
UNICEF and UK Sport and officers working with the MSYCD and Ministry of Education, as well as staff working for five Lusaka-based SfD NGOs. We also conducted several interviews with volunteers and paid staff from national sport associations (NSAs) and the NSCZ, teachers in secondary schools (12), and peer leaders (~15) delivering II in community settings. We undertook focus groups with approximately 60 young people participating in the school-based and community elements of II. The research allowed us to expand our understanding of how SfD was situated at policy level within Zambia, to gain the views of key ministry workers on its perceived importance and relevance, and to connect with mainstream sport in Zambia in order to explore links and tensions between established sports governing bodies and the emerging SfD sector.

Study 5 – local partnerships in youth and community development

Research undertaken in Lusaka in 2009 by Iain, for the research project Local Partnerships in Youth and Community Development was funded by Iain’s then institution, the University of Southampton. This research was undertaken in collaboration with Dr Alan Grattan, a colleague then at the same university with previous experience in Zambia and expertise in youth and community development. Shaped by the expertise of both researchers, the study was therefore oriented by a broader focus than sport alone.

This particular study strengthened a number of aspects of our collective approach. It provided the first opportunity for a team member to spend a substantial amount of time within communities where SfD activities were delivered, and was also the first occasion on which it became practical to undertake research in partnership with our Zambian colleagues. Throughout data collection in Chawama and Kamwala – two communities selected by Sport in Action and EduSport as exemplifying cases for examining sport, youth and community development – the UK researchers worked in close collaboration with George Kakomwe (Sport in Action), and Annie Namukanga and Greg Shikombelo (both EduSport Foundation).

In total, throughout June 2009, the researchers undertook 37 interviews with over 60 adults either working or volunteering for organizations undertaking youth and community work. While sport was a topic raised in almost all interviews, it was very much addressed in the wider context of local community development work. George or Annie accompanied Iain and Alan for almost all interviews, and the extensive informal conversations that took place
between the four of us while walking through Lusaka communities became one of the most significant forms of knowledge obtained. These discussions enhanced understandings of local contexts, informed interpretations of the emergent data, and above all reinforced our conviction that spending significant time immersed in local community contexts has crucial value in SfD research.

**Study 6 – mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS by NSAs**

Doctoral research conducted in 2008–13 by Davies focused on the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS by NSAs in Zambia. The research adopted a case study approach centring on three NSAs: the Football Association of Zambia, Zambia Basketball Association and Netball Association of Zambia. The research critically analysed the organizational responses of each of the NSAs towards the nationally adopted multisectoral approach towards HIV/AIDS. A comparative analysis of all three case studies was undertaken in relation to how the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS by each NSA was affected by organizational power, resources and forms of collaboration. The study helped to develop our understanding of the way in which sport and SfD in Zambia was, and is, shaped by the country’s broader political, economic and social conditions.

**Study 7 – qualitative evaluation of Go Sisters girls’ empowerment programme**

Tess and Ruth conducted research in 2009–13 as a four-year evaluation of Go Sisters, a female empowerment programme run by EduSport since the 1990s that received funding from the DfID and UK Sport. The focus of our evaluation was specifically on outcomes for female peer leaders resulting from their involvement in Go Sisters. Examining outcomes across several years proved especially important in highlighting the difficulties of facilitating wider structural change via SfD, despite the passion, commitment and aspects of exceptional delivery that may be associated with SfD organizations. By returning year upon year, we also gained a much greater understanding of EduSport’s work with and for peer leaders and participants. An additional part of our role as external evaluators was to support the Go Sisters staff and peer leaders with training, as well as to co-develop research tools to support them with undertaking their own ongoing research and evaluation. We were joined in this work in the final two years by colleagues Dr Louise Mansfield, Dr Megan Chawansky and Sarah Palmer-Felgate.
Study 8 – development of girls’ and women’s football in Zambia

Ruth conducted research in Zambia in 2009 with colleague Dr Jonathan Magee examining the development of girls’ and women’s football, funded by the University of Central Lancashire. This study emerged from Ruth’s interest in the role of masculine sports in gender identity construction for young women, and also the phenomenal interest in girls’ and women’s football that was becoming evident whilst undertaking the Go Sisters research. Zambia is traditionally a patriarchal society and football is a bastion of masculinity; that girls and young women were playing in such large numbers, mostly facilitated by SfD NGOs, presented an interesting paradox in ongoing gender relations. The purpose of the research, therefore, was to examine how young women negotiated participation in football, the impact their participation had on gender relations within their communities and the potential for participation to facilitate empowerment amongst young women. The researchers conducted in-depth interviews with 14 young women and 8 mothers and grandmothers, as well as with representatives from the Football Association of Zambia. The research again provided a rich account of the complexities of sport within young women’s lives, and in particular the challenges of empowerment through sport.

Study 9 – mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in teacher training

This study was part of a DfID-funded DelPHE project led by Davies with Dr Michelle Jones and Sylvester Mbewe, as a partnership between York St John University, England, and Nkumrah University, a teacher training institute in Zambia. The project further developed work on how sport may contribute to HIV/AIDS education. The researchers held collaborative workshops which focused on how HIV/AIDS could be mainstreamed in curriculum development, in particular within research methods modules in physical education and sport courses delivered by the local higher education partner institution. The DelPHE project organized workshops, conducted both in Zambia and in the UK, which were attended by academic staff from both universities. Sharing understandings of practices to support the engagement of physical education and sport students in community-based sports programmes formed a key part of the needs-assessment research.

The DelPHE project also delivered a university-credit-bearing Continuous Professional Development (CPD) Certificate in Theory and Practice of Project
Design and Performance Measurement Skills for Zambian NGOs. The CPD certificate was delivered by Davies and local academics in June 2013 to a first cohort of 14 students from several development sectors as well as from SfD NGOs. Mutual benefits between the SfD and other development sectors were realised as participants engaged in intensive week-long interactive sessions.

**Study 10 – external evaluation of Go Sisters**

In 2013, the team undertaking the qualitative evaluation of Go Sisters was commissioned by the charity IN to undertake additional research on the programme. This was to meet the DfID’s requirements for an external evaluation of their five-year funding for organizational capacity building of EduSport and expansion of the Go Sisters programme. The evaluation was intended to inform EduSport and IN, with its donors, implementing staff and beneficiaries, about the achievements of the Go Sisters programme. This external evaluation drew on the findings of the ongoing research programme which Tess and Ruth were leading, and two further forms of evidence – an extensive archive of programme documentation, and information obtained through additional interviews with stakeholders carried out in the UK and Zambia between March and May 2013.

**Orientation of the book and structure of chapters**

It will now be evident that the research in Zambia that we present in this book is diverse, has been ongoing over several years and consists of a number of apparently separate studies each with its own distinct focus. We have also separately published data from particular studies in a number of different forms (Kay et al., 2007; Banda et al., 2008; Kay, 2009, 2012; Banda, 2010, 2011, 2013; Lindsey and Banda, 2011; Kay and Spaaij, 2012; Lindsey and Grattan, 2012; Jeanes, 2013; Jeanes et al., 2013; Lindsey, 2013; Spaaij and Jeanes, 2013; Jeanes and Magee, 2014).

In practice, we feel that the different studies that form this body of research are more mutually interdependent than they may appear from initial descriptions. From the start of our involvement in SfD research in Zambia, our ongoing collective discussions regarding methods, findings and experiences have shaped the distinct and separate studies that we have undertaken. It was during such discussions that ideas for this book emerged, initially in late 2008, as we began to realise that the breadth of our joint research was revealing interconnections and common themes that single studies in SfD – including our own – could not
reveal when considered in isolation. Our distinct disciplinary and subject interests also meant that between us we were carrying out research which gave unusually wide coverage of SfD in a single country. The structure of the book reflects these origins, with its content shaped not around the findings that each study offers separately, but on the themes that emerge from the studies collectively. To provide this cross-cutting account, we have brought together data that have been analysed for different studies and we have, in some cases, re-analysed samples of data. Each chapter was then initially written collaboratively by those of us most centrally involved in its subject matter, before being repeatedly reread by all four of us in a reiterative process that has itself added to the emergence of some of the book’s key themes. By exploiting the diversity of our research and data in this way, the book aims to provide a more wide-ranging yet detailed and holistic account of SfD than single studies offer.

Throughout the book, we attempt to develop understanding of SfD within Zambia by positioning our local studies in relation to analysis of SfD as a global phenomenon. This analysis commences in Chapter 1, which considers global and international dimensions of SfD and reviews the burgeoning literature that has emerged alongside it. The chapter examines the global emergence of the SfD ‘movement’ and its alignment with the MDGs, the range of organizations that have come to be associated with SfD, conceptualizations and critiques of the practices enacted by SfD organizations, and debates regarding the SfD ‘evidence-base’. In so doing, the chapter argues that the contours of the emerging SfD literature are such that there is a lacuna in terms of locally grounded research on SfD. This leads us, in the final section of Chapter 1, to return to further examine the methodologies employed in our research. Through considering the alignment of these methodologies with Norman Long’s (2001) actor-orientated sociology of development, we develop a more in-depth understanding of how our approach may rigorously contribute to addressing the lacuna identified in existing SfD literature.

Chapter 2 begins to develop this locally grounded account of SfD in Zambia by situating the use of SfD in Zambia within broader trends of political and economic governance evident in the country. The chapter offers a historical account beginning in the period immediately after Zambia’s independence in 1964, moving through the neo-liberal reforms imposed by international donors from the early 1980s to the development of alternative forms of development governance towards the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Throughout the chapter, we consider both international influences on these broader trends and their relationship to the governance of sport and SfD. Doing
so enables an analysis of how the emergence and institutionalization of the Zambian SfD sector connects both with broader sport policies in Zambia and, especially, with national and international influences on the country as a whole.

We further develop these themes in Chapter 3, in which partnerships and partnership working associated with HIV/AIDS are the specific focus. Policies and literature associated with both SfD and international development have highlighted the significance of partnerships within both of these sectors. The chapter examines partnerships associated with SfD in Zambia across three levels. First, at an international level, we consider the relationships between Zambian SfD NGOs and international donor organizations. Second, at a national level, we explore integration of SfD NGOs with Zambian HIV/AIDS structures and organizations. Third, we examine the place of sport in collaboration across organizations working with young people in specific Lusaka communities. This multilevel analysis does not necessarily (seek to) resolve definitional issues with regard to partnership, but does allow for identification of common and divergent issues that affect and relate to the use of sport to contribute to development in Zambia.

Chapter 4 is the first of three chapters which begin to focus on the ‘people’ side of SfD. Its function is to establish the local context within which SfD operates. The chapter has a particular focus on young people and the local contexts in which they live, which it examines in three sections addressing physical conditions and social provision in Lusaka communities: local education and employment systems; the social relations affecting the daily lives of young people, including the position of youth in families and gender relations; and young people and HIV/AIDS. The chapter brings together understandings drawn from national statistics and relevant literature with our own extensive local data collection with both adults and young people, and compares and contrasts the understandings that emerge. This approach demonstrates the value of local people’s perspectives in revealing particularities in their lives and communities which published aggregate data may conceal, and highlights the importance of this knowledge to the local delivery of SfD. The chapter especially demonstrates that young people, whose views have been under-considered in the SfD literature, are well equipped to provide critical and knowledgeable accounts of the issues they face and which SfD organizations seek to alleviate.

Chapter 5 then explores local approaches to the provision of SfD in Zambia, with particular attention given throughout the chapter to peer leaders on whom the major responsibility for the delivery of SfD falls. The first section of the chapter examines key features of the sports activities provided by Zambian SfD
organizations and discusses the rationales for particular forms of provision. The engagement, training and roles of peer leaders in the delivery of these sports activities are also examined. The second section then focuses on the more specifically ‘developmental’ and educational aspects of SfD provision that are delivered alongside and through sports activities. We again give attention to the pivotal role played by peer leaders; we discuss the pedagogical rationales for involving peer leaders in these aspects of provision, as well as the challenges that peer leaders face in fulfilling the educational expectations placed upon them. Finally, the chapter turns to issues of communitarianism in SfD provision, in turn discussing both the development of sporting communities around SfD NGOs themselves, and the relations between SfD and the external communities with which it engages.

Chapter 6 then explores young people’s engagement in and responses to various dimensions of SfD provision. The chapter again addresses the limited extent to which young people’s voices and perspectives are represented in the SfD literature by drawing on extensive data from those involved and engaged in SfD in various ways. The chapter first considers the individual and social value that young Zambians attach to participating in sport at various levels, before focusing on their experiences of and responses to the developmental aspects of SfD provision. The chapter finally examines the extent of young people’s education and empowerment through sport, and the experiences of those young people whose involvement as peer leaders and interns extends beyond participation. Throughout the chapter we acknowledge the diversity of young people’s experiences, and give particular attention to the complex discussions surrounding the capacity of SfD to stimulate either individual or collective social change.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, we present an integrated analysis of themes from across all of the preceding chapters. From the findings of our research, three key empirical themes are identified: multifaceted practices and experiences of Zambian SfD; associations between SfD and other development sectors; and relationships between local dimensions of SfD and broader and, where appropriate, global influences. Throughout, we appraise the contributions of locally grounded research to understandings of SfD. These reflections culminate in the final section of the chapter, where we consider the extent to which our particular approaches to knowledge production and ‘wide-lens’ research may have value to SfD scholarship. We conclude by advocating the value that in-depth and contextualized understandings can bring to both SfD research and practice.
Sport for development in policy, practice and research

Sport has a lengthy history of servicing ‘social development’ objectives. The contemporary SfD movement is thus following a well-known tradition that includes the use of sport to support, for example, ‘muscular Christianity’ in the nineteenth century and diverse development aims in the twentieth (Beacom, 2007; Kidd, 2011; Darnell, 2012). The use of sport for these purposes has been underpinned by assumptions that sport can be beneficial to individuals and also to ‘society’ – by, for example, promoting inclusion, regulating undesirable behaviour or contributing to public health. From some perspectives, therefore, SfD in the twenty-first century might appear to be no more than ‘old wine in new bottles’ (Kidd, 2012). In practice, however, while the current SfD movement has strong associations with both its more distant historical legacy and its recent past, it combines these with unprecedented scale, complexity and ambitions. This amounts to a step change in expectations of what sport can deliver.

This chapter will explore the global development, growth and operation of contemporary SfD. We do this, in part, by reviewing existing research on SfD. In this way, the chapter fulfils two key purposes in developing our analysis through the book. First, the broad contextualization offered here situates subsequent chapters that seek to ‘localize’ global SfD. Second, our approach in the chapter also enables identification of themes and understandings emergent from the increasing academic research on SfD as well as exploration of the epistemological and methodological underpinnings of this research. To these ends, the chapter covers the global emergence of SfD, the expectations that this attaches to sport as an agent of social change, the array of organizations and practices that operate within the SfD ‘sector’, and debates about the SfD ‘evidence-base’. The final section of the chapter then considers our approach to localizing the global understandings of earlier sections. We explain the alignment of our research with the actor-orientated sociology of development advocated by Long (2001) and discuss how this may complement, challenge and extend existing knowledge on SfD.
Towards a global movement: the transformation of SfD

Kidd (2008, 2012) has described SfD as an ‘international movement’ that by 2012 had rapidly progressed from being a ‘new social movement’ to a ‘maturing one’. Identifying the precise point at which a new social movement emerges and then passes through significant phases in its evolution is never straightforward. Many, however, point to the establishment of the organization Olympic Aid (subsequently Right to Play) by the speed skater Johann Koss after the Lillehammer Winter Olympics of 1994 as a symbolic initial point of departure (e.g. Kidd, 2008; Young and Okada, 2014a).

Table 2 Exemplar global and local developments in the emergence of SfD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UN and global actions contributing to increasing global profile of SfD</th>
<th>Selection of ‘localized’ African and Zambia-related developments in SfD</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1980s</strong></td>
<td>Initial Norwegian support and funding for sports development in Tanzania</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Formation of MYSA (Kenya, 1987)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1990s</strong></td>
<td>Establishment of fundraising organization Olympic Aid (subsequently to become Right to Play) (1994)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Initial Norwegian support for NSCZ (1990)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sport in Action and EduSport formally established in Zambia (1999)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2001</strong></td>
<td>Appointment of Adolf Ogi as UN’s first Special Advisor on Sport for Development and Peace</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Zambian leadership and Norwegian support leads to instigation of KAO network</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2002</strong></td>
<td>Establishment in 2002 of the UN’s Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Establishment of a Right to Play National Office in Zambia</td>
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<td></td>
<td>UK Sport joins KAO network and begins work with Zambian NGOs</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2003</strong></td>
<td>First International Conference on Sport and Development in Magglingen, Switzerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>UN establishment of SDPIWG</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Designation of International Year of Sport and Physical Education by the UN General Assembly</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Commencement of IDEALS programme through partnership between UK Sport, British universities and Zambian NGOs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Commencement of II programme in Zambia through partnerships between Zambian NGOs, NSAs, government ministries, UNICEF, UK Sport and the British Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Publication of SDPIWG report ‘Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations to Governments’ (SDPIWG, 2008a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Withdrawal of Right to Play from Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Opening of Olympic Youth Development Centre in Lusaka, built with Olympic Solidarity funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Specific mention of the contribution of sport in the ‘2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development’ (UN General Assembly, 2015)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, the most visible period of growth, in terms of both the international recognition and institutional status of SfD, occurred in the opening years of the twenty-first century. During this time the UN raised the global status of SfD through a series of high-profile and formalized actions. The timeline of these global actions, summarized in Table 2, has been widely documented in academic literature (e.g. Beutler, 2008; Kidd, 2008; Levermore and Beacom, 2009a; Giulianotti, 2011a; Hartmann and Kwaak, 2011; Young and Okada, 2014a) – yet it represents only a very selective picture of the development of the SfD movement. Recognition of the emergence of specific SfD organizations and programmes in particular locations, some prior to the 1994 ‘starting point’ of SfD, appears more disparately across different sources (e.g. Coalter, 2009; Cornelissen, 2011; Straume, 2012) and does include the local and indigenous NGOs that we have worked with in Zambia – Sport in Action and EduSport, which were formally established in 1999. The importance of the selected ‘localized’ developments presented in Table 2 is to indicate that the SfD movement is not necessarily or universally of recent origin nor is it solely the product of global North1 interests. Nevertheless, what has been transformed in recent years is the level of international prominence and support gained by SfD.

The UN’s central role in international development has been instrumental in gaining recognition for sport within the wider global development system. This has been a process in which the lines between advocacy and analysis have often been blurred. International SfD specialists with academic, policy and practice backgrounds have come together to attend events such as the Magglingen conferences in Switzerland in 2003 and 2005, from which formal statements have been made endorsing the role of sport in achieving development. Further influential documents have been produced through similar collaboration under the auspices of the UN by the SDPIWG, whose formal remit is to ‘promote the integration of sport within government development policies’ (italics added; UN, n.d.). The Working Group’s ‘academic-advocacy’ outputs include a set of literature reviews on the contributions of sport to development (SDPIWG, 2007), and the weighty 324-page report, ‘Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations to Governments’, authored by Right to Play on behalf of the wider SDPIWG (2008a). Both have been widely disseminated and cited, and alongside other UN publications, have come to ‘represent the reproduction of the SDP discourse’2 (Hayhurst, 2009: 205). Further resolutions and policy documents that have subsequently emerged
from the UN and other international organizations (e.g. Kay and Dudfield, 2013) have added to the recognition of SfD and its momentum (Hayhurst, 2009; Darnell, 2012).

As will be further examined in the next section with respect to the MDGs, SfD has become increasingly associated with global frameworks for international development. Darnell (2012) argues that this alignment was enabled by the association of SfD with the prevailing neo-liberal discourses dominant in international development policies and structures. For example, the SDPIWG (2006: 2) itself offered sport as ‘a low-cost, high-impact tool to achieve broader development aims’. In this respect, development agencies had little to lose in incorporating sport and sporting organizations into international development frameworks and the proactive case for SfD was strongly voiced by advocates from this sector. In ‘Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace’ it was stated that sport’s ‘popularity transcends national, cultural, socio-economic and political boundaries and can be invoked with success in virtually any community in the world’ (SDPIWG, 2008a: 5). According to Darnell (2012), such a ‘universality’ discourse serves to depoliticize sport and, as such, make it a more amenable tool to be appropriated by international development agencies. Moreover, advocates positioned SfD as representing something of a new and alternative engagement approach which provided further traction at a time when mainstream development policies were under scrutiny for their limited success in reaching the world’s poorest and most marginalized people (Levermore and Beacom, 2009a).

The 2003 Magglingen Declaration, which formally recognized sport as a contributor to the MDGs, was a significant milestone in the association of SfD with international development frameworks. The MDGs themselves were the first universally adopted global framework for development, and represented a new strategy for the international community. Where previously sport had held a widely recognized but seldom formalized status as an agent for social change, it was now officially associated with the most ambitious and high-profile global development agenda ever established. This elevated status had implications far beyond the relatively small number of sporting organizations and individuals who might become directly involved in MDG-related activities: it gave sport unprecedented standing as a potential vehicle for social change. With this came high visibility, quite specific and ambitious goals, and an exceptional level of scrutiny. In the next section we try to unpick the assumptions and expectations that this position placed upon sport.
Localizing global sport for development

Delivering the international development agenda: sport as an agent of social change

Since 2000, the MDGs have framed international development policies and agendas. The MDGs initially emerged from the Millennium Declaration in September 2000, signed by representatives of 189 countries including 147 heads of state and government, and were further endorsed by member states at the 2005 UN World Summit (UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/60/). They identified separate goals and targets for eight particular policy areas (Box 1), but these were meant to be seen as an interrelated whole. The MDGs were also intended to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 1: Contribution of sport to the MDGs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Text of the factsheet published by the UNOSDP, February 2010</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The <em>Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)</em> were established at the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000. The eight MDGs aim to eradicate or reduce poverty, hunger, child mortality and disease, and to promote education, maternal health, gender equality, environmental sustainability and global partnerships. The target date for achieving the MDGs is 2015.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport has been recognised as a viable and practical tool to assist in the achievement of the MDGs. While sport does not have the capacity to tackle solely the MDGs, it can be very effective when part of a broad, holistic approach to addressing the MDGs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MDG1: ERADICATE EXTREME POVERTY AND HUNGER</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Participants, volunteers and coaches acquire transferable life skills which increase their employability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Vulnerable individuals are connected to community services and supports through sport-based outreach programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sport programs and sport equipment production provide jobs and skills development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sport can help prevent diseases that impede people from working and impose health care costs on individuals and communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sport can help reduce stigma and increase self-esteem, self-confidence and social skills, leading to increased employability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Box 1: Contribution of sport to the MDGs (Continued)

**MDG2: ACHIEVE UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION**

- School sport programs motivate children to enrol in and attend school and can help improve academic achievement
- Sport-based community education programs provide alternative education opportunities for children who cannot attend school
- Sport can help erode stigma preventing children with disabilities from attending school

**MDG3: PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY AND EMPOWER WOMEN**

- Sport helps improve female physical and mental health and offers opportunities for social interaction and friendship
- Sport participation leads to increased self-esteem, self-confidence, and enhanced sense of control over one's body
- Girls and women access leadership opportunities and experience
- Sport can cause positive shifts in gender norms that afford girls and women greater safety and control over their lives
- Women and girls with disabilities are empowered by sport-based opportunities to acquire health information, skills, social networks, and leadership experience

**MDG4: REDUCE CHILD MORTALITY**

- Sport can be used to educate and deliver health information to young mothers, resulting in healthier children
- Increased physical fitness improves children's resistance to some diseases
- Sport can help reduce the rate of higher-risk adolescent pregnancies
- Sport-based vaccination and prevention campaigns help reduce child deaths and disability from measles, malaria and polio
- Inclusive sport programs help lower the likelihood of infanticide by promoting greater acceptance of children with disabilities
Box 1: Contribution of sport to the MDGs (Continued)

**MDG5: IMPROVE MATERNAL HEALTH**
- Sport for health programs offer girls and women greater access to reproductive health information and services
- Increased fitness levels help speed post-natal recovery

**MDG6: COMBAT HIV AND AIDS, MALARIA, AND OTHER DISEASES**
- Sport programs can be used to reduce stigma and increase social and economic integration of people living with HIV and AIDS
- Sport programs are associated with lower rates of health risk behaviour that contributes to HIV infection
- Programs providing HIV prevention education and empowerment can further reduce HIV infection rates
- Sport can be used to increase measles, polio and other vaccination rates
- Involvement of celebrity athletes and use of mass sport events can increase reach and impact of malaria, tuberculosis and other education and prevention campaigns

**MDG7: ENSURE ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY**
- Sport-based public education campaigns can raise awareness of importance of environmental protection and sustainability
- Sport-based social mobilization initiatives can enhance participation in community action to improve local environment

**MDG8: DEVELOP A GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP FOR DEVELOPMENT**
- Sport for Development and Peace efforts catalyze global partnerships and increase networking among governments, donors, NGOs and sport organizations worldwide
be based upon a partnership between countries from the so-called global North and South, ‘to create an environment – at the national and global levels alike – which is conducive to development and the elimination of poverty’ (UN, 2000).

The MDGs were neither the first nor the only shared targets that the international community had adopted to drive development. They were, however, the first integrated approach to development that set time-bound, quantified targets across multiple policy dimensions. They also gave global development an easily recognized identity that could be used to gain popular and political support worldwide, and thus had considerable symbolic significance. For sport, the MDGs were especially significant as they came to the fore at exactly the period when SfD formally entered the development framework. After the 2003 Magglingen Declaration, the incorporation of SfD into international development was repeatedly reinforced by citation of the MDGs in UN-sponsored SfD policy documents and other prominent publications. The broad scope of the Goals was reflected in the very wide-ranging statements about the contribution sport could make to them, often made or emphasized by those who have been identified as ‘sports evangelists’ (Coakley, 2011). Similarly, Hayhurst has shown that, by 2009, sport had been identified in various UN-sponsored SfD publications and policy documents as having capacity for:

Alleviating the negative aspects of poverty, achieving both community and individual health, facilitating healthy human development, building social capital, driving economic and community development, assisting youth-at-risk, fighting gender inequalities, promoting human rights, improving quality of life, reducing conflict between communities and nations by promoting peace, reaching individuals with disabilities, and fostering sport development. (Hayhurst, 2009: 213)

In practice, sport was most commonly associated with the goals that focused on individual and social change, especially (i) combatting HIV/AIDS, primarily through education about the virus and disease (part of MDG6); (ii) empowering women and girls (MDG3); and (iii) promoting education (MDG2) and wider youth development. Addressing these particular Goals was also expected to make some contributions to others – for example, gender empowerment though sport could overlap with MDGs 4 and 5, which both addressed gendered child and maternal health issues. Addressing both education and health was also central to the overarching aim of reducing world poverty (MDG1). In fact, the short factsheet published by the UNOSDP in February 2010 (Box 1) sought to claim that sport could support all eight of the MDGs, including MDG7 (ensure environmental sustainability) and MDG8 (develop a global partnership for development).
The connection with HIV/AIDS was arguably the most significant to the modern international SfD movement. It is also the context within which the starting point for SfD was most easily identifiable, with sport-based programmes emerging in response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic which dominated the development agenda in Africa from the mid-1990s. The first efforts in sport to develop specific responses to HIV/AIDS came from individual SfD organizations; as explored further in the next chapter, it was Zambia's EduSport Foundation, itself founded in 1999, which in 2001 helped to initiate the international KAO Network. The association of sport with HIV/AIDS thus predated the formalization of the SfD movement over the following years, but gave strong momentum to it (Coalter, 2009). (It is worth noting that in contrast, there are no such readily identifiable global starting points for the emergence of SfD programmes using sport to address youth development or gender empowerment, both of which were long-established areas of activity prior to their incorporation into the international development agenda.)

Nevertheless, as demonstrated by Box 1, the claims made for the contributions of sport to HIV/AIDS, youth development and gender empowerment as well as other MDGs were both diverse and highly ambitious. The question of how sport may (or may not) contribute to development aspirations and debates is a central one within SfD, and later sections of the chapter consider the state of evidence regarding its potential development impacts. First, however, it addresses another area of uncertainty – the scale and characteristics of organizations that can be considered to make up the ascribed ‘SfD movement’.

Recognizing the (organizational) field of SfD

The increasing recognition – and expectations – of SfD has led to a rapid increase in the number and types of organizations involved in the field. Hayhurst (2009: 206) describes ‘a wide variety of entities, such as UN agencies, faith-based groups, universities, academics, international organizations, governments, sport federations, and NGOs’ as being involved in SfD; to these might be added schools, community groups, Olympic committees, commercial-sector organizations and a whole range of policy interests, each with its own network of actors coalescing around issues such as youth, gender, health and education. Given such a range of organizations, it is unsurprising that Kidd (2011: 604) observes, ‘a tremendous diversity of purposes, methodologies, actual activities [and] levels of intervention’ are associated with SfD. In attempting to bring some classificatory order to this diversity, both Akindes and Kirwan (2009) and Giulianotti (2011a)
offer categorizations of types of SfD organizations, both of which are based on traditional demarcations between organizations from the public, private and civil-society sectors. Giulianotti (2011a) adds some complexity by adding the policy orientation of organizations into his classification. However, the empirical basis of Akindes and Kirwan’s (2009) classification is unclear and Giulianotti’s (2011a) is limited by being drawn from investigations in Europe, Asia and the Middle East alone, thus omitting the high level of SfD activity in Africa.

More generally, it can be argued that the sector remains under-documented and, similarly, this has prompted calls from both practitioner and academic sectors to ‘map’ organizations involved with SfD (e.g. Kidd, 2011; Lyras and Welty Peachey, 2011). For example, Donnelly et al. (2011: 593) advocate that, ‘At the very least it is necessary to collect detailed data regarding the scope of SDP, the numbers involved, and the depth and breadth of involvement.’ However, the underpinning rationale for these mapping or classificatory efforts is not always clear and McFarlane (2006, cited in Levermore and Beacom, 2012) warns of the colonial history of Northern efforts to map and classify development ‘territories’.

Nonetheless, the need for basic information about the SfD field has led to various efforts to quantify it and common reference has been made to the number of organizations that have self-registered with the International Platform on Sport and Development (e.g. Levermore, 2009; Darnell and Black, 2011; Mansfield, 2013). These figures have consistently shown growth in the number of SfD organizations, nearly doubling in three years, from the 166 reported by Kidd in 2008 to 295 reported by Hartmann and Kwauk in 2011. The meaning of these figures is, however, very uncertain – the rise may well signify a genuine increase in the size of the sector, but might also indicate an increased tendency among certain types of organizations to register with the Platform. This uncertainty means that there are no grounds for judging whether the increase in registrations with the Platform corresponds with a proportionate change in the number of SfD organizations as a whole. Moreover, Donnelly et al. (2011: 593) suggest ‘there is every reason to suspect that these [organizations registered with the Platform] represent the thin end of the wedge,’ and data on SfD organizations that have not registered with the Platform or any similar international body is scarce and piecemeal. Nevertheless, what does emerge from this very limited evidence is a picture of an SfD sector that is ‘loose knit’ (Darnell, 2012: 86), diverse, diffuse and populated by numerous organizations – at least in some regions and localities.

Leading on from this last point, a further uncertainty facing those hoping to demarcate the field of SfD is the varied approaches that have been adopted
to defining the geographical and national/international character of SfD. While Darnell (2012: 2) identifies the global South as ‘the quintessential site of development’, other authors do not differentiate between SfD programmes that are implemented in the global North and the global South (Coakley, 2011; Lyras and Welty Peachey, 2011). Although there are clearly recognized dangers of reinforcing a binary between the global North and global South (McEwan, 2009), there can be greater risk in failing to ascertain whether particular organizations, especially NGOs, operate internationally from the global North, transnationally across locations in the global South or in a particular locality in the global South.

These issues have particular importance when SfD is defined primarily in the context and in terms of international development agendas. As we have identified, the period of high-profile growth for the SfD movement has been very closely associated with prominent milestones in international development policy. Although the MDGs addressed universal social problems, their primary focus was unquestionably the poorest citizens in the poorest countries – traditionally, the ‘recipients’ of international aid from the global North. Many accounts of SfD align with this, focusing only on international SfD activity that has been initiated by organizations from the global North (e.g. Giulianotti, 2004; Levermore and Beacom, 2009a; Jarvie, 2011; Darnell, 2012).

This ‘sport as international development’ form of SfD can involve a variety of governmental agencies, private companies and NGOs from the global North. These organizations can work unilaterally or in collaboration in ‘international’ programmes, and this can produce a messy structure. Within Northern governments, Hayhurst (2009) identifies that different ministries (such as sport, education or international development) may have responsibility for SfD, which, she suggests, may contribute to ambiguity in terms of input into relevant policies. In addition, governmental agencies from different countries may also play a role in SfD in particular Southern countries, as is explored in Chapter 2 in respect of both British and Norwegian governmental agencies working in Zambia. Diverse international NGOs are also involved, including those such as Right to Play and KAO which are specifically orientated towards SfD, but also several significant international sporting governing bodies, such as FIFA, which are not primarily concerned with SfD but have extended their work to include it. Finally, the involvement of transnational private-sector businesses in SfD, often for purposes of corporate social responsibility, has increasingly been highlighted by authors from North America (e.g. Huish, 2011; Donnelly et al., 2011) or those with a specific interest in this area (e.g. Levermore, 2011; Banda and Gultresa, 2015).
A range of civil society organizations in Southern countries are also recognized in the literature, although they have tended to feature less as objects of research than international agencies. The prominence of civil society organizations in SfD can be linked to broader neo-liberal international development policies that have sought over time to reduce the role of Southern states (Laird, 2007). Such NGOs and CBOs are diverse: in addition to those specifically focused on SfD they also include religious bodies, sports and interest groups, youth groups, and schools and higher education institutions. Authors have commonly recognized the organizational fragmentation amongst civil society organizations involved in SfD and the associated problems of competition, duplication and lack of co-ordination (e.g. Giulianotti, 2011b; Huish, 2011; Kidd, 2011). Such issues, which have rarely been studied in depth in the SfD literature, are explored here in Chapters 2 and 3.

A small number of these Southern civil society organizations have become familiar throughout the literature, including the MYSA in Kenya, the Magic Bus and the GOAL projects in India, and the two Zambian NGOs with which we have worked, Sport in Action and EduSport (e.g. Levermore, 2008; Kidd, 2008; Coalter, 2010a). However, as there has been a tendency to view these organizations primarily in their role as partners in international externally funded programmes, the local origins and orientation of these – and of other organizations that may not receive international funding – can be overlooked. Several authors have, however, emphasized the existence, importance and potential independence of local civil society organizations (Armstrong, 2004; Coalter, 2009; Kay, 2011). Armstrong’s (2004) study of a network of football clubs in Liberia – which predates the surge of research in this area – emphasized the bottom-up, locally-led nature of its emergence and orientation towards development and peace. More recently, Fokwang (2009: 214) used a study of an indigenous SfD organization in Cameroon to ‘demonstrate clearly that there exist groups and associations in developing countries that are not necessarily dependent on external development assistance.’ These studies highlight the complexity and diversity which makes overall mapping of SfD so problematic.

The role or contribution of Southern governmental and private sector organizations in SfD also remains largely unexplored. Kidd (2008, 2012) has repeatedly called for greater (presumably Southern as well as Northern) governmental involvement in SfD. While Kidd’s contributions suggest a lack of engagement in SfD by Southern governments, Njelesani (2011) provides an example of an intervention by the Zambian government into physical
education as being within the broader scope of SfD policy. In an alternative but similarly Southern-orientated perspective, Cornelissen (2011) suggests that private sector involvement could reduce the dependence of SfD on international funding. The contributions of Njelesani (2011) and Cornelissen (2011) are relatively isolated examples, but they do emphasize the need to avoid overarching dismissals of the involvement of Southern governmental and private sector agencies in SfD. Instead, further research is needed to explore the involvement of such stakeholders in SfD in different Southern contexts.

A summary of ways in which the complex array of organizations and agencies in the SfD field may be classified is presented in Table 3. A common theme in analyses of specific and structural relationships between different SfD organizations and agencies is the extent to which they entail Northern hegemony and maintain Southern dependency. Many authors subscribe to the view that ‘the sport-in-development movement tends to be dominated by a “vertical hierarchy” which affects donor-recipient and North-South relationships’ (Nicholls, 2009: 158). Referring more narrowly to individual SfD programmes, Levermore (2009: 41) describes how their ‘governance … tend[s] to be dominated by the higher-income (Northern) countries’. Akindes and Kirwan (2009: 241) go further, suggesting that ‘sport-in-development programmes must rely on

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external sources of funding for their operations’ (italics added). Beyond governance and funding, the literature also highlights other dimensions through which Northern influence is exerted. Darnell (2007), Black (2010) and Forde (2013) all examine aspects of power relations when staff, volunteers and ‘athlete ambassadors’ from the global North undertake SfD work in various contexts in the global South. Forde (2014) critiques the Northern construction the SfD curricula, and Hayhurst (2009: 217) further identifies knowledge transfer as another practice in which the global South is subjugated in a recipient relationship with organizations from the global North. Kay (2012) further highlights the significance of donor-imposed monitoring and evaluation systems in formalizing the ‘accountability’ of Southern partners to Northern funders. Approaches such as the widely used logic model framework can shape all aspects of programmes, from defining the formal objectives which they pursue, to specifying the measures against which ‘performance’ will be assessed.

In addressing these issues, SfD researchers have increasingly drawn on theoretical approaches associated with the wider development studies field. Several have adopted a postcolonial orientation (e.g. Darnell, 2007, 2012; Hayhurst, 2009; Black, 2010; Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011; Nicholls et al., 2011; Forde, 2013, 2014), with some also drawing on Gramscian and Foucauldian theories of power in their critiques of SfD. As a result, one of the most significant themes in the SfD literature is the dominance attributed to global North-orientated agendas in the field, and the common association of this with the global influence of neo-liberal political economies. Some authors do credit Northern SfD stakeholders with reflexive recognition of power relations associated with their work (Giulianotti, 2011b; Darnell, 2012), but few writings provide specific examples of Southern agency or detailed analysis of how this occurs. Notable exceptions are Fokwang’s (2009) previously mentioned study in Cameroon and both Guest’s (2009) and Hasselgård and Straume’s (2015) accounts of local stakeholders resisting and reorienting international SfD programmes in Angola and Zimbabwe respectively. In fact, Fokwang cites the activities of a Cameroonian CBO as being part of a ‘not-so-unique trend … of social actors self-manag[ing] their “development” process without recourse to local government, the state and powerful Western institutions’ (2009: 215). As shall be argued further in the chapter, collective methodological limitations of SfD research mean that it is difficult to determine if the exceptionalism of Guest (2009), Fokwang (2009), and Straume and Hasselgård’s (2014) contributions is more broadly reflective of genuine limitations of Southern agency or is merely indicative of the fact that such agency remains relatively unexplored.
Understanding and conceptualizing SfD practice

As the previous discussion has shown, the SfD sector is characterized by diversity. SfD organizations have adopted a wide array of practical approaches, described by Cornelissen (2011: 506) as a ‘fairly loose amalgam of different approaches that incorporates a diverse range of philosophies, practices, operational formats and programmes’. A significant number of case studies of individual SfD programmes have emerged over recent years (see edited collections by Gilbert and Bennett (2012), Schulenkorf and Adair (2014), and Young and Okada (2014b) for multiple examples). Research has also considered SfD practices associated with both sporting mega-events (e.g. Cornelissen, 2011; Levermore, 2011; Darnell, 2012) and ‘grassroots, community-based sport’ (Hayhurst, 2009: 206). This book is concerned with the latter, and in addressing this we begin by considering descriptive and normative conceptualizations of SfD practice that have been given prominence in the literature.

Perhaps the most often referenced and long-standing distinction that is applied to different forms of community-level sport utilizes the labels ‘development of sport’ (also frequently referred to as simply ‘sports development’) (Kidd, 2008) and development through sport’ (our italics). ‘Development of sport’ or ‘sports development’ is generally used to describe efforts to develop the institution of sport itself, including increasing sport provision (e.g. facilities and human resources), improving sport practices (e.g. coaching standards and inclusive delivery) and – especially – raising sport participation and sport performance levels (Levermore and Beacom, 2009a). Although, as we shall see throughout the book, much SfD activity involves a degree of sport development – and often a very substantial one – the development of sport per se is not considered the sector’s primary aim. Rather, it is ‘development through sport’ which is strongly associated with, and central to, the concept of SfD. SfD itself refers to the potential of sport to provide development outcomes both individually and collectively, with the latter ranging from impacts on immediate social networks such as families and communities, to wider structural impacts. In the case of gender empowerment, for example, an SfD programme might provide opportunities for individual young women to gain skills and confidence; encourage their families and influential community stakeholders to permit female participation in sport; and, beyond this, aim to contribute to a wider shift in restrictive gender attitudes. In theory, sport is therefore a potential vehicle for multiple forms of development, at multiple levels.

When considered in relation to practice, the approaches and intentions of sports development and sport for development are not necessarily as distinct as
the above outline definitions suggest. Our own research in this book and that of a number of other scholars suggest that the two are often closely intertwined. In their interviews with representatives of seven Zambian SfD organizations, Njelesani et al. (2014) found that all also had a focus on the development of football skills and argued that this, in fact, might conflict with aspirations to use sport to address broader development goals. In contrast, Giulianotti (2011b: 56) concluded from his work elsewhere with SfD practitioners that development of sport and development through sport could be compatible, describing them as ‘not always oppositional’ and potentially ‘mutually advantageous’. Similarly, Darby (2012) identifies some football academies in Ghana whose aspirations cross both development of and development through sport.

A further classificatory conceptualization oft cited in the literature is Coalter’s (2007a, 2009, 2010b) distinction between ‘sport-plus’ and ‘plus-sport’ approaches to achieving development objectives. Of the two, plus-sport approaches are possibly the more clearly defined, as those that use sport as ‘a type of “fly paper” to attract young people to programmes of education and training’ (Coalter, 2010b: 298). In contrast, sport plus are described by Coalter as those that give ‘primacy to the development of sustainable sports organizations, programmes and development pathways’ (2009: 58). Coakley (2011: 314) points out, however, that the classificatory distinction between plus-sport and sport-plus approaches can sometimes be ‘fuzzy’ – a fact also recognized by Coalter himself who, with Taylor (Coalter, 2010c: 15), states that ‘it is difficult to sustain a strict division between plus sport and sport plus’. In addition to the concern about conceptual clarity, the ongoing uncertainty about classificatory distinctions also raises questions about their value as largely heuristic devices proposed and employed by academics from the global North. In this regard, it is perhaps notable that the literature does not currently address the extent to which SfD practitioners recognize or value the suggested distinctions.

Moving beyond classificatory schema, further critiques emerge within the literature focused on SfD practices. This identifies the prevalence within SfD of a focus on the personal and social development of young people involved in sporting activities. Authors such as Spaaij, however, caution against the assumption that sport will somehow ‘automatically’ deliver such developmental outcomes, warning that:

The transformative capacity of sport-based interventions for disadvantaged or disaffected young people can only be realized within a personal and social development approach and not by merely offering sport activities. (Spaaij, 2012: 77)
The approaches used in SfD to achieve personal and social development through sport have also been subject to criticism for their strong ‘individual behaviourist’ emphasis (Cole, 2006; Coakley, 2011; Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). This is seen by many writers as a significant limitation of SfD when seeking to achieve developmental outcomes that also require structural socio-economic change (e.g. Darnell, 2010a; Cornelissen, 2011; Coakley, 2011). Huish suggests that:

SDP projects that see sport as an independent means to prosperous development and individual empowerment are likely to encounter the well-known challenges of pursuing sweeping structural change through empowerment at the individual level. (Huish, 2011)

Certainly, there are fewer studies that identify or analyse sport-based programmes within which practices explicitly aligned with wider community development are recognized. What examples there are of community development approaches in the literature tend to be drawn more from post-conflict zones in specific geographical areas than other development scenarios (e.g. Gasser and Levinsen, 2004; Sugden, 2006; Kath and van Buuren, 2014). It is in respect of ‘divided societies’ that Sugden (2011) suggests a ‘ripple effect’ of impact, moving from individuals to broader aspects of society; while conceptually useful, it would be beneficial if there was further articulation and evidence of the processes by which any ‘ripple effect’ may work.

An increasing number of authors extend the critique of the individualist orientation of SfD practice and, in doing so, some associate this with the broader theme of neo-liberal and Northern hegemony. With SfD programmes operating in the global South, Coalter identifies:

[an] implicit assumption … that young people living in [such] ‘disadvantaged communities’ are themselves deficient and in need of ‘personal development’ of the type that sport is presumed to deliver. (Coalter, 2010c: 22–23)

Coalter’s (2013) subsequent publication of empirical research further questions the presumption of deficiency and it is also notable that there is a relative absence of debate in the literature regarding the relative disadvantage that exists within countries and communities in the global South (McEwan, 2009). Nevertheless, Hayhurst (2009), Darnell (2010a, 2012), Hartmann and Kwauk (2011), and Forde (2014) all present similar arguments that associate SfD with presumptions of deficiency and link this to neo-liberal ideologies that emphasize the
responsibility of individuals for overcoming their own ‘underdevelopment’. In a further generalization of this analysis, Darnell and Black suggest that:

[the] SDP movement [is] largely align[ed] with, and therefore may effectively strengthen, hegemonic relations by reinforcing dominant social and economic hierarchies and the neoliberal logic of competitive social and economic relations. (Darnell and Black, 2011: 369)

At this stage, two points should be made with regard to these arguments. First, attributions of neo-liberal (and thus Northern) hegemony within the SfD literature have largely been made with reference to empirical research undertaken with SfD stakeholders from the global North. Second, the analysis presented by authors does not necessarily preclude the possibility that SfD could be used to challenge hegemonic relations, as Levermore and Beacom suggest:

Sport can be viewed as a form of resistance, which might occasionally challenge dominant systems and processes, thereby redressing unequal power relations in limited instances. (Levermore and Beacom, 2009b: 253–254)

As such, Darnell (2012) begins to argue, albeit in a somewhat brief and largely theoretical way, how adopting a critical pedagogy approach within SfD could be used to achieve the structural transformation that Levermore and Beacom (2009b) propose. Initially developed by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1972), critical pedagogy combines education with critical theory to prompt marginalized individuals to consider the causes and influences of their social conditions. The development of ‘critical consciousness’ provides the basis for potential collective social action and ultimately transformation of circumstances.

Darnell’s (2012) advocacy for critical pedagogy is one example of a broader normative strand of the literature on SfD practices. However, in contrast to Darnell (2012), this normative strand is dominated by contributions that adopt a ‘rational policy solving’ (Mosse, 2004: 642) approach to improving SfD. Such contributions commonly call for improved management and implementation of programmes, with Coalter (2009: 65) suggesting that SfD interventions ‘require a clear, articulated understanding and evaluation of the conceptualization, design and delivery of a programme’. A number of the more recently emergent case studies in the SfD literature also address similarly orientated themes. For example, amongst such case studies, there are calls for greater precision in the specification of desired outcomes through improved understanding of local
Localizing global sport for development needs (e.g. Richards and Foster, 2014; Siefken et al., 2014) and the development of SfD curricula together with associated documentation (e.g. Weinberg and Rockenfeller; 2012; Gannett et al., 2014; Siefken et al., 2014). Mosse would classify such contributions within a recognized ‘instrumental’ strand of the wider development studies literature, which he critiques as offering ‘simplifying models of change [through] detailed planning and management procedures’ (Mosse, 2004: 641).

Perhaps the most extreme examples of this trend are suggested ‘models of SfD’ for which significant claims are made. To varying degrees, such models are underpinned by assumptions that it is possible to identify ‘key elements required for effective sport-based social intervention’ (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011: 289) that are generalizable across different contexts. The most ambitious claims are those of Lyras and Welty Peachey (2011: 324) who offer what they term a ‘sport-for-development theory’, which they claim ‘provide[s] the essential features and structure to scientifically explain, describe, and predict how sport can effect social change’. Like Hartmann and Kwauk, Lyras and Welty Peachey mainly draw on research conducted in the global North, yet are confident that their theory also ‘offers a framework that is applicable in international, national, and community-based sport interventions’ (2011: 324). Schulenkorf’s (2012: 9) claim of his alternative sport-for-development framework ‘as a suitable guide for the strategic management and evaluation of (inter)community development projects’ is only slightly more circumspect.

While Lyras and Welty Peachey (2011) and Schulenkorf (2012) do suggest that there is room within their models for locally owned and culturally appropriate development, they remain vulnerable to Darnell’s concern that there is:

[ongoing] misalignment between northern notions of the preferred or requisite tools for successful development versus local demands regarding what constitutes the appropriate skills, resources or opportunities for success. (Darnell, 2012: 96)

In particular, these models are representative of the ‘positivist-based problem-solving orientation’ that Darnell (2012: 40) and Nicholls et al. (2011) identify as prominent within the SfD sector more generally. Such an orientation tends to universalize SfD and underplay diversity and complexity within the sector. Some of this diversity is beginning to be represented with the increasing publication of SfD case studies. However, many of these case studies are focused on specific SfD programmes, and they vary in the extent to which they portray a deep understanding of the contexts in which these programmes are delivered.
As a result, instrumental perspectives focused on SfD programmes remain very prominent within the literature and are particularly influential in debates regarding the evidence on SfD. To counterbalance this, our collective aspiration and approach within this book is somewhat different: as previously discussed, rather than seeking to develop universal, generalizable understandings of SfD, we hope instead to offer a ‘wide-lens’ perspective which captures the very varied, specific contexts within which community-level SfD activities and experiences can be understood.

SfD evidence, evaluation and research

Within SfD there is extensive and intense debate amongst stakeholders about the movement’s ‘evidence-base’, with widespread concern expressed about a lack of credible evidence regarding the processes and – especially – the impacts of SfD programmes. These concerns mirror those found more broadly in international development, where calls for evidence-based policy have been conflated with increasing requirements for results-based accountability to Northern donors (Taylor, 2013). Thus, as the SDPIWG observed in 2006:

The absence of a strong body of compelling evidence in support of Sport for Development and Peace is repeatedly identified as a barrier to convincing policy makers and private sector donors to increase support for Sport for Development and Peace. (SDPIWG, 2006: 75)

More recent commentaries suggest that this issue has not been resolved despite the burgeoning of SfD scholarship in the interim. Five years after the SDPIWG’s observation, Jay Coakley, one of the contributing authors to the 2007 Toronto Literature reviews on SDP, suggested that far from being evidence-based:

Sport-related decisions and policies remain shaped primarily by unquestioned beliefs grounded in wishful thinking, the idealized testimonials of current and former athletes, and the hunches of sport scientists. (Coakley, 2011: 307)

In a similar vein – and notwithstanding the publication of some substantial works, including ‘Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace’ (SDPIWG, 2008a) – Cornelissen was driven to comment that:

One of the biggest problems with the sport for development movement is the lack of an evidentiary base and the often substantial gap between theory and practice. (Cornelissen, 2011: 507)
As the critiques offered by Coakley (2011) and Cornelissen (2011) show, the increased attention given to ‘evidencing’ SfD is partly a consequence of the issues at stake being positioned at an intersection of SfD scholarship, policy and practice. The UN, for example, has advocated that academia should make a contribution to SfD through:

build[ing] a strong evidence-base for the effective and efficient use of sport-for-development and peace that can feed into the development of viable policy recommendations. (UN, 2012: 21)

Two themes consistently recur in these critiques. The first of these, particularly evident in the statement by the SDPIWG (2006), is that stronger evidence about the impact of SfD is necessary as a tool for advocacy that would help persuade relevant stakeholders to support and invest in the sector. For example, the opening editorial of the *Journal of Sport for Development* spoke of the journal’s desire to address the need for SfD to ‘establish adequate evidence to … survive broad contractions in foreign aid budgets’ (Richards et al., 2013: 2). Similarly, the Danish Network for Sport and Development (2009: 5) identified continuing ‘pressure and interest to effectively measure and demonstrate the outcomes and impacts of sports programmes [in order to contribute to] the process of legitimizing sport-for-development as a field’. The second theme concerns the call for improved evidence in order to enhance SfD policies and practice, evident in the above extracts from Cornelissen (2011), Coakley (2011) and the UN (2012). The argument is that more reliable data is needed about how successful SfD programmes operate and what impacts they achieve, to allow policymakers and practitioners to learn from others’ practice and design and deliver their own initiatives more effectively.

While it is not the intention here to provide a comprehensive review of the evidence now available on SfD, it is pertinent to recognize Darnell’s important contribution:

Given the different meanings of sport, the situated politics of development and the social complexities of sport and development, respectively, the idea that practitioners, scholars or activists will ever know with certainty whether, where or how sport is positive or effective for meeting development goals is unrealistic and unreasonable. (Darnell, 2012: 23)

Darnell’s caveat is relevant to the debates considered throughout the remainder of the section and yet it is one that is infrequently acknowledged. Rather, across different stakeholders in SfD, concerns have commonly centred on the scale and, especially, quality of the SfD evidence-base. Cronin’s (2011: 5) mapping of
research into the impact of SfD revealed an impressive level of activity between 2005 and 2010, identifying 267 evaluation reports and academic sources and concluding that ‘significant investment has been made … in developing an “evidence-base” to demonstrate the impact of sport’. However, despite more evidence being available on SfD, the contributions of Coakley (2011) and others indicate significant unresolved concerns regarding its quality. The remainder of the section, therefore, explores the nature of the evidence on SfD that is currently available and the processes by which this evidence has been generated. The section first considers the approaches underpinning two forms of evidence building that have been instigated by SfD organizations and stakeholders – ‘reviews’, focused on identifying, collating and assessing already available evidence, and monitoring and evaluation studies. It then examines the commonly close alignment between research and evaluation in SfD, and considers critiques based on alternative theoretical and methodological approaches. The discussion raises a number of questions about the perceived limitations of SfD evidence, ranging from practical matters of research design and implementation to more fundamental ones about the nature of evidence. Particular attention is paid to the epistemological and ethical issues raised when processes of knowledge production are defined and controlled by outsiders.

Reviews of the evidence available on SfD have taken place at different stages in the development of the movement. As mentioned earlier, in 2006 the SDPIWG commissioned a research team at the University of Toronto to review evidence on the contribution of sport to a variety of potential individual and social outcomes. Edited by Bruce Kidd and Peter Donnelly, these literature reviews (SDPIWG, 2007) were supplemented by ‘the sound knowledge of various subject-matter experts’ (SDPIWG, 2008a: viii) and provided the basis of the subsequent report, ‘Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace’ (SDPIWG, 2008a). This report, and the reviews that preceded it, were described as ‘fulfil[ling] the mandate of the SDPIWG to deliver comprehensive policy recommendations to national governments’ (ibid.: vii). Subsequently, a further evidence-based analysis was commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat to fulfil a similar purpose of ‘providing support for Commonwealth governments and other key stakeholders seeking to strengthen the contribution of sport to development and peace work’ (Kay and Dudfield, 2013: 1). Compared with these two reviews, a third that was commissioned by UK-based charity Comic Relief in 2011 had a somewhat different purpose: to ‘map the research looking at the impact of Sport for Development programmes since 2005 by a selected group of organizations in the UK and internationally’ (Cronin, 2011: 5).
Cronin’s review was undertaken to improve understanding of the evidence-base and to establish a ‘baseline’ whereby potential research gaps, overlaps and opportunities for collaboration could be identified.

A number of issues arise from these documents. All three reports demonstrate an alignment with a narrative review approach, a ‘traditional’ method of research synthesis in the social sciences (Weed, 2005: 79). However, the reports do not provide significant detail on their review strategy. Cronin’s (2011: 8) report of the mapping exercise is the most informative about its processes, which involved searches of the ISI Web of Science, Google Scholar and multiple SfD ‘knowledge bases’. Additional sources identified or offered by expert contributors were also included. While all three reports focus on peer-reviewed research and highlight the importance of quality standards, none adopted specific methodological approaches, such as systematic reviews or realist synthesis, that respectively place greater importance on assessments of the methodological quality or (contextual) relevance of evidence sources. As such, the reviews are themselves open to criticism for their lack of rigour.

Although the three reports lack formal mechanisms for assessing the methodological quality of the sources they draw on, they are all nonetheless critical of the evidence they review. Each therefore carefully qualifies its recommendations: Kidd and Donnelly, for example, express a high degree of confidence in the data available to them in four of the five themes addressed in their review, yet also point out that:

> It is usual in such ‘gold standard’ research to present findings and conclusions in a tentative and cautious way, without making grand claims about ‘causality’. Such caution is appropriate, and the research team has been even more cautious in its overall conclusions because of the nature of the data. (Kidd and Donnelly, 2007: 3)

Yet despite expressed reservations of this type, all three reviews draw largely positive conclusions about the potential impact of sport on a variety of development outcomes. This means they effectively made ‘the case for sport’ that their commissioning agencies sought. The international standing of these commissioning agencies has in turn accorded the reports a significant status, which has potentially made them influential components of the SfD ‘evidence-base’.

Further caveats attach to the potential influence of the reviews when the contextual relevance of their evidence is considered. All three reviews draw on evidence from both the global North and South but rarely separate them, and none directly confront the question of the geographical and cultural relevance
of individual studies. The distinction between ‘Northern’ and ‘Southern’ sources is acknowledged by Kidd and Donnelly (2007) and SDPIWG (2008a), but this differentiation is not a significant feature of their reporting or analysis. Similarly, Kay and Dudfield (2013) draw on sources from the global North and South to identify which Commonwealth development goals have evidence-bases that support the use of sport, but do not address how this may apply differentially to different member countries within the economically and culturally diverse Commonwealth.

Cronin’s (2011) report does provide useful context for this issue, by quantifying the geographical distribution of the evidence that she identified according to the country of authorship, and also the country in which the research was conducted. Her survey of authors for 2005–10 showed a preponderance of researchers resident in the global North (41% Europe, 38% USA, 7% Canada), most of whose output related to sport and development in Europe (29%) and North America (25%), but who also wrote extensively on other regions – including Africa (20%), the Middle East (6%) and Asia (3%). Most of the evidence available on sport and development was therefore about the use of sport in high-income countries, and most of the evidence on middle- and low-income countries was compiled by researchers from the global North. Thus, while Coalter (2013: 174) argues that those claiming a lack of evidence ignore the existing ‘large body of research evidence about personal and social development’ through sport, the cultural appropriateness of much of this evidence (and the reviews undertaken) on SfD remains open to question.

The issue of cultural appropriateness also arises in relation to evidence gained through monitoring and evaluation studies. Monitoring and evaluation has been a primary focus in much of the overall debate regarding the SfD evidence-base, with particular concerns relating to the importance, and challenges, of measuring ‘impact’. The expansion of the SfD sector has been accompanied by a rise in monitoring and evaluation of SfD programmes, as indicated by the ‘proliferation of overlapping/competing toolkits’ (Cronin, 2011: 22) designed to support the monitoring and evaluation of SfD. Cronin identifies the development, between 2003 and 2011, of 15 such toolkits – described as a ‘reasonable number … for a relatively small sector’ (2011: 22). Empirical studies by academics of specific SfD programmes have also frequently been undertaken in the context of monitoring and evaluation exercises. Indeed, debates regarding the SfD evidence-base in academic literature have often focused (explicitly or implicitly) on monitoring and evaluation (e.g. Donnelly et al., 2011; Coalter, 2013), which in many contributions are not differentiated from other forms of research.
In seeking to address limitations of the SfD evidence-base, policymakers, practitioners and academics have all called for improved measurement of impact through monitoring and evaluation. Often, such contributions have been aligned with concerns about the ‘unscientific’ and potentially biased nature of what has been available:

With little more than anecdotal evidence, beliefs about the impact of sport in development are driven mainly by heartfelt narratives, evocative images, and quotable sound bites of individual and community transformation, packaged and delivered more often than not by those running the programs. (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011: 285–286)

Directing their criticisms especially at so-called ‘anecdotal’ evidence, Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) suggest that the problems affecting current production and use of evidence are primarily the outcome of poor – qualitative – methodology. Elsewhere, calls to improve the quality of evidence generally align with positivist methodology and quantitative methods. For example, Akindes and Kirwan (2009: 219) call for ‘objective analysis of the impact of current programmes’, and Schlenkorf (2012: 9) for ‘key performance indicators [that] would allow for a more rigorous evaluation of impacts’. Likewise, in relation to both measurement of impact and methodologies to do so, Cronin (2011) advocates the use of baseline data, ‘strong behavioural indicators’, validated data collection instruments, and ‘controlled trials’. All of these contributions highlight limitations of existing approaches to measuring impact, as does Coalter (Coalter, 2010c: 100), who criticizes SfD monitoring and evaluation for its ‘degree of uncertainty about valid impact measures’.

Coalter’s (2010b, 2013, 2014) particularly prominent and increasingly strongly voiced contributions to the debates regarding SfD evidence do, however, contain some inconsistencies. On the one hand, he argues for an approach that places empirical pragmatism before issues of epistemology (2013). On the other hand, in a further contribution, he does not appear to baulk at recognition of the positivist underpinning of his and others’ attempts to measure SfD impact (Coalter, 2014). More generally, and across many of his publications, Coalter (2007a, 2013, 2014) promotes approaches to evaluation based on a realist epistemology. In citing Pawson and colleagues, whose work has underpinned the development of realist evaluation (e.g. Pawson and Tilley, 1997; Pawson, 2006), Coalter draws valuable attention to the importance of considering the mechanisms or processes that may contribute to achieving outcomes. However, the central importance that Pawson gives to the differential influences of varied
contexts is not apparent in Coalter’s (2013) key conceptual and empirical contributions. Furthermore, his emphasis on identifying a ‘sequence of causes and presumed effects’ (emphasis added; Coalter, 2009: 68) is more representative of logic models, as distinct from the programme theories which are central to Pawson’s realist evaluation methods.

The use of logic models has been subject to significant criticism in other development sectors in which they have been utilized (Prinsen and Nijhof, 2015). Within SfD, Levermore (2011: 341) argues that logic models represent a ‘rigid mentality to evaluation’ and emphasize quantitative outcome measures that fail to capture important elements of personal and social development. Importantly, critiques of logic models also connect to wider issues related to the production of knowledge on SfD. Levermore (ibid.) further states that the ‘wider and deeper epistemology of the programme is left unevaluated’ through the ‘top-down’ application of logic models on behalf of donors who determine the scope of evaluation and the objectives measured and, as a result, ignore the views of programme ‘recipients’. Kay (2012) has similarly voiced concerns about the prominence of such methods in SfD, and has highlighted the confusion and ambiguity that the method can cause, especially as different donor agencies use terms in different ways (and commonly require separate reports). She quotes Win’s commentary on the experience of being trained to use the method:

We have to constantly remember what a goal, purpose, objective or output means to each one of you. We have learned painfully that all of these terms do not mean the same to everyone. The whole thing has been reduced to a farce. We laugh in workshops when you Northerners aren’t there. ‘Is that a goal? No, maybe it’s an output!’ (Win, 2004: 126)

Kay argues that, as a result, many monitoring and evaluation systems impose substantial workloads for little apparent return and through their day-to-day irrelevance come to be viewed solely as mechanisms for accountability to funding agencies. Win argues that this reduces rather than enhances learning, and also discourages transparency and openness: ‘I am too scared to talk too much, just in case I say the wrong things. I withhold information that might damage my organization’ (Win, 2004: 126). Kay further questions the cultural appropriateness of approaches which adopt rigid, formulaic reporting mechanisms that limit the level of detail and richness that can be captured. She cites Win’s further comment:

We spent three days trying to fit visions, objectives, strategies and our way of seeing the world into the differently shaped blue, green and yellow cards. It was
really not funny, though. It was painful. Nobody understood the method and the logic behind it. It did not make sense for many of us who are Ndebele- or Shona-speaking. In our language we express ourselves in paragraphs, not in short phrases or sentences. We are an oral people. We don't think in boxes either. (Win, 2004: 124)

The issue of insider-outsider production of evidence is also raised by authors concerned that the direct involvement of SfD practitioners in the production of knowledge is a further weakness that undermines the quality of the SfD evidence-base (Cronin, 2011; Donnelly et al., 2011; Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). Cronin (2011) suggests that participation in and ownership of research by SfD organizations may compromise the ‘scientific quality’ of research, while Donnelly et al. (2011) consider that the majority of SfD NGOs lack the skills required to undertake ‘scientific’ monitoring and evaluation. These weaknesses are considered to lead to the production of overly simplistic numeric data and to encourage the use of narrative accounts that appear designed more to support advocacy efforts on behalf of SfD than to evaluate it. Hartmann and Kwauk’s (2011) critique is but one of a number contributions to decry the production of anecdotes and/or ‘heartfelt narratives’ in support of SfD (e.g. Schulenkorf, 2012; Coalter, 2013; Sanders et al., 2014).

The above critiques of the SfD evidence-base align with broader themes in the SfD literature. The positivist orientation that underpins the ‘lack of evidence’ narrative is logically connected to the wider ‘instrumental’ strand within the SfD literature. This trend is compounded by a prevalent tendency to conflate evaluation, as a specific methodology, and research. The many SfD case studies that are tightly focused on specific programmes (e.g. Bennett, 2012; Weinberg and Rockenfeller, 2012; Gannett et al., 2014; Richards and Foster, 2014; Siefken et al., 2014), further contribute to the distinction between evaluation and wider forms of social research being underplayed. The specific focus and methodologies of narrowly focused SfD research often arise from the constraints of research funding which have commonly been associated with particular programmes. In our own studies, some of which have been similarly funded and shaped by SfD donors, we adopt an epistemological position that differs considerably from the instrumental strand within SfD literature, as we discuss further below.

Reflecting broader paradigmatic arguments, Darnell (2012: 4) warns that instrumental approaches to research and evaluation may ‘fail to challenge the relations of power, privilege and dominance’ within and beyond SfD. A number of other authors also raise similar concerns about the types of research and evaluation that are frequently promoted to overcome the weaknesses in the SfD
They argue that particular forms of knowledge and knowledge producers tend to be privileged (e.g. Nicholls et al., 2011; Kay, 2012), which results in the subjugation of the views of those directly involved in SfD activities in local communities within the global South. Such critiques have been made most strongly, but not solely, by authors who are more broadly aligned with the ‘critical–theoretical’ strand within SfD research, which explores the maintenance of existing (global) relations of power and the depoliticization of development policies and practices (Mosse, 2004). Authors within this strand commonly utilize critical theories to frame their analysis, in contrast to the approach within instrumental SfD literature, which instead aims to propose new theories for SfD. However, while Darnell and Hayhurst (2012: 115) identify that theoretical frameworks which have been applied to SfD, such as Gramscian hegemony, could ‘lend insights into local struggles and negotiations for development’, much of the SfD literature in critical–theoretical tradition remains internationalist in focus and methodology. This is itself reflective of the prevalence of academics from the global North in both shaping enquiry and documenting understandings of SfD research.

Within the development studies field, Mosse (2004: 641) recognizes that neither instrumental nor critical–theoretical perspectives do ‘justice to the complexity of policy-making and its relationship to project practice, or to the creativity and skill involved in negotiating development’. With the exception of a few notable counterexamples (e.g. Guest, 2009; Hasselgård and Straume, 2015), this critique could be collectively applied to the emerging field of SfD literature. For different reasons, within both the instrumental and critical–theoretical strands, the value of research designs that give prominence to qualitative narratives collected from a variety of local stakeholders has been underplayed. Critical theorists do argue for postcolonial approaches that involve examination of local resistance to hegemonic power (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012, 2014). However, this does not necessarily foreground local perspectives but may instead constitute them within an overall analytic narrative. Even more pernicious are the arguments that are presented in the instrumental strand of SfD literature, where the credibility and importance attached to supposedly ‘objective’ assessments of SfD, not only devalues the subjective perspectives of those involved in SfD, but appears to dismiss anyone speaking of SfD with particular subjectivities as guilty of offering an ‘anecdotal’ narrative that has no value. While the wide use of anecdotes in support of SfD is unquestionable, the tendency for criticisms of anecdotes to be extended to qualitative data that is rigorously collected and systematically analysed is worrying and uninformed. It is
notable that the distinction between promotional testimonies and research data is not addressed in critiques offered by those with an instrumental or positivist orientation to SfD research and evaluation. Without such a distinction, all local voices, and the knowledge and detail (only) they can provide, risk being ignored or lost in the ill-conceived quest to build a ‘scientific’ evidence-base for SfD.

Localizing sport for development in Zambia: our research approach

The previous sections have raised questions about the extent to which research approaches to SfD to date can provide understanding of its complexities and nuances. This is not to question the validity of published SfD research findings but rather to recognize, as Mwaanga and Mwansa (2014) do, the extent to which SfD research and researchers have so far offered only limited opportunities for stakeholders from outside the global North to express their perspectives of SfD. In part, this reflects the practical difficulties of undertaking such research when greater resources to do so reside in the global North and are often directed towards relatively short-term, programme-focused evaluations. Additionally, there are more fundamental epistemological and methodological challenges to producing decolonized knowledge of development, as discussed in McEwan’s (2009) important book and considered where relevant below.

The limitations and challenges discussed above, that characterize much existing SfD research, have prompted advocacy for alternative approaches. Suggestions include the use of ethnographic or anthropological methodologies (Hayhurst, 2009; Darnell, 2012) and the development of local ownership of and active participation in SfD research (Kay, 2009; Njelesani, 2011; Spaaij, 2012). Such approaches have been utilized in specific, but relatively isolated, studies. Contributions by Armstrong (2004), Guest (2009), Fokwang (2009), and Kath and van Buuren (2014), to give but four examples, stand amongst those that have used different methodological approaches to present locally grounded accounts of SfD in different African contexts. It is notable that these authors have varied backgrounds in relation to the location in which their research has been undertaken; nonetheless, all have spent considerable time within these localities. In situating their qualitative accounts within these locations, these authors also recognize, to differing extents, the ways in which SfD is influenced by local social, economic and political contexts. What is also common across these contributions is that they demonstrate, implicitly or explicitly, the potential for diverse forms of social research, as distinct from
evaluation focused on evidence building, to provide increased knowledge and understanding of SfD in forms that are also valuable for informing policy or practice.

These broader trends in the SfD literature and research have bearing on the research we draw on in this book. Over the course of our studies in Zambia, our desire to address and counter problems associated with the prominence in SfD literature of instrumental and critical–theoretical strands has become more explicit, motivated by a desire to enhance understanding of SfD. In order to do so, we have increasingly turned to development studies literature. Methodologically, we have found ourselves increasingly aligned with the actor-oriented sociology of development advocated by Norman Long (2001). The genesis of Long’s own actor-oriented approach derived from his frustration with the ‘theoretical and methodological shortcomings of existing structural and generic theories of development that espoused various forms of determinism, linearity and institutional hegemony’ (Long, 2001: 1). This critique resonates with the foregoing discussion of the limitations of the instrumentalist strand in SfD literature, and while the ‘impasse’ that Long describes occurred in development studies in the mid-1980s, the continued citation of his actor-oriented approach confirms its enduring currency and, by association, its potential value to SfD research. It is therefore through examination of aspects of the actor-orientated approach that we can explore the facets, strengths and limitations of our own research and, subsequently, the relevance of its findings and conclusions.

An actor-oriented approach is consistent with the philosophical assumptions of social constructionism. As such, we are principally concerned with ‘understanding the processes by which specific actors and networks of actors engage with and thus co-produce their own (inter)personal and collective social worlds’ (Long, 2001: 3). This is in accordance with both Darnell (2010a) and, especially, Nicholls et al. (2011), who advocate the importance of understanding the perspectives of those at the ‘front line’ and ‘grass roots’ of SfD practices. As well as agreeing with these authors, we additionally take from Long (2001) the recognition that ‘development’ also encompasses a multiplicity of actors, even at a local level, who may hold diverse positions and perspectives. As such, one of the characteristics of our research is what we think of as its ‘wide-lens’ approach, which encompasses perspectives of a particularly diverse range of Zambian actors associated with SfD. Collectively, these research participants are drawn from a variety of contexts with which SfD is connected, and from multiple levels within them; they include participants, peer leaders, community members, NGO staff, governmental stakeholders and international donors.  

Engagement
with this array of SfD stakeholders has been made possible as a result of our engagement across various research projects, each of which has defined our relationships with research participants in particular ways (McEwan, 2009). Inevitably, the parameters and constraints of particular research projects have limited the extent to which we have been able to listen to voices that could further enhance understandings of SfD. This is particularly the case in respect to individuals, such as parents and young people not participating in sport, who may not have as direct an association with SfD as those who have more commonly been participants in our research (Long, 2001).

Irrespective of these particular limitations, it is hopefully apparent by this point that our alignment with an actor-oriented approach entails recognition of ‘social heterogeneity’ and ‘differential interpretations’ (Long, 2001: 240). Moreover, this approach requires similar thinking as to how we consider the practice of SfD. Long (2001: 32) steers us away from thinking of any development programmes as a ‘“project” with sharp boundaries in time and space as defined by institutional apparatus of the state or implementing agency’. We must nonetheless acknowledge that a number of the studies that inform this book have been closely linked with specific SfD programmes, and that these programmes have to varying degrees been defined by funding from Northern agencies. This clearly has implications for attempts to decolonize SfD knowledge (McEwan, 2009), to which we return in the concluding chapter of the book. Furthermore, in terms of analysis of the historical dimensions of development interventions called for by Long, we can recognize some of our specific research projects as being subject to Coalter’s (2013) broader critique of the cross-sectional nature of much SfD research. Still, what our collective analysis of the various data collected since 2006 offers is a broader examination of the various ways in which sport has been employed, with varying degrees of intentionality, for the purposes of contributing to social change, variously defined. This exploration of the ways in which sport is planned and delivered is complemented by our examination, in Chapter 6 in particular, of the place and influence of sport in the lives of young Zambians. In presenting these various perspectives, we seek to contribute to the ‘de-reification’ of both ‘sport’ and ‘development’ (Coalter, 2013).

The aspiration of this book, captured in its title, is to 'localize global sport for development'. Therefore, it is useful to also explore our understanding of, and approach towards, ‘the local’. The research that we present has been undertaken within Zambian communities, predominantly within Lusaka. We have spent time in these communities on a recurrent basis across a number of research projects and have gained considerable data from those who live and
work within them. As outsiders to these localized contexts, however, we have to recognize that the understandings that we present in this book remain necessarily limited and provisional (McEwan, 2009). Furthermore, we do not seek to essentialize the particular communities in which we have undertaken research as being representative either of other local settings of SfD interventions or indeed of other Zambian communities; in particular, we have undertaken little research in the rural parts of the country. Long’s (2001: 50) actor-oriented approach recognizes, however, that ‘social action and interpretation are context-specific and contextually generated’. All of our data collection has sought to gain a greater appreciation of the various contexts within which our Zambian research participants reside and within which SfD operates and occurs. Exploration of these contexts appears within specific chapters and is more generally infused throughout the book.

Our methodological approach has also involved examination of how local perspectives on SfD are linked to, and potentially influenced by, broader contexts. As the book’s title suggests, our analysis seeks to examine the relationships between our locally oriented data and the global dimensions of SfD we have identified earlier in this chapter. However, as Lund (2010), Darnell and Hayhurst (2012), and Long (2001) himself warn, it is important to view the relationships between the local and global as multilayered rather than representing a simple dichotomy between the ‘local’ and ‘global’. Moreover, it is important to avoid viewing SfD, either in local or global terms, as being hermetically sealed from broader influences, such as those associated with development efforts more generally. Tracing the linkages between multilayered influences on SfD has also been a feature of research by Hasselgård and Straume (2015) involving locally collected data from Zimbabwe. These authors have adopted an approach that is broadly aligned with top-down models of policy implementation in examining local responses to Norwegian-funded programmes. Our methodology complements this but differs in starting with local actors’ perspectives and considering how various multilayered aspects of the contexts in which they reside are reflected and refracted in these perspectives and their actions.

This bottom-up, multilayered approach is in line with the broader ontological, epistemological and theoretical orientation of Long’s (2001) approach. He emphasizes the need to ‘develop theory from below’ rather than basing interpretation on theories that have a high level of abstraction and, as a result, tend to lead to reification of aspects of development processes. To put it differently, instead of utilizing theory as an ‘explanatory framework’, Long advocates an alternative ‘type of theoretical construct [as a] set of conceptual tools which,
rather than telling us anything substantive about the social world, suggests ways of approaching it’ (Lund, 2010: 26). We have not subscribed to a singular explanatory theoretical framework in this research, especially as to do so may be to circumscribe what we hope is a holistic approach to analysis that integrates consideration of various dimensions of SfD in Zambia. Nevertheless, we seek to avoid the dangers of ‘descriptive particularism’ identified by Lund (2010) by utilizing various other conceptual and empirical literatures throughout the book. This is also done in recognition of the importance of appreciating the influence on actors of structures which Long characterizes as:

An extremely fluid set of emergent properties that, on the one hand, are a product of the interlocking and/or the distanciation of various actors’ projects, while on the other, they constitute an important set of reference points and constraining/enabling possibilities that feed into further elaboration, negotiation and confrontation of actors’ projects (Long, 2001: 62)

Our consideration of the relationships between the perspectives of Zambian actors and themes identified in broader literatures allows us to explore ways in which local agency may be shaped and constrained. In doing so, we endeavour to tread a fine balance between exploring the potential relevance of our findings to other settings and remembering that ‘different social forms develop under the same or similar structural circumstances’ (Long, 2001: 20).

At the close of this exposition of our methodology, a few pertinent issues remain. Our overall approach to this research is one that recognizes complexity in contexts, interventions, lives and the social world more generally. We cannot hope to capture the full extent of this complexity in this book, especially as our research has often been subject to pragmatic constraints in both design and implementation that Coalter (2013) recognizes are inevitable within SfD research. More fundamentally, we acknowledge and hope that we continue to be reflexive regarding our own positions and relationships with those involved in our research. This is not necessarily as simplistic as recognizing our position as privileged outsiders – and Davies’ status, as a Zambian who has lived overseas for a number of years while working for Northern universities, may be particularly characterized by complexity. Nevertheless, recognition of our positions in respect to research participants has led to the development and use of specific techniques to counter as far as possible the power imbalances that have inevitably inscribed all of our data collection activities (McEwan, 2009). On a more long-term basis, we have sought to involve representatives of Zambian SfD organizations in the design and implementation of the research to different
extents and in different ways. The adoption of this approach has not been to necessarily contribute to the improvement of specific programmes in the direct way that Coalter (2013) suggests. Rather, we hope that it has been one of mutual learning and personal and organizational development that may have value in contributing towards future progression. On our part, our ongoing conversations and interactions with those who have worked with us through the research have unquestionably improved our knowledge and hopefully made us more nuanced and reflective in our analysis. Irrespective of the validity (or not) of these interpretations, our position in being able to present them in this book remains a privileged and, therefore, problematic one (McEwan, 2009). We shall return to such issues in the concluding chapter as we consider the potential value and limitations of our methodological approach and research. Readers can, we hope, make something of their own assessment through considering our accounts in the intervening chapters.

Notes

1 The terms global North and global South are the ones that we have chosen throughout the book to collectively represent the respective distinction between higher- and lower-income countries. We recognize that this terminology can be contentious as multiple layers of complexity are subsumed by a geographical dichotomy which associates numerous diverse countries in two overarching categories. Nevertheless, we use these terminologies as the divide between global North and South is still important in shaping development thinking (McEwan, 2009; Williams et al., 2014) and, we would argue, SfD. In making references to the global North or South throughout the book, we have been careful to avoid essentializing either.

2 The terminology and acronym used here, ‘sport for development and peace’ (SDP), is commonly used and is also the terminology adopted by the UN. The issue of ‘peace’ is not one that has been significantly referred to relation to Zambian practice and neither has it been a focus of our research. As such, the alternative terminology of ‘sport for development’ (SfD) is used in reference to our research, although we do replicate the terms used in other sources where we reference them.

3 It is noted that Giulianotti (2011a) locates the entire SfD sector within ‘global civil society’. Importantly, appending ‘global’ differentiates the concept to which Giulianotti refers from definitions which identify civil society as comprising a range of organizations and other agencies that are independent of government and are commonly understood to be not for profit.

4 Throughout the book, we preserve the anonymity of our interviewees but identify their role and status where presenting direct quotations from interviews. For adult interviewees, we also note the type of organization that they represent. Both the gender and home community within Lusaka of young people who are quoted are provided.
Sport, development and the political-economic context of Zambia

This chapter examines how the wider political and economic context in Zambia has been influential in shaping the historical governance of sport and the expansion of the SfD ‘movement’ in the country. As the previous chapter has shown, within the academic literature most attention has been paid to the global expansion of SfD; a further, smaller body of work has considered the emergence and development of particular SfD organizations and programmes. What are largely absent are attempts to connect these various levels of analysis and explore how the emergence of SfD in particular localities has been influenced by wider political and economic trends affecting both sport and ‘development’. The analysis in this chapter therefore addresses a current lacuna in understandings of SfD. Within the book, it assists our overall aim of localizing global SfD, by offering a detailed account of how SfD in Zambia reflects the influence of multilayered political and economic contexts. This provides the foundation for our later chapters, in which we examine both how SfD is delivered by NGOs in Zambia, and how young people respond to it.

In exploring these connections, the chapter shows how the development of sport sectors in Zambia, particularly in the area of SfD, reflects wider trends in the country’s political governance and development approaches. Some aspects of these trends are specific to Zambia, but others are shared with other African countries. Broadly speaking, the governance of development across various international contexts has progressed through three phases (Batley and Rose, 2011), and in this chapter we explore these through a historical timeline which considers firstly, Zambia’s immediate post-independence period in which expanded social and welfare services were state-provided; secondly, the subsequent imposition of neo-liberal reforms and policies; and thirdly, more recent developments in the relationships between the Zambian state and civil society. As with all such analyses, the temporal boundaries between phases are blurred, and this is especially the case when we examine the relationship between trends
in SfD and in other policy sectors. This is addressed throughout the chapter and returned to in more detail in the concluding section.

Given the topics covered in this chapter, our own positioning as co-authors merits brief reflection. The chapter is most influenced by Davies’ personal history of being born and living in postcolonial Zambia, and his subsequent doctoral studies examining this period; these bring an indigenous understanding to the political and economic context and developments described in this chapter. Iain, Tess and Ruth first visited in 2006 and hope to have become more informed since, but our perspectives clearly remain those of outsiders. The chapter therefore draws on this mixture of personal perspectives and knowledge, informed by increasing engagement with the literature on development policy and governance, to offer an analysis of the emergence and governance of SfD in Zambia.

The chapter uses empirical data from a variety of sources. It draws throughout on interviews undertaken originally for Davies’ PhD from 2008 to 2010. These especially inform the consideration of sport policy and provision after Zambian independence, and include interviews with officials from the MSYCD and NSCZ as well as with colonial-era sports administrators and journalists. The sections concerning the subsequent emergence and evolution of the SfD sector also make use of interviews with representatives of NGOs, governmental agencies and Northern donor organizations undertaken in 2007. The chapter has additionally been informed by documentary analysis of national development plans (NDPs) and national sports policy documents, and by the grey literature on Zambian SfD (Kruse, 2006; Chipande, 2010) and academic accounts of Zambia's development and associated policies (Noyoo, 2008). All of these sources of information have been supplemented by ongoing informal conversations with stakeholders in the Zambian SfD sector.

State governance and sport in post-independence Zambia

No examination of sport in post-independence Zambia is complete without recognizing the influence of the preceding period of colonial rule. From 1911 to 1963, Northern Rhodesia, as it was then known, had been administered alongside other southern African countries, firstly by the British South African Company and then the British Colonial Office. Colonial rule entrenched deep inequalities both across the wider region and within the country itself. Resource distribution and development of infrastructure such as schools and social amenities explicitly favoured British interests in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe)
and South Africa to the expense of those in Zambia. Within the country, racial segregation and exploitation severely affected the life chances and opportunities of the indigenous Africans who made up the majority of the population. The contours of colonial rule also applied to sports, which were divided into ‘expatriate sports’ and ‘African sports’, with white settlers and natives having separate sports governing federations. In white-settler residential areas, white expatriates played golf, rugby, cricket and bowls. Amongst the African population, sports such as football and boxing gained significant popularity despite vastly inferior facilities. Provision of and access to sport and recreation were thus distributed unequally according to race and class, and also clearly gendered.

In the late 1950s, Zambia’s nationalist movement emerged alongside those in other sub-Saharan countries, fuelled not only by the injustices of colonial rule within the country but also its exploitation relative to its neighbours (Noyoo, 2008). After the end to British rule was announced on 29 March 1963, the first multiparty democratic elections held in January 1964 were won by an overwhelming margin by Kenneth Kaunda’s UNIP. Influenced by fellow leaders of African independence and nationalist movements, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kaunda introduced the philosophy of ‘humanism’ to the people of Zambia (Simutanyi, 2006). Zambia thus became part of a group of newly independent African states that followed a broadly socialist agenda, contrasting with the alternative capitalist policies adopted in countries such as Kenya and Senegal (Nugent, 2004). In terms of social policy, Kaunda’s humanist socialism sought to rectify some of the imbalances in human development and provision that were present under colonial rule (Simutanyi, 2006). As in other newly independent African countries (Batley, 2006), there was significant expansion of government social provision, with services such as education and health provided free of charge to the Zambian public. There was also large-scale investment in other aspects of Zambia’s physical and social infrastructure (Noyoo, 2008). Less progressively, there was little government impetus to address gender inequality that was, as in similar African nations, entrenched across the country’s economy and society.

Aspects of national policy orientated towards sport show both similarities and differences with Kaunda’s broader agendas. Although sport was not a particular policy priority, in Zambia as in many other former colonies it became part of the desire to redress some of the consequences of colonialism. Zambia’s first two NDPs, covering the period from 1966 to 1974 (GRZ, 1966, 1971) included proposals to construct new sports facilities in rural areas (GRZ, 1971) – part of the broader aspiration to bridge urban-rural divides by improving rural
infrastructure and diversifying Zambia’s economy. Although many of these rural facilities were never built, a 30,000-capacity National Independence Stadium was constructed in Lusaka to host celebrations of the transition from colonial rule. The stadium also represented the government’s prioritization of elite sport and signalled its intention that its construction would enable Zambia to host the All Africa Games. From the earliest days of independence, sport was therefore seen as a symbol of Zambia’s developing national identity, aspirations which were shared with many other African countries emerging from colonialism (Nugent, 2004).

This support for elite urban-centred sport was in contrast to the socialist agendas of Kaunda’s government. Further evidence of sport policy contradicting the supposed focus on humanism can be found elsewhere in the second NDP, in which priority was to ‘be given to football which [was] to act as a source of funds and stimulant for other kinds of sport’ (GRZ, 1971: 23). Activities promoting the involvement of men in football were also the prime recipient of financial support from the Cultural and Sporting Fund that was instituted in 1964 (Liwena, 2005). Such divergences between rhetoric and reality were by no means isolated in the early period following Zambia’s independence.

A key feature of early post-independence governance was a process of ‘Zambianization,’ in which natives were installed in positions that previously only their colonizers had been allowed to occupy. Such changes took place within the administrative offices of central and local government, the judiciary, the legislature, and within particular policy sectors, such as education and health. In sport, immediately prior to and post independence, this led to the reconstitution of those sport associations that were previously white only. For example, in football, the Northern Rhodesia National Football League was formed shortly before independence, incorporating white and native teams and leagues, and was then renamed the Zambia Football Association (later Football Association of Zambia) on independence. However, in some sporting associations white settlers were resistant to relinquishing their leadership positions (Liwena, 2005). Moreover, the process of Zambianization was constrained by the widespread shortage of qualified native personnel, which affected sport as it did the public and private sectors more generally. The issue continued beyond the early years of independence, compounded by the importance the government attached to Zambia’s successes in international sport. By the time of the third NDP, covering the period 1979–83 (GRZ, 1979), the government was negotiating on behalf of national governing bodies of sport for experts from abroad to train Zambians as sports coaches and administrators. This import of external expertise reflected
the government's desire to maintain and extend elite sporting success after Zambia emerged runner-up to Zaire in the final of the 1974 African Cup of Nations.

Beyond Zambianization, the trajectory of governance in Zambia transformed relatively quickly in a way that was typical of many other newly independent African countries. Phiri (2006: 152) identifies that the hangover of colonial rule meant that ‘Zambia as a nation lacked the strong political society capable of maintaining liberal democracy’. Furthermore, in common with Ghana’s Nkrumah and Tanzania’s Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda did not believe in multiparty democracy from the outset (Nugent, 2004; Phiri, 2006). Thus, his presidency became increasingly authoritarian not so much in response to the resistance of opposition parties, but owing to internal conflicts and politics within the UNIP. The de facto start of one-party rule came in 1969, when opposition parties were no longer recognized in Zambia's parliament. For Phiri (2006: 153), the one-party state was ‘in essence a return to the much-criticized bureaucratic authoritarianism of the pre-independence days’. For another scholar of Zambian political and social history, this was ‘one of the darkest times in Zambia’s history. In this era, dissent and alternative views from those of the ruling party were thwarted … the one-party state effectively snuffed out the plurality of the Zambian society’ (Noyoo, 2008: 49). As in other African countries in which authoritarian regimes emerged, the early years of the one-party state provided little space for civil society, or any of its organizations, to flourish.

Similar centralization of power was evident in the governance of sport. There were attempts in the early years after independence to create a Department of Youth Development and Sport in government, and both a National Sports Advisory Council (subsequently the NSCZ) and National Olympic Committee of Zambia were established. However, upon the instigation of the one-party state, the UNIP Central Committee became the party’s, and thus the government’s, supreme policy-making body. Under the Central Committee, the Youth and Sport Sub-Committee comprised political appointees who wielded their power to influence all sport policy-related matters. Government officials were answerable to the Sub-Committee, which had the mandate to appoint or dismiss board members of statutory bodies such as the National Sports Advisory Council (Banda, 2010). There was frequent interference by UNIP party members in the running of NSAs, particularly in relation to the selection of the Football Association chairman. With the Sub-Committee also having substantial influence on the distribution of resources to sporting
organizations, policymaking for sport was highly centralized and implemented in a top-down fashion.

Centralization and, in particular, nationalization were also strongly evident in the governance of Zambia’s economy. Kaunda viewed the private sector’s former dominance of Zambia’s economy as the reason for the country’s ‘underdevelopment and backwardness’ (Muuka et al., cited in Banda, 2010), and public control of the economy was therefore portrayed in successive NDPs as the solution to Zambia’s development problems. Nationalization of key industries, especially of the mining sector, was seen as a means of funding priorities in infrastructure and social provision as well as addressing inequalities between rural and urban areas (Simutanyi, 2006). Across the African continent, nationalization was also seen as a protection against the imperialism that came with foreign ownership and investment (Rolfe and Woodward, 2004). Four years after gaining independence, the Zambian government implemented the Mulungushi Reforms of 1968, taking a 51% stake in foreign-owned mining companies and converting them to SOCs (Potter 1971; Turok 1979).

Nationalization of key industries had significant implications for the implementation of sport policy. Alongside the Zambian uniformed security wings (army, air force and police), the newly formed SOCs became key providers of opportunities across all levels of sport, from participation to elite. SOCs, as well as the uniformed security wings, formed and sponsored sport and recreation departments that funded the development and maintenance of facilities, ran annual sports festivals and entered teams in competition across various sporting codes. For example, in elite sport, approximately 65% of the football teams in the Zambian premier league were owned by different mining operations. The standard of coaching in mining communities was considered to be high, partly as a result of white expatriate mineworkers who volunteered to coach local teams. Nevertheless, there remained significant inequalities in sporting opportunities and participation. Based on the geographical positioning of mining areas and most SOCs, sporting opportunities were skewed in favour of the Copperbelt region and locations along the line of Zambia’s single railway, which runs from there, through Lusaka and onwards to Livingstone. Similarly, there remained strongly gendered dimensions to sport provision, reinforced as a result of the occupational orientation of SOCs’ provision. Female participation was dependent on the employment status of male family members, with those native Zambians whose relations were in relatively well paid senior posts being more likely to become involved in expatriate sports, such as golf or bowling (Banda, 2010).
Neo-liberal governance, rolling back the (Zambian) state and the emergence of SfD NGOs

As in other African countries (Nugent, 2004), Zambia’s economy initially prospered after independence. In the first ten years of independence, the average annual growth in Zambia’s economy was 2.4% (McCulloch et al., 2000). For Noyoo (2008: 48), this period was one in which ‘the government had indeed scored very high marks as it elevated the living standards of Zambians and, without a doubt, it was a very caring one’. However, Zambia’s initially strong economic performance was not to be sustained (Nugent, 2004), with a combination of internal and external factors contributing to subsequent economic crises and ongoing decline. The imposition of the one-party state had suffocated enterprise and innovation, and engendered high levels of corruption (Noyoo, 2008). In particular, the monopoly positions of SOCs meant that they were mismanaged and highly inefficient. Moreover, in common with many African countries that had a colonial legacy of being economically dependent on single commodities (Binns et al., 2012), the Zambian government failed in its stated aim to diversify the economy from its base in copper production. As a result, the country had little economic protection when the international price of copper collapsed from 1974 (Nugent, 2004). Zambia was amongst many African countries that were also hit by the increased cost of importing petroleum following the world oil crises of 1974 and 1979.

With the Zambian government dependent on income from the SOCs, all public services were significantly affected by the economic decline. For example, in the education sector, Noyoo states:

> It was not accidental that when the economy faltered and began to tumble the education sector followed suit. From primary, all the way to university level, the education sector felt the reverberations of the economic collapse. There were also no mechanisms to make sure the gains made in education could benefit future generations. (Noyoo, 2008: 123)

A similar decline occurred in the sport sector, despite ongoing NDPs and other policy documents indicating a desire for continued development of sport. With the SOCs being central to the provision of sport, there were particular repercussions of the cutting of government subsidies to these companies. Provision of annual elite sport events declined as SOCs such as the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines, which funded football tournaments, and Zambia Airways, which sponsored netball, withdrew their sponsorship. Plans for new facility development were not implemented and, instead, existing facilities began to fall into
disrepair. Moreover, the devaluation of the local currency made it extremely expensive to procure sports equipment. The comparatively low governmental priority for sport and recreation meant that the sector was also affected by spill-over effects from other constrained policy areas. Attempts to limit government spending led to reductions in teacher recruitment and training. As head teachers sought to strengthen their schools’ core curriculum offer by recruiting teachers qualified in prioritized academic subjects, physical education (PE) was marginalized as a subject and the status of trained PE teachers further diminished. Overall, such factors led to considerable weakening in PE and sport provision in schools as well as in grass-roots, community-based opportunities for young people more generally.

It would be stating the obvious to say that the rapid decline in Zambia’s economy had significant long-standing implications. Zambia’s external debt, which stood at US$814 million in 1970, increased exponentially over the following two decades to reach US$6916 million by 1990 (Situmbeko and Zulu, 2004). That the majority of this borrowing was from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank placed Zambia in a ‘recipient’ relationship with these donor organizations. Like other similarly indebted countries, Zambia had little choice but to implement the neo-liberal economic reforms that comprised the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) instigated by the IMF and World Bank from 1983. Nevertheless, Zambia’s economic performance continued to weaken, with its GDP declining continuously from the early 1980s, except for a brief period from 1987 when, under pressure from trade unions, Kaunda abandoned SAP reforms and reimposed state control of interest rates, imports and foreign exchanges.

Kaunda was not able, however, to continue resistance in the face of international pressures, nor was he able to retain his hold on power. While political liberalization of the one-party state was promoted by international donors, Phiri (2006) and Bwalya et al. (2011) argue that the transition to multiparty democracy was largely a result of a critical mass of pressure from Zambian grass-roots civil society organizations that formed as a result of, and were motivated by, collapsing living standards. UNIP and Kaunda no longer had the economic means to buy compliance from key constituencies within the population (Nugent, 2004). Multiparty parliamentary and presidential elections were finally held in October 1991 and were won by the emergent Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by Frederick Titus Chiluba. After 27 years in power, Kaunda oversaw the first peaceful and elected transition of power between political parties in a previously British colony.
Nevertheless, Chiluba’s presidency saw little change in overarching, internationally dominated, neo-liberal economic policies, with the implementation of SAPs actually becoming intensified upon the change of government (Situmbeko and Zulu, 2004). A rapidly accelerated process of privatization of major SOCs was implemented and, concurrently, there was a broader shrinking of the Zambian state and the decimation of nationally provided public services. Similar trends were witnessed across Africa, as the international impetus for implementation of neo-liberal ideologies was only strengthened by the perception that national governments were both failing and corrupt (Zaidi, 1999; Laird, 2007). In Zambia, despite the end of the one-party state, corruption and patronage became even more entrenched during Chiluba’s presidency (Noyoo, 2008). Nevertheless, the re-emergence of multiparty democracy enabled greater pluralism in political processes and the provision of social services. Previously, any non-state provision of education and health services had solely been the preserve of missionary and faith-based organizations, working largely in rural locations. Expansion of, often loosely categorized, civil society organizations that became involved in development-orientated sectors came not only as a result of Zambia’s return to plural politics but also through internationally instigated policies associated with the rhetoric of ‘decentralization’ and crises resulting from the contraction of state provision. This trend was common across Africa and resulted in an ‘unprecedented increase’ during the 1980s and 1990s in the number of NGOs operating in countries across the continent, including Zambia (Bebbington and Riddell, 1997; Laird, 2007). International donors increasingly funded NGOs, based on the perception that they were more effective in enabling aid to reach the poorest members of society (Bebbington and Riddell, 1997; Zaidi, 1999) and represented, more generally, ‘vehicles for “democratization” [as part of] a thriving civil society’ (Hulme and Edwards, 1997: 6).

The implications of these general trends can be seen in a number of sectors relevant to our studies. In Zambia’s education sector from 1991, the government encouraged increasing diversification in the types of schools in different localities (Noyoo, 2008). Remaining government schools struggled to meet demand and, in more affluent areas, private schools began to charge significant fees that were beyond the means of the majority of the population. In other areas, there was a dramatic increase in the number of community schools which, as their name suggests, were founded and managed by members of local communities. While some of these schools benefitted from financial support from a variety of international donors, many were also dependent on the work of volunteer, or poorly recompensed, teachers and staff. Similarly, in the health sector, both in
Zambia and in other countries, much of the burden to fill emergent gaps in state provision fell upon both international and locally emerging NGOs (Boone and Batsell, 2001). This trend was only strengthened by the emergence of HIV/AIDS and the initial lack of political will, both globally and nationally, to address the disease (Garbus, 2003; Piot et al., 2007). In a common trend across African countries and beyond, the Zambian government was itself slow to respond to the emergence of HIV/AIDS, despite formally recognizing it as a national emergency in 1986. As a result, a proliferation of NGOs emerged both in Zambia and more broadly across countries in the global South to address the pandemic (Mercer et al., 1991; Hershey, 2013).

The trends identified in international development, and in Zambia’s health and education sectors, were slower to emerge in its sport sector. Despite its relatively low priority, throughout the 1990s there remained a very much state-centred approach to sport policy and implementation, with the principal providers of sport services limited to state and state-recognized organizations, such as the national associations for particular sports. Early overseas support for Zambian sport actually bucked the broader trends in other sectors, with the NIF commencing funding for the NSCZ in 1991, supporting ‘Sport for All’ programmes as it also did in Tanzania and Zimbabwe at the time (Kruse, 2006; Straume, 2012). Nevertheless, the limitations of state sport provision highlighted earlier continued to deepen, with the resultant gaps creating an opportunity for other organizations to emerge and establish community sports activities. Initial pilot programmes were delivered by the subsequent founders of SfD NGOs from 1996 (Mwaanga and Mwansa, 2014), with EduSport and Sport in Action later founded formally as the first local and indigenous SfD NGOs in Zambia in 1999.

These new SfD NGOs quickly moved to gain legitimization from local communities and, perhaps most importantly, international support for their activities. Achieving local legitimization was aided by EduSport and Sport in Action positioning themselves as addressing education and health issues that had become increasingly important as public services weakened. Internationally, a broader realignment of the Norwegian government’s international development policy towards supporting NGOs coincided with the recognition of problems with the NIF’s previous support for the NSCZ. As a result, NIF funding was reallocated to the benefit of both of Zambia’s fledgling SfD NGOs. At the same time, the broader international development priorities of Norway and its primary funding agency, NORAD, were quickly adopted within Zambian SfD. Besides HIV/AIDS and poverty reduction, women’s rights and gender equality
Localizing global sport for development

(NORAD, 2000; Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2007) became important priorities for EduSport and Sport in Action. The leaders of these NGOs had innovatively identified a suitable niche for attracting donor funding towards sport and physical activities. Whether this represented the ‘entrepreneurial spirit’ referred to by Kidd (2008) or the ‘opportunism’ in response to available international funding identified by some development studies authors (e.g. Fisher, 1993; Meyer, 1995) is probably a matter of individual perspective.

The emergence of EduSport and Sport in Action led to SfD gaining increasing recognition both in Zambia and beyond. Leaders from these NGOs, working alongside NORAD and the NIF as well as other African organizations such as Kenya’s MYSA, helped to found the international KAO Network of organizations, pioneering SfD work orientated around HIV/AIDS (KAO, n.d.). The setting up of the KAO Network helped to increase the international profile of SfD as well as securing further funding for the Zambian NGOs themselves. Within a year of its foundation in 2001, UK Sport and Commonwealth Games Canada had also joined the KAO Network and begun to fund programmes in Zambia. Separately, further international SfD NGOs also began work in Zambia, with Right to Play establishing a National Office in 2002 and Grassroot Soccer doing likewise in 2005. Alongside this, a multitude of indigenous organizations both within and outside the sport sector engaged in SfD, with researchers from one South African university reporting that over 200 organizations, including schools, youth groups and community organizations, were using sport for development purposes in Lusaka alone (Jeanes and Kay, 2010).

Two points are particularly relevant here with regard to this influx and expansion of SfD organizations in Zambia. First, interviewees with international experience have recognized a greater prevalence of SfD organizations in Zambia compared with other countries in southern Africa. This can be attributed to the categorization of Zambia as a low-income country, but one that has been relatively politically stable and peaceful, with low levels of social unrest. Countries of similar status at the start of the twenty-first century, such as Uganda, Malawi and Mozambique, also began to receive increased international aid as donors restructured geographical target zones for aid away from countries such as South Africa (Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), 2000, 2002; NORAD, 2000; DfID, 2000). The expansion of SfD has again followed this wider trend, with one representative of a Northern SfD organization suggesting that in Zambia ‘it is probably the donor driven environment which has created so many NGOs overnight because the money has been there, the aid money has been there, the opportunities are there’.
Second, and as shall be explored in more depth in the next chapter, the approaches of both local and international SfD NGOs in Zambia demonstrated a minimal level of integration with national or local governmental policies. Within the sport sector, in particular, early relations between SfD NGOs and governmental agencies, such as the NSCZ, lacked integration and were instead largely antagonistic. Resentment among government agencies was fuelled by the diversion of Norwegian and subsequent donors’ resources from the NSCZ towards the newly emergent SfD NGOs, which further depleted the funds available to NSCZ to support its established implementation structures. In addition to their growing international profile, the initiators of the SfD NGOs also gained local media publicity for their organizations, which they believed further angered representatives of the NSCZ. Claims of political bias were raised in regard to the SfD NGOs, and attempts were made to have their status as NGOs, conferred by the Zambian Register of Societies, revoked. These initial difficulties in relationships between state agencies and SfD NGOs and across the sport and SfD sectors were only to continue, as we shall consider in the following section.

Mixed modes of governance and the evolution of the SfD movement in Zambia

With policies of neo-liberal reform in Zambia and other African countries being enforced by a strong consensus amongst key international donors and multinational agencies, criticisms were not slow to emerge and these gradually began to prompt change in approaches to international development governance. From the early to mid-1990s, international policymakers and donors came to join governments in the global South in increasingly voicing their frustration at the lack of evident progress in addressing long-standing development priorities (Hill, 2002; Samoff, 2004; Chansa et al., 2008). In fact, in Zambia, many development indicators continued to stagnate at best, or more often decline, with per capita GDP figures (Figure 1) falling continuously from the 1970s to reach a nadir in the 1990s. With similar trends occurring in Zambia’s overall HDI and component measures of health, education and living standards (Figure 2), Zambia slipped from the 73rd percentile of the global HDI countries in 1980 to the 89th percentile by 2000.

In terms of development governance, a variety of interlinked factors, evident to different extents in Zambia and its SfD sector, were globally understood as contributing to this lack of progress. International funding for the delivery of stand-alone programmes by NGOs was strongly criticized for being
unsustainable and inhibiting local ownership (Zaidi, 1999; Samoff, 2004; Chansa et al., 2008; Leiderer, 2012). Similar views were expressed by indigenous interviewees from the Zambian SfD sector, with Right to Play being cited as a particularly notable example. Not only was Right to Play viewed by indigenous stakeholders as implementing internationally driven programmes, but their sustainability was at best questionable, given the organization’s subsequent withdrawal from the country in 2009. Play Soccer was another international NGO to instigate activities in Zambia, only to withdraw from the country.
at a later date. Even when there was greater longevity in the involvement of international donors, funding remained orientated to specific and sometimes time-limited programmes. For example, UK Sport concurrently contributed to the management of funding allocated to EduSport’s Go Sisters (which was awarded £500,000 in 2008) and to the II programme, which ran in Zambia from 2007 to 2010 supported by funding allocated to promote the legacy of the London 2012 Olympic Games. Norwegian funding stands in something of a contrast to these common trends in international development. With ongoing support from NORAD, the NIF has actually increased its funding for a range of SfD organizations and programmes to an annual total of approximately US$1 million (NIF, 2013). This Norwegian support has also been unusual in contributing to organizational sustainability by supporting core administrative costs, as well as specific programmes.

Further critiques of development governance that have resonance in the Zambian SfD sector are those that relate to the limited scope and fragmentation of organizations and their activities. Reviewing the operation of NGOs in the health sectors in various African countries, Lorgan (1998: 329) observed that they ‘often work in limited geographical areas and do not have the scale or resources to assure national coverage or uniformity’. Competition between NGOs has also been widely recognized in other development sectors (Hulme and Edwards, 1997; Moore and Stewart, 1998; Webb, 2004) as well as being briefly mentioned in the SfD literature (Kidd, 2008; Wilson and Hayhurst, 2009). With much of the work of SfD NGOs being (at least initially) restricted to the more urbanized ‘line of rail’ through Zambia, interviewees highlighted overlaps and duplication in provision in these areas. For example, one representative of a Northern donor organization working in Zambia referred to SfD NGOs ‘working in the same communities, with very similar objectives and very similar programmes’, while a staff member of a Zambian SfD NGO spoke about competition with other organizations:

You feel sometimes you are competing for the same resources, we are competing for the same target, we are competing for the same consequences, so you find that most of the time there is some kind of competition among the groups that are involved.

A further interviewee from a Zambian SfD NGO attributed this competition to dependence on international funding, indicating, ‘We were left with only one source [of funding] and when we are left with one source you automatically become competitors.’ Rather than advocate or necessarily pursue reform, the
response to the problem of competition from the same Northern donor representative was that: ‘I think a lot of funders and even the government are turned away by the fact that there is such a competitive nature now and so many different NGOs.’

Such a response stands in contrast to the aspirations underpinning the subsequent global impetus towards reform of development systems and sectors. Major international donors’ acceptance of the weaknesses of neo-liberal policies and reforms led to a series of ‘seminal’ policy documents concerning development governance and ‘aid effectiveness’ published by the World Bank in 1993 (Hill, 2002), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in 1996 and 2005 (in its ‘Paris Declaration’; Altenburg, 2007; Gore, 2013), and the UN between 2002 and 2007 (Batley et al., 2012). These documents signified an emerging consensus on the need for development governance to be reoriented, in part towards the instigation and expansion of sector-wide approaches (SWAps) in internationally assisted countries in the global South. As suggested by their name, SWAps were initiated to provide a more integrated approach to development efforts in particular sectors. In the Zambian health sector, for example, aspirations for a SWAp emerged as far back as 1992 (Sundewall and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006).

It is perhaps indicative of a dislocation between global SfD and international development more broadly that only a single, brief reference to SWAps can be found in international SfD policy documents (SDPIWG, 2008a: 259). Nevertheless, elements that are considered key to SWAps in other development sectors provide a valuable frame for analysis of ongoing governance issues in the Zambian SfD sector. Prominent amongst these key elements was an aspiration for SWAps to reverse the power traditionally held by international donors and instead be country-led through leadership by national governments (Samoff, 2004; Sundewall and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). The centrality of governments was also seen as important to counter the previous prioritization of NGOs, reflecting recognition in the development studies literature that ‘only the government has the capacity to mount a nationwide response effort, and to harness the expertise of NGOs as part of that effort’ (Batsell, 2005: 70). The government of Zambia also itself sought an increasing role across development sectors with the late President of the Republic Levy Mwanawasa (2004) stridently and somewhat provocatively pointing to the relative advantages of greater government responsibility for development: ‘Government can be called to account for funding. These NGOs just chew the money and carry on [with] business as usual: no-one asks them anything.’
Certainly in terms of HIV/AIDS, as shall be seen in the next chapter, the advent of the Zambian NAC in 2002 put this and other state organizations at the centre of the multisectoral approach to addressing the disease. However, it has also been claimed that the emergence of stand-alone policies and funding mechanisms specifically to address Zambia’s HIV/AIDS crisis hindered a ‘full SWAp’ being achieved in the country’s broader health sector (Sunderwall and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006; Chansa et al., 2008). Similarly, a number of studies and reviews have shown that implementation of SWAps, and progress towards increased governmental involvement in particular, has been problematic. For example, Moran’s (2006) review found significant variation in government leadership across different development sectors and countries. More specifically, Palmer’s (2006: 238) empirical study of health sectors across five African and Asian countries demonstrated ‘piecemeal’ approaches on behalf of governments in their relationships with NGOs. Such diversity of governmental leadership, involvement and relationships can be considered inevitable given the geographical and sectoral breadth of development efforts.

Within international SfD policy documents and academic literature, there have been numerous calls for greater involvement on the part of in-country governments (e.g. SDPIWG, 2008a, b; Kidd, 2008; Levermore and Beacom, 2009b; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2014). Certainly, in Zambia there has been increasing recognition of SfD within national government and sport policy. Of rhetorical significance, at least, the late President Levy Mwanawasa opened the Next Step sport and development conference in Livingstone in 2005 with a speech that acknowledged the role that sport could play in addressing critical issues affecting Zambian society, including HIV/AIDS (Mwanawasa, 2005). It was in this speech that Mwanawasa also announced that PE was to become a mandatory subject across all education levels, a declaration that Njelesani (2011) credits as heralding the revitalization of the subject. Subsequent policies have continued to indicate growing state interest in SfD. The fifth NDP (2006–11) included stronger and more explicit statements in support of the use of sport for development purposes than previous iterations. For example, a significant steer was given to organizations, particularly state-funded actors, to ‘institutionalize the use of sport, physical education and recreation activities as viable tools for mitigating the impact of HIV and AIDS and substance and rights abuse among children and youth’ (GRZ, 2006: 222). Such statements in the NDP provided a new context for sport in Zambia which was explicitly recognized in 2009 in the production, for the first time since 1994, of a new National Sports Policy (MSYCD, 2009).
However, despite these developments, Zambia’s SfD sector continues to lack a specific operational policy framework, a second key element of SWAps. Interviewees from indigenous SfD NGOs acknowledged being involved in consultative forums, instigated by the MSYCD, that considered the formulation of the 2009 National Sports Policy. Nevertheless, despite the resultant policy being rationalized in terms of a wide range of potential developmental outcomes of sport, it specified little in the way of actions towards these outcomes (MSYCD, 2009). Pertinently, of the three departments within the MSYCD, the Department of Sport Development was the only one that lacked operational plans to mainstream efforts to address HIV/AIDS. As a result, the NSCZ and its affiliated institutions, the NSAs, also lagged behind in mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in comparison with other sectors funded by government.

Furthermore, the adoption of other potential roles by the Zambian government and its agencies in the SfD sector has been limited. Governmental regulation of development sectors has been an area where improvements have been limited across different countries (Batley and Mcloughlin, 2010) and has been largely nonexistent in Zambian SfD, after the initial conflicts regarding registration of SfD NGOs. It was acknowledged by interviewees that there had been greater informal recognition within government, and the MSYCD in particular, of the role of SfD NGOs. However, governmental officials also complained of a lack of information regarding the ongoing activities of SfD NGOs, a minimal requirement of any system of regulation. In the National Sports Policy (MSYCD, 2009), any substantial mention of NGOs is notable by its absence, especially in comparison to the in-depth consideration of other stakeholders, especially NSAs.

Beyond regulation, Palmer (2006) and Batley and Mcloughlin (2010) also identify co-production and contracting of service provision as further potential roles of government. That such joint implementation activities have been limited in Zambian SfD is unsurprising given the relative budgets of government and NGOs. For example, in 2006, a total of approximately US$130,000 was allocated by the MSYCD for sport for all, youth sport and SfD, which collectively represented about 6% of the total government budget allocated to sport. The main focus of the budget and of state agencies remained largely orientated to supporting football and elite sport. In line with the importance of core budgetary support within SWAps (Samoff, 2004; Booth, 2011), the NIF continued to provide support for the NSCZ, but has been the only international donor to do so, and only to the tune of approximately US$16,000 per year from 2006. This sum was dwarfed by the US$400,000 provided by the NIF to the KAO Network,
Sport in Action and EduSport in the same year (Kruse, 2006). Significant investment into the non-governmental sport sector in Zambia also came in respect of Olympic Solidarity funding for the establishment of an Olympic Youth Development Centre in Lusaka that cost US$10.3 million and opened in 2010. These disparities in international funding have only served to exacerbate tensions between government agencies and NGOs. Where international donors have mandated the involvement of government agencies alongside NGOs in particular programmes, such as II, such arrangements have also proved to be problematic in their implementation.

A third key element of SWAs, linked to the first two of greater government involvement and the development of an integrated policy approach for the sector, is to enhance sector-wide co-ordination amongst donors and between in-country stakeholders (Samoff, 2004; Gore, 2013). The need for such co-ordination in the Zambian SFD sector was recognized by interviewees representing both in-country and international stakeholders. Initial progress towards harmonization of funding and support (Altenburg, 2007) provided by the NIF, UK Sport and Commonwealth Games Canada was aided by the advent of the KAO Network in 2001. Funding from these donors was only to be provided to members of the KAO Network, and a representative of a Northern donor organization that was a member of the network spoke of this being, at that time, a novel approach:

We combine our funding, the three of us, rather than individually funding different partners, we combined our funding and worked with the same partners. That was the original concept of why it was better to work together to make sure we weren’t competing and we weren’t creating that [competitive] environment.

Common systems of monitoring and evaluation were also identified between these three international donors. However, this co-ordinated approach subsequently dissipated as UK Sport, for example, was required to follow different accountability mechanisms as it increasingly accessed funding from other development agencies such as the UK’s DfID.

In-country, the establishment of a Zambia-specific KAO Alliance, that closely followed the creation of the original international KAO Network, was a further development that could have supported greater co-ordination (Chipande, 2010). However, Kruse reports a lack of clarity in respect of the purpose of the KAO Alliance and ‘a tendency to keep out new small grassroots organizations’ (2006: 20), with its membership mainly comprising the larger SFD NGOs in Zambia.
By 2006, the KAO Alliance was dissolved as competition for funding led to, as one interviewee put it, ‘relationship disintegration’ between its members.

Since then, the achievement of greater co-ordination across the Zambian SfD sector has remained a relatively unfulfilled aspiration, although informal observations and conversations have pointed to improved personal relationships between key Zambian SfD stakeholders. This has resulted in SfD NGOs working together on specific, often internationally funded, programmes and events. For example, Sport in Action and EduSport have worked together over ten years in facilitating volunteering in Zambia by UK students as part of UK Sport’s IDEALS programme. German support, aligned with the South African World Cup in 2010, established a Zambian chapter of their Sport for Social Change Networks, although the membership was remarkably similar to that of the previous Zambian KAO Alliance. Again, the impetus for this formal network, as well as any co-ordination that may have come with it, appeared to dissipate once international funding and support ceased. Co-ordination amongst SfD NGOs has therefore remained largely informal and piecemeal, with positive developments in some locations, including Livingstone, countered by the continued competitive pressures affecting different organizations, especially in Lusaka.

An area in which there has been some newly developed collaboration has been in respect of efforts to mainstream HIV/AIDS activities within Zambia’s NSAs. Lacking specific, specialized or ring-fenced resources of their own, a number of NSAs have collaborated with SfD NGOs in order to mainstream HIV/AIDS activities. In such joint working, it has usually been the NGOs that have contributed most significantly to both the planning and delivery of activities. In contrast, the availability of funding from FIFA through its ‘11 for Health’ programme enabled the Football Association of Zambia to work with teachers to deliver its own HIV/AIDS activities in schools. This example reinforces the difficulty of developing greater co-ordination across Zambia’s SfD sector when international funding and the power of some local organizations can enable more stand-alone approaches.

Conclusions
In this chapter we have drawn on multiple sources to offer a decentred account of the emergence and development of SfD in Zambia. Our intention has been to complement and extend the more internationally focused approaches to analysing SfD that have been predominant in the academic literature to date.
Situating SfD in the context of Zambia’s wider social, economic and political trajectory has highlighted how the complex interaction of global, international and local influences has resulted in Zambian SfD sometimes mirroring wider trends but at other times running counter to them. This suggests that analysis of global influences needs to be complemented by attention to local specifics to provide a nuanced understanding of how SfD is configured within a single nation and in particular local contexts.

This decentred analysis therefore both departs from and reinforces literature which explains the development of SfD primarily in terms of the influence of global policies and international donors (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011; Darnell, 2012). In examining the specific emergence of EduSport and Sport in Action, for example, this chapter highlighted the importance of multiple locally specific factors, including the role of indigenous Zambian individuals in establishing the NGOs in 1999, in advance of key developments in global SfD; the strong orientation of both organizations towards addressing social problems in local communities; and the extra stimulus provided by the paucity of existing sporting provision. Alongside this, however, our analysis also suggests that problems in local communities were themselves a consequence of broader economic problems in Zambia, that the shrinking of state-sponsored provision was a manifestation of the international imposition of neo-liberal economic policies and that the decision of the NIF to shift the focus of its funding to NGOs arose from the wider trend within development to do so. Our analysis is not, therefore, intended to suggest that local factors negate or override global influences, but rather to highlight that it is the complex interactions *between* influential factors at different levels that shape SfD in specific contexts.

Our understanding of the role of SfD NGOs in Zambia has benefitted from applying insights from the wider critical development studies literature to SfD. At the time that SfD NGOs were emerging within Zambia, problems associated with scope, fragmentation, long-term sustainability and local ownership of NGOs were already being witnessed in the country’s more established development sectors. Although some of these issues have been addressed in relation to SfD NGOs (e.g. Giulianotti, 2011b; Huish, 2011; Kidd, 2011), including brief consideration of state-NGO relationships (Kidd, 2008), they have been subject to more significant appraisal in the development studies literature. Applied to SfD in Zambia, these analyses draw particular attention to the limited relationships between the SfD NGOs and state structures, and show how SfD continued to hold marginal status both in relation to the wider sport sector and within Zambian development policies and structures more generally.
Further, comparison with other development sectors and literature also draws attention to particularities associated with the timescales for change within the Zambian SfD sector. A number of developments in Zambian sport and SfD, such as the shift from state-based provision to the emergence of an expanded and strengthened civil society sector, have lagged behind similar trends in other sectors. Further, while movement towards a health SWAp in Zambia was somewhat in advance of the global impetus to develop alternatives to neo-liberal governance, in contrast, similar forms of governance have yet to significantly emerge within the Zambian SfD sector at the time of writing. These findings emphasize the importance of detailed and temporal comparison between processes and developments within SfD and those external to it.

The analysis in this chapter also confirms the difficulty of applying clear distinctions to the structures and activities of SfD. The blurring of ‘sport development’ and ‘sport for development’ had been evident from the outset in Zambian SfD; the first SfD NGOs not only sought to address the social problems faced by their communities, but also the lack of sport provision in them, and the programmes they established contributed to both these objectives. More recently, the traditional sport development roles of NSAs have also become less clearly delimited as some have begun to address HIV/AIDS. The issue of gender inequality is a further example that cuts across historical sports development and more recent SfD efforts; gender equity has been addressed both within Zambian sport, to overcome under-provision for females, and through it, in programmes using sport as a vehicle for gender empowerment. This suggests that as well as contextualizing SfD within national and international political-economic conditions as discussed above, it is also important to analyse it in the context of broader sport systems.

In conclusion, the chapter overall has highlighted how the complex trajectory of SfD in Zambia has created a fluid, diverse and fragmented sector. It is possible that in time SfD will follow trends in other development sectors to develop greater coherence and unity; many of our international and in-country interviewees suggested, however, that the institutionalized problems that SWAps were intended to address in the wider development sector remain evident in SfD. Despite, or in some cases because of, the numerous personal connections between individuals with significant roles in Zambian SfD, efforts to develop more co-ordinated approaches across the sector have largely failed to overcome more influential forces engendering competition between different agencies. Zambian state agencies have lacked both the capacity and the will to contribute to efforts to introduce more co-ordinated approaches. The same could be said
for international donors, who have themselves been constrained by their own dependence on accessing external funding. Our analysis therefore again points to the complexity of interrelated influences on Zambian SfD that operate at different levels and on different scales. It also points to the significant constraints on addressing recognized but intractable and institutionalized problems affecting SfD in Zambia. Indications within the SfD literature, as well as some of our research elsewhere (Lindsey, 2014a), would suggest similar problems may be occurring in SfD within other country contexts. However, further comparative research, informed by understandings from development studies literature and including locally focused empirical enquiry, is required both to explore this suggestion more fully and to identify any differential progress to addressing such problems. Such work will complement existing SfD scholarship and help to rebalance the current prevalence of research which gives empirical primacy to international perspectives.
This chapter considers how partnerships and partnership working, in the broadest sense of these terms, are enacted, structured and influential in relation to SfD in Zambia. The significance of partnerships emerged early in our involvement in Zambia, where it soon became apparent that much of the SfD work being undertaken in the country was dependent on the establishment and development of partnerships with other organizations operating in local communities. The fragmentation and lack of co-ordination across the Zambian SfD sector that were identified in the previous chapter also suggest that attention to partnership working is pertinent. Partnership working has also been consistently prioritized in many of the documents that emerged from the UN interest in the field. The final report on the International Year of Sport and Physical Education, for example, suggests that:

Local development through sport particularly benefits from an integrated partnership approach to sport for development involving the full spectrum of actors in field-based community development including all levels and various sectors of Government, sports organizations and federations, NGOs and the private sector. (UN, 2006: 61)

Similar sentiments are expressed in other key documents, including ‘Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace’ (SDPIWG, 2008a) and The Commonwealth Guide to Advancing Development through Sport (Kay and Dudfield, 2013). Locally in Zambia, and subsequent to our initial interest in issues of partnership working, the Zambian government’s National Sports Policy (MSYCD, 2009) also had ‘partnership and networking’ as one of its stated key principles, and aspires to develop partnerships between government departments and ‘cooperating partners, NGOs and community [organizations]’ (ibid.: 15).

The importance of partnerships within SfD discourses and practices has also been acknowledged in academic literature. Black (2010: 125) recognizes partnership as a development ‘buzzword’ that is characterized by ‘ambiguity’. 
Reflecting Black’s characterization, the potential for the term ‘partnership’ to disguise unequal relationships between international and in-country SfD organizations is noted by a number of authors (e.g. Hayhurst, 2009; Coalter, 2010b; Straume and Hasselgård, 2014). However, there are important limitations as to the extent to which ambiguities in SfD partnerships have been explored to date. Few studies have specifically focused on partnerships and other organizational relationships in SfD, and where analysis has been undertaken, it has primarily drawn on data from international stakeholders (Giulianotti, 2011a; Hayhurst et al., 2011). The presentation of perspectives of local stakeholders by Hasselgård and Straume (2015) and Sanders et al. (2014) is relatively unusual, the latter especially so as it examines in-country relationships between SfD NGOs and (governmental) stakeholders from the broader education sector.

This chapter addresses the limited exploration of partnerships in the existing SfD literature. It does so not only through a more extensive base of empirical data, but also in examining a broader range of ‘partnership’ relationships associated with SfD in Zambia. To do so, the chapter draws from several of our research projects and visits to Zambia. Chronologically, our initial partnership-orientated research in 2007 considered broad dimensions of partnership working in respect to SfD. Our interviewees in Zambia included representatives of SfD and health-orientated NGOs as well as national policymakers and funders from the HIV/AIDS sector. Drawing on concepts such as policy networks that have been utilized in analyses of partnerships in the global North, our interviews covered the desired outcomes of partnerships, their structural form and partnership working practices.

In 2007, we also undertook interviews with representatives of Northern organizations providing funding and support for Zambian SfD. These interviews complemented those with Zambian stakeholders, who had also spoken at length about their relationships with such Northern organizations. This data was subsequently supplemented by interviews with both international and Zambian stakeholders undertaken across a number of our other research projects. Combining data from both the global North and South allows us to offer an account that recognizes both the (mechanisms of) power enacted by Northern stakeholders as well as the potential for power relations to be reoriented. While this latter issue has been commonly addressed in development studies, it has received limited empirical attention in the SfD literature (Guest, 2009; Straume and Hasselgård, 2014).

The chapter also considers more localized, sport-orientated collaboration in specific communities in Lusaka. By the time we came to undertake data
collection on this topic in 2009, we had become conscious of the limited attention that had been paid to partnership working at local community levels, in both the SfD literature and in wider development studies. In part this reflected the limited time that researchers from the global North could usually spend in local communities. The 2009 study specifically focused on local partnerships in youth and community development and involved spending a month investigating these in the Chawama and Kamwala communities in Lusaka. During this time, we undertook interviews with a variety of sports organizations, schools, churches, NGOs and CBOs in these communities and we managed to observe a number of sporting and non-sporting activities that were the result of partnership working between these organizations. The lack of previous literature on partnerships at this level meant that we adopted a bottom-up and inductive approach to research in this 2009 study more as a conscious aspect of research design than in our previous studies.

The breadth of partnership relations examined across these studies is reflected in the structure of the chapter, which moves from the international to the local. Sections within the chapter cover, first, at international level, relationships between Zambian SfD NGOs and those providing support from the global North; second, the extent to which these same Zambian SfD NGOs were integrated with national HIV/AIDS structures and agencies; and, third, local sport-orientated collaboration in specific communities in Lusaka. Collectively, these sections contribute to the multilayered analysis of Zambian SfD that we aim to develop throughout the book.

International relationships with Northern donors

The provision of support by Northern donors for in-country SfD NGOs is widely recognized in the SfD literature (e.g. Hayhurst and Frisby, 2010; Jarvie, 2011; Njelesani, 2011), but in somewhat generic ways. This section provides a more detailed analysis of the specificities, mechanisms and local implications of various forms of Northern support across SfD in Zambia. While the scale of funding from Northern donors makes it a key resource for SfD provision in the global South (Akindes and Kirwan, 2009; Adair and Schulenkorf, 2014), this should not obscure the importance of other forms of support provided by Northern donor organizations. As noted by Darnell (2010a, b), Northern donors have also contributed to the human resource base of SfD by providing volunteers from their own countries to work with Zambian NGOs. The IDEALS programme, with which our own engagement in Zambia commenced, is one
such example and has provided short-term placements in Zambia every year since 2006 for university students from the UK. The UK universities involved in IDEALS and charities established by some individual IDEALS volunteers have also provided other forms of support, including the provision of sports equipment, the building of sport and educational facilities, and educational sponsorships for Zambian peer leaders. Similar forms of support have come from other Northern countries, both in Europe and North America. Such support nonetheless sits outside what one representative of a Zambian NGO recognized as the ‘dominant paradigm’ of Northern input, that of relatively large-scale financial support directed towards revenue rather than capital projects.

With empirical SfD research often being focused on specific programmes, exploration of the distribution of Northern support across different in-country SfD stakeholders has been limited. The decision of Northern donors to largely support Zambian NGOs, rather than governmental agencies such as the NSCZ, is representative of the wider trends described in Chapter 2. However, the extent to which Northern support may been provided to specific SfD NGOs, selected on the basis of particular characteristics, is an issue yet to receive significant consideration elsewhere. Within Zambia, there has been a level of continuity in the work and support that Northern donor organizations have undertaken with Sport in Action and EduSport. Our research in communities such as Kamwala and Chawama has, however, also identified a number of smaller SfD NGOs and CBOs that have rarely, if ever, received any support from Northern donor organizations. Likewise, in areas of Zambia beyond the Lusaka-based SfD hub, there are similar organizations that have received only relatively small-scale support from charitable organizations from the global North. With the internationalist focus and methodology of much SfD research, the existence of such indigenous organizations has largely gone unrecognized in the literature except in a small number of specific studies (e.g. Armstrong, 2004; Fokwang, 2009).

As well as Northern funding being focused on particular NGOs of a certain scale, Zambian SfD organizations also appear to have experienced what has been more broadly recognized as a ‘self-replicating’ process of international development funding (Hulme and Edwards, 1997; Bebbington and Riddell, 1997). As a representative of a smaller, community-based SfD organization stated:

Working with big [international] organizations needs a lot of skills because … you need to know how to write the proposals, the letters and maybe even the
information that they ask. So it is a lot of paperwork, a lot of knowledge and a lot of skills that is needed if you want to work with the bigger organizations.

From the perspective of this interviewee, it was the lack of such skills that prevented his organization from accessing significant external support. Conversely, Zambian SfD NGOs that did work with Northern donor organizations found that the experience of doing so further developed their skills and capacity to do so in the future. Perhaps as a result, interviewees from such NGOs recognized that, since the early period of international funding, this had rapidly become their main source of income. A number of interviewees also identified that it had become correspondingly harder to generate funding locally (at least initially) once their NGOs were recognized as being in receipt of funds from Northern donors. The power and draw of funding from Northern donor organizations thus carried with it the potential for dependency that is much recognized in both the development and SfD literature (e.g. Hayhurst and Frisby, 2010; Willis, 2011).

As we recognized in the previous chapter, with dependency on Northern funding comes the potential for significant influence over the objectives and approaches of in-country organizations. Our detailed interview data provided considerable insight into both the mechanisms by which Northern power can be enacted, and the specifics of relationships between Northern and Southern agencies and agents. A general perspective offered by one representative of a Zambian NGO was that some Northern donor organizations were ‘so mechanical in their approach to [their] partnerships’ with Zambian SfD NGOs. This corresponded with the views of representatives of Northern donor organizations, who recognized that it was through formal accountability processes, most prominently financial reporting as well as monitoring and evaluation, that they enacted most influence.

Zambian interviewees spoke of problems associated with monitoring and evaluation systems which reflected those previously identified by development scholars. These problems included a focus on quantitative outputs rather than valued qualitative outcomes (Seckinelgin, 2004), attempts to measure complex behaviour change over short periods, the imposition of incompatible monitoring and evaluation systems by different Northern donor organizations (Kay, 2012), and the failure of Northern donors to resource the additional workload such systems entailed (Jassey, 2004). Over time, however, recipient organizations can begin to ‘internalize’ practices implemented by Northern donor organizations (Seckinelgin, 2005) and this was undoubtedly evident on the part of Zambian SfD NGOs, in their increasing recognition of the need to evidence
impact and to be accountable. A peer leader working with an SfD NGO in a specific Lusaka community gave a notable example of the extent to which the ethos of monitoring and evaluation had become institutionalized, commenting: ‘so without giving them feedback over what that money is being used on then I am sure the funders will quickly quit doing that’. Zambian interviewees recounted problematic experiences when they had questioned monitoring, evaluation or accountability requirements of Northern donor organizations. Examples were given of the threatened or actual withdrawal of Northern funding owing to ‘inadequate’ administration on the part of Zambian SfD organizations, increasing the pressure to conform to Northern requirements.

The enactment of Northern donors’ power, in directly influencing Zambian SfD NGOs and institutionalizing particular forms of conduct, fits with the dominant narrative within the SfD literature. Taken at face value, the data presented thus far could be used to support Akindes and Kirwan’s (2009: 242) assertion that ‘sport-in-development can also be viewed as part of an external agenda with essentially no local design or input’. This type of analysis is, however, weakened when it fails to include the perspectives of Southern individuals and organizations that are identified as being subject to such power (e.g. Hayhurst, 2009; Darnell, 2012). In this respect, research in SfD could benefit from taking account of more long-standing perspectives in the development literature. For example, Moore (1999: 655), like Long (2001) and Mosse (2004), stresses the need to gain diverse perspectives to examine ‘the micro-politics through which global development discourses are refracted, reworked, and sometimes subverted in particular localities’. A number of more nuanced aspects in the relationships between Northern donors and Zambian SfD NGOs are identifiable through further analysis of locally collected data.

Despite some criticism of Northern donor organizations voiced by our Zambian interviewees, they also recognized benefits for their own organizations of receiving external funding and support. Interviewees commonly stated that international funding, even that associated with large-scale and prominent programmes, was aligned with their own organizational priorities and therefore allowed scaling up of existing activities into new geographical areas. Moreover, because of this fit with existing plans and activities, one interviewee from a Zambian SfD NGO also identified the positive impact that international funding had on the organization’s staff:

The other thing is motivation for staff – it is better now because in the past we have had so many ideas with little money and that is really frustrating. So now
because staff are more motivated ... and they feel good, so we have a real feel-good factor because of the resources that we are getting.

Attributing such comments to a false consciousness that overlooks Northern influences is to deny evidence of agency on the part of staff from Zambian SfD NGOs. One Zambian interviewee, speaking from an external and long-term perspective, spoke of the capacity of Zambian SfD NGOs to shape and reorient dimensions of internationally driven programmes to the needs of local communities and individuals. This capacity was related to the increasingly well established status of some Zambian SfD NGOs and also to the development of skills by these organizations’ staff, some of whom had also become more accustomed to Northern practices through spending extended periods of time in countries of the global North. That relationships with Northern donor organizations may change over time is an issue that has received scant mention in the SfD literature, partially because of the lack of long-term in-country research studies.

Other interview data regarding the relationships between Northern donors and Zambian NGOs raises issues additional to those so far identified in the SfD literature. Representatives of Northern donor organizations identified their own limited knowledge of how SfD programmes were actually delivered, and recognized that the influence of their organizations was also restricted by levels of inexperience and turnover amongst their staff. Similarly, those Zambian interviewees involved in organizing activities in particular communities declared a significant degree of local operational independence from Northern donors. This was especially the case where particular SfD NGOs had subsidiary organizational structures at community level. For example, a representative of an EduSport committee established to set up and lead activities in a specific Lusaka community stated that:

We have the control to make our own decisions. Because those people [in the central EduSport offices], they cannot decide what we want here. Us, as a committee here in [community name], we decide what we want to do and then we just give the programme to them.

While such declarations of autonomy have to be treated with a degree of caution, the organizational structure of EduSport, in this example, means that there is a long chain through which any international funding may pass before reaching those involved in community delivery of SfD activities. As Long (2001) states in the development studies literature, and as theories of policy
implementation more generally suggest (Hill and Hupe, 2009), the potential for Northern agendas to be subverted through local agency increases in proportion to the length of implementation chains. As yet, in the SfD literature, Guest (2009) and Hasselgård and Straume (2015) are relatively isolated in evidencing similar implementation issues. In addition, our data indicates that this potential for local agency could actually be enhanced as a result of the distant and depersonalized relationships that have been established with some larger Northern donor organizations. Commonplace institutionalized practices, such as the choice by Northern representatives to stay in high-end hotels when in Lusaka, were identified by Zambian interviewees as impeding the development of personalized and trusting relationships.

In this regard, and finally, it is also important to recognize that Zambian interviewees also identified relationships with Northern organizations that differed considerably from those that have wider prominence and are more commonly recognized in the SfD literature. Volunteers from smaller Northern charities, especially, spent significantly longer periods in the country and, as such, developed enhanced understanding of local conditions and deeper personal relationships with staff from Zambian SfD NGOs. Such relationships were often further enhanced by reciprocal visits to Northern countries in which Zambian staff were accommodated in the homes of volunteers. Interviewees believed that these factors allowed more equitable relationships to be formed which represented ‘partnerships’ in a truer form than was the case in relationships with larger Northern funders.

Integration of SfD with HIV/AIDS policy and civil-society sectors

In contrast to the internationalist orientation of the previous section, the focus now moves to the extent to which SfD NGOs are integrated with partnership-based efforts to address HIV/AIDS in Zambia. Cross-sectoral partnerships are underexplored in both the SfD and development studies literature and, as such, the section is underpinned by exploratory research. In designing this research, we made the decision to narrow the scope of data collection to partnerships across SfD and the HIV/AIDS sector in Zambia for two reasons: first, addressing HIV/AIDS has not only been a significant focus for policy and funding in Zambia but also has been a key goal of the SfD NGOs that are at the heart of our research; second, in line with global strategies for the pandemic itself (e.g. UNAIDS, 2006), Zambian policy concerned with HIV/AIDS has strongly
emphasized the importance of partnership working. For example, the Zambian *National HIV and AIDS Strategic Framework 2006–2010* (NAC, 2006: 15) stated as a guiding principle that ‘controlling HIV/AIDS needs the involvement of all sectors of society through the multi-sectoral response and partnership in the design, implementation, review, monitoring and evaluation of the *National AIDS Strategic Framework*.’

Two aspects of the efforts of Zambia’s NAC to develop a co-ordinated and multisectoral approach to addressing the pandemic are particularly relevant to this chapter. First, iterations of the *National HIV and AIDS Strategic Framework* (NAC, 2006, 2010), that guides all efforts to address the disease, are based on efforts in six thematic areas: prevention, treatment and care, impact mitigation, decentralization and mainstreaming, monitoring and evaluation, and advocacy and co-ordination. Policy development and implementation within each of these thematic areas were to be enhanced through the technical expertise brought together in associated high-level Thematic Working Groups. Second, through the broad commitment to decentralization in national HIV/AIDS policy, PATFs and DATFs were established at respective subnational levels. Again, both PATFs and DATFs were multisectoral in their composition, with the intention that they were to be an extension of the NAC at subnational levels, enabling co-ordination and advocacy amongst the range of state and, especially, civil society organizations working at these levels.

Despite the general orientation of SfD NGOs in Zambia towards addressing HIV/AIDS, these organizations were not significantly involved in the partnership-based structures instigated by the NAC. Membership of the policy-oriented national Thematic Working Groups was by invitation based on the ‘mandates, interests and technical expertise’ of relevant organizations (NAC, 2010: 19). While health-orientated NGOs such as the Family Health Trust were included, SfD NGOs did not receive invitations to participate. Local, decentralized structures were, however, more open to a wider variety of organizations. For example, the Lusaka DATFs allowed any organization to be listed as a member and arranged regular stakeholders’ forums which any organization could attend. The one stakeholders’ forum that we attended as part of our research comprised a wide variety of public, private and largely civil society organizations (both indigenous and international), whose focus covered a range of issues from faith and youth development to trade unionism. Activities at the forum mainly consisted of networking and information sharing through which advocacy work for particular organizations was undertaken. Nevertheless, at the time that our research was conducted, SfD NGOs had
not engaged with the Lusaka DATF and were only beginning to consider this possibility.

A variety of reasons for the lack of inclusion of SfD NGOs in nationally mandated HIV/AIDS partnership structures can be identified. One representative of a Zambian SfD NGO recognized that his own organization had, thus far, been 'poor' at engaging with open networks such as the Lusaka DATF and indicated a wish to delegate a member of staff to develop such engagement. In contrast, our analysis also suggests that SfD NGOs were constrained in the extent to which they could gain membership of more high-level and policy development-orientated groups, such as the Thematic Working Groups, if not included. In part, this could be attributed to the shorter history of SfD NGOs and their lack of human and financial resources in comparison to more established health-orientated NGOs. Moreover, as Batsell (2005) suggests regarding HIV/AIDS NGOs more generally, the lack of a co-ordinated approach between SfD NGOs may have limited the extent to which they could potentially develop the influence that could have provided access to these high-level partnerships.

However, perhaps a greater barrier to inclusion within HIV/AIDS partnership structures was the lack of understanding of SfD on the part of stakeholders with direct control or influence over the membership of these structures. One leader of a Zambian SfD NGO believed that national stakeholders with decision-making power in the HIV/AIDS policy arena held a ‘traditional’ view of sport as primarily leisure or ‘play’:

For them, I think they still have that mentality of ‘play’ for the understanding of sport in Zambia. And therefore they can’t think how a ball can help a child with HIV, you know [through the development of] life skills.

Interviews with senior policymakers in the NAC and the ZNAN (the key body for co-ordinating and funding civil society approaches to HIV/AIDS) confirmed this view. In one such interview, it was commented that SfD NGOs were limited in their approach as they did not provide services such as voluntary counselling and testing. There appeared little consideration that such services were not suitable for all of the age groups targeted for involvement in SfD activities. There was also little recognition on the part of these senior policymakers of the potential value of personal and social development in addressing HIV/AIDS. As with Northern donors supporting Zambian SfD, national priorities in the HIV/AIDS sector reflected an internationally influenced agenda that
prioritized quantitatively measurable outputs (Seckinelgin, 2004, 2005). With SfD NGOs instead placing qualitative change in personal and social development at the core of their approach, the lack of alignment may have been a further obstacle to the integration of these organizations into high-level HIV/AIDS partnership structures.

While the precise benefits of SfD NGOs’ greater integration into the high-level HIV/AIDS partnership structures may be somewhat hypothetical, our data does still suggest the potential consequences of their lack of involvement. One representative of an SfD NGO wished for greater involvement in such partnership structures so that ‘we can build a case for sport in those sectors with more resources’. This represented something of a paradox, in that advocacy work aimed at overcoming important HIV/AIDS policy stakeholders’ lack of understanding of sport was predicated on access to the very partnership structures that this same lack of understanding actually constrained. Alternatively, involvement in the more decentralized and open DATF stakeholders’ forum, for example, could enable greater awareness of SfD amongst other organizations that address HIV/AIDS. In this regard, representatives of SfD NGOs suggested that the lack of understanding of their approaches extended to other NGOs and, in turn, these same representatives noted the limitations of their own knowledge of other NGOs. This lack of mutual awareness also extended beyond HIV/AIDS NGOs to other organizations addressing issues connected to education and young people. Despite international and national policies consistently supporting greater partnership working, this lack of understanding and co-operation is by no means unique to SfD and has been recognized as a ‘perennial problem’ amongst NGOs (Moore and Stewart, 1998; Laird, 2007). That partnerships between NGOs involved in HIV/AIDS work are considered to be ‘the exception rather than norm’ (White and Morton, 2005: 195) is the reason why these authors considered this issue to be ‘a critical and underdeveloped area’ (ibid.: 197).

This is certainly not to say that there was an entire lack of partnerships between Zambian NGOs or, in particular, between SfD NGOs and those from other sectors. For example, SfD NGOs worked with a number of specific civil-society organizations such as the Family Health Trust, the Red Cross and Care International. References were also made to partnerships with organizations that were faith based or focused on particular health or gender issues. The importance of such partnerships with organizations outside the SfD sector was commonly highlighted in interviews, in something of a contrast to Giulianotti’s (2011b) data and Black’s (2010: 127) suggestion that SfD practitioners need
'persuasion to transcend the myth of autonomy'. As a representative of one Zambian SfD NGO recognized:

So we have an organization that doesn't really deal with sports activities but they deal in HIV and AIDS programmes, they deal in drug- and alcohol-abuse programmes, they deal in various issues that affect the children – human-rights programmes. So, because of the concept that we use, we partner with those different organizations. In terms of the HIV and AIDS, I think it is key.

As the quotation indicates, much of the partnership working between SfD and other organizations was orientated towards utilizing specific areas of organizational expertise to enhance particular programmes with young people. A number of examples of such partnership practices were identified, as exemplified by this representative of a smaller SfD NGO:

For example, we can organize football leagues, and we are good at organizing football leagues, and we've also got [organizations] which are specialists in HIV/AIDS. So we organize the league, they do the HIV/AIDS.

It was not just SfD NGOs that derived benefit from such partnerships. Instead, it was widely suggested that partner organizations drew reciprocal benefit from the capacity of sports activities to attract a larger number of young people than these organizations would otherwise have been able to engage with.

The orientation of these partnerships to specific programmes was an important influence on their development and characteristics. Potential partner organizations were identified and approached by SfD NGOs on the basis of the objectives of specific programmes. For example, while the examples provided thus far have been generically orientated towards HIV/AIDS, other NGOs specifically orientated to female health were invited to contribute to Go Sisters activities that were delivered by EduSport. Partnership working on specific activities was also largely based on informal negotiation and arrangements between representatives of the respective organizations. The informality of these partnerships between in-country NGOs, and the lack of associated documentation such as memoranda of understanding, contrasted with relationships with Northern donors. It could be suggested that the lack of formalization meant that some partnerships were more unstable and susceptible to breaking down if the circumstances of either organization were to change. On the other hand, the lack of formalization allowed partnerships to develop beyond the specific activities to which they were initially orientated.
Takahashi (2006) suggests that partnerships and improved communication between development NGOs may allow mutually beneficial learning to be generated, and this was evident as SfD and other NGOs worked together. Particularly in the period when SfD NGOs were beginning to be established, partnerships with other organizations supported building of their own capacity. One representative of an SfD NGO recounted:

When we came in as sporting institutions, we lacked competencies in HIV and AIDS only. We were good with sport. So we needed to be good for both. And this is where people who have already developed tools and approaches for HIV and AIDS education, we had to partner with them and they trained us.

Again, there were reciprocal elements with respect to learning developed through partnerships. The same SfD representative indicated that, as his NGO became more established, it had begun to provide support to enable other organizations to include interactive sport-based learning into their own mainstream HIV/AIDS activities. In fact, despite the competition that existed in the SfD sector, established NGOs also extended training opportunities to smaller and newer SfD organizations.

The partnerships that have been identified speak of a developing awareness and understanding amongst other NGOs of the developmental potential of sport activities that was not, however, shared by those stakeholders with a greater role in HIV/AIDS policy development and funding. In line with global priorities (Seckinelgin, 2004), applications for HIV/AIDS funding from sources such as ZNAN needed to demonstrate that programmes were based on organizational partnerships. It was only after our 2007 study that SfD NGOs did partner with other NGOs to submit and, in some cases, be successful in applications for ZNAN-administered funding from the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. While it is unfortunate that we lack further data from the time when these funding applications were made, the continuing development of partnership working with HIV/AIDS organizations and the acquisition of funding perhaps suggest progress towards a growing acceptance of SfD within the broader HIV/AIDS policy sector.

Sport-orientated partnerships in local communities

Reflecting both our purpose of localizing SfD and the previously identified limitations of cross-sectoral research, the third and final level of analysis in this chapter concerns partnership working related to sport in two specific
communities in Lusaka, Chawama and Kamwala. The first of these two communities is one of the most prominent of the particularly deprived ‘compound’ communities lying on the outskirts of Lusaka. By contrast, Kamwala is located closer to the centre of Lusaka and is relatively middle class by Zambian standards. Nevertheless, there are similarities between the two communities, with young people in Kamwala also being affected by those issues of HIV/AIDS infection, alcohol and drug abuse, gender inequality, and, more generally, lack of opportunity that are strongly evident in Chawama. The following analysis will examine the perceived importance of partnership working in such communities, the type of partnerships developed by SfD organizations and the challenges of local community partnership working. In doing so, the data allows comparative reflection on the extent to which there are particularities of sport-orientated approaches to partnership working in the two communities. Furthermore, although the development studies literature on partnership at community level is limited, reference to related studies will also allow some assessment to be made as to the broader representativeness of the issues identified.

Partnership relies on organizations having, at the very least, some form of shared interest. There were a significant number and range of different organizations in Kamwala and Chawama that held aspirations regarding the use of SfD. Amongst these organizations were SfD NGOs that, at the time of our research, were more widely represented in Chawama than Kamwala. As well as a local division of EduSport, two further SfD NGOs – Chawama Youth Sport Academy and Chawama Kids Development – were based in the former community, whereas only Sport in Action was identified as operating in the latter. In addition to these NGOs and CBOs, many sports clubs were present in both communities and representatives of some of these clubs spoke of particular developmental purposes that were central to their raison d’être. Sport was also valued by a number of other organizations working with young people for the potential contribution it could make to their specific developmental objectives. Such sentiments were voiced by representatives of government; private and, especially, community schools; and by leaders of church youth groups. Non-sporting NGOs also valued sport as a tool to contribute, in different ways, to their own various developmental objectives.

Identification of this variety of organizations gives rise to several points of relevance to general themes running through the book and also the specific issue of partnership. First, this range of organizations speaks to the difficulty of demarcating what may constitute an SfD organization. The specific local SfD NGOs are represented in the existing categorizations of SfD organizations.
referred to in Chapter 1 (Akindes and Kirwan, 2009; Giulianotti, 2011a). While Giulianotti (2011a) does write of CBOs, this type of organization is rarely identified elsewhere in the SfD literature. Organizations that are not solely or specifically orientated towards sport are also largely ignored as potential members of the SfD movement. More in keeping with this literature, a second point is that the majority of these SfD ‘stakeholders’ in Chawama and Kamwala could be classified as civil society organizations. Government and private schools were exceptions to this trend and, more generally, community representatives bemoaned what they saw as the limited government contribution to work with young people in these communities. While Lusaka City Council had instigated Ward Development Committees in both Chawama and Kamwala, their representatives were explicit in stating that sport remained a relatively low priority when considered alongside pressing infrastructure issues of water supply, drainage and health care.

While the recognition of specific shared goals is often understood to be a prerequisite of effective partnership (Lister, 2000), it was a broader underpinning belief in the positive qualities of sport that enabled partnership working between organizations in Chawama and Kamwala. In contexts where community interviewees voiced significant concerns about the breakdown of traditional extended family systems and community cohesion more generally, the mere practice of sport was seen as important, as it:

Gives [an] opportunity to socialize. And I think that’s the main aim, to come together and socialize. There are many tournaments here. I mean, you don’t have to worry about participants and the spectators, there are always some here. (Church representative, Misisi)

Especially in Chawama, sporting fixtures were opportunities for, and results of, interaction between different schools, their teachers, and pupils who were involved as both participants and supporters. Similarly, churches arranged sports activities that were undertaken with other churches. Particular schools and churches also made a reciprocal and vital contribution by sharing access to the sports grounds that they owned. Even these seemingly limited examples of collaboration were considered valuable when the organizations involved often had limited access to facilities and few other opportunities for interaction beyond those associated with sport. A representative of a private school in Kamwala commented that ‘with other private schools we only interact with them when we are doing sports. Apart from sports there are no other programmes.’ Similarly, the involvement of churches and faith-based organizations
in collaboratively instigating sport opportunities was important given that these organizations were often identified as being largely insular in Chawama and Kamwala as well as marginalized in other mainstream development contexts (McDuie-Ra and Rees, 2010).

The approaches of SfD organizations to developing partnerships were also seen as exceptional in comparison with normal practices experienced by other organizations within both communities. For a number of schools and churches, SfD organizations were the only external organizations that they worked with. Some of these partnerships involved SfD organizations delivering specific sporting activities within existing school curricula and programmes organized by churches. Of even greater novelty within the two communities were efforts by SfD NGOs to co-ordinate activities across a number of schools. Such efforts were best exemplified by EduSport's ongoing organization of a weekly sport competition involving numerous schools in Chawama. Other SfD organizations in both communities also arranged more irregular tournaments involving various community organizations. While these sporting activities may appear relatively inconsequential, the importance of the co-ordination provided by SfD organizations can be recognized when compared with the lack of other similar partnerships that involved multiple organizations within either community. This difference was reflected particularly strongly by one school leader from Chawama, who commented:

I think I would like to see more co-ordination. We would find that people are not, sometimes, are not co-operative … EduSport has managed to co-ordinate all their programmes. But with these others, it's a bit difficult.

If the nature and extent of partnership working associated with sport were unusual in Chawama and Kamwala, then it is relevant to question why this may have been the case. A significant factor was the positive views and understandings held by organizations and their representatives in these communities regarding sport and associated activities. Conversely, the lack of positive views was identified as impeding the development of other partnerships. For example, the representative of an arts and drama organization in Chawama complained that:

Some of the teachers who know about art, they maybe embrace that, they regard us to be a very good tool for them as a school. But for some, for some schools which doesn't understand the importance, the impact, of art for the community, they regard that thing to be something else.
From the alternative perspective of a Chawama school that was approached by potential partner organizations, the issue of understanding was similarly important:

But with these other organizations, we don't have the full information. They just come here, now [they] want to talk to your pupils, [they] want to educate them on this one, but we don't even know exactly what they are doing, so that is a problem.

Likewise, incompatible values regarding issues such as HIV/AIDS education and condom distribution precluded partnership working between some NGOs and faith-based organizations, schools and churches within both communities. Partnerships related to sport were, by contrast, feasible because sport was commonly viewed by interviewees from a wide range of community organizations as being a less contentious activity and one that was believed to deliver a variety of positive benefits. On the one hand, these uncritical views of sport reinforce the common criticism that the neutrality of sport, and its resultant potential to contribute to both positive and negative outcomes, is not sufficiently recognized within the SfD ‘movement’ (Coalter, 2010b; Darnell and Black, 2011). On the other hand, it is important to note that the uncritical views of sport held by stakeholders in Chawama and Kamwala helped to facilitate what was viewed as an intrinsically valuable process of partnership working within these communities.

Other factors associated with sport provision in the two communities also necessitated and contributed to the development of specific partnerships. Specialist PE teachers were only present in a small number of government schools in both communities, and most community and private schools lacked teachers with the skills and capacity to deliver PE or sport. One manager of a school and centre for homeless children indicated how this lack of capacity contributed to the need for partnerships with SfD NGOs: ‘we cannot provide everything else. Yes. That’s the reason why we are also relying on Sport in Action for the sporting activities.’ Amongst many schools, the sporting activities organized and delivered by SfD organizations substituted for PE lessons, and it is worthwhile to note that the potential for PE and sport to have different developmental orientations was not one explicitly recognized by any interviewee across Kamwala and Chawama. In keeping with curriculum requirements, the reliability and regularity with which SfD NGOs delivered activities in partnership with schools and other organizations was noted by interviewees, and this stood in contrast to other partnerships identified in the two communities. The inclusion of sporting activities in weekly timetables demonstrated the level of mutual commitment.
in partnerships between SfD NGOs and a number of schools. A representative of one Chawama school also commented that they valued the written formal agreement that they had with EduSport and that such an agreement was unique amongst their relations with external agencies. Nevertheless, partnerships between SfD NGOs and schools did not always have long-term continuity and, for example, the appointment of a new head teacher was cited as a time when relationships could break down.

The influence of individuals such as head teachers relates to an important point that connects various partnerships identified in Chawama and Kamwala, including those with a specific sporting orientation. To a large extent, partnerships within these communities were initially developed through networks of personal connections. Such personal connections were frequently described by interviewees as being similar to an ‘extended family’. The importance of these networks to the development of partnerships was particularly well captured by a representative of a Kamwala NGO:

And I think most partnerships, if we look at our history, would have started through a similar set-up – like the extended family system, where within the family we have got to tap into the other person.

Sport-orientated partnerships were also often formed on a similar basis, through the personal connections of SfD NGO staff, peer leaders and sometimes even the young people who participated in their activities. As such, the process of developing partnerships had a degree of cultural specificity, certainly in contrast to the more formal establishment of partnerships that has been experienced in the global North (Lindsey, 2014b). Nevertheless, representatives of two SfD organizations spoke of trying to implement a more systematic approach to developing partnerships, through writing to schools across the Chawama community and offering to work with them in delivering sport activities. However, this approach was still regarded as largely contingent on the presence of a teacher in the school with some existing affinity with sport and, potentially, the particular SfD organization.

It was also notable that SfD organizations were far more likely to work in partnership with community schools. More generally, co-ordination of sporting activities tended to be specific to, and inclusive of, particular types of schools. This was noted by a PE teacher from a government school who believed there was a need for improved co-ordination across different types of school:

We have private schools here in Chawama; we have community schools here in Chawama. The same football that we are playing in government schools is the
same football that they are playing in community schools. So we would want to see a situation where private, community and government schools, they are together … even the sports, and the common goal is the same. We want to learn [sic] that child for the future. So it must be all-inclusive. I think that way it would be better.

The challenge of achieving this, in Chawama especially, was heightened by the fragmentation and duplication between the different SfD organizations that were based in this community. Such fragmentation and duplication were indicated more generally in the previous chapter, and were recognized on a more localized basis by a representative of one local SfD CBO:

I think, with us here, sometimes we do find … you do the similar things. For example, [organization name] do most of the things that they do, they are similar to what [we] do in Chawama. So sometimes, we will find it difficult, we will, like, clash.

As we have previously recognized, such issues are by no means unique to SfD organizations or the types of communities in which this research was undertaken. A further similarity with international development policies and literature was the call by some community representatives for greater governmental involvement and leadership for development in Chawama and Kamwala. However, local Ward Development Committees appeared to be the sole agency of government in Chawama and Kamala with the status and community orientation to take a greater role in spanning the range of sporting agencies in each community. The low priority given by these committees to sport was reflected in the alternative approach advocated by one representative of an SfD NGO with long-term involvement in Chawama:

The government doesn’t stay in our community, and we are the people that know the needs around our communities. So I think it has to start with us, as [a] non-governmental organization and as a community-based organization, we start forming our close communities and then work on that.

Whether, in the absence of governmental intervention, such an approach could overcome the long-standing partnership challenges of fragmentation and duplication remains an issue only for conjecture at this stage.

Conclusions

This chapter has focused on partnership approaches and practices at different levels associated with SfD in Zambia. Just as we do not seek to identify outcomes of particular programmes in the latter chapters of the book, we do not seek here
to undertake an evaluative approach nor make specific claims regarding the impacts of particular partnerships. Our more broadly orientated research, instead, aims to address issues and perspectives that have received little attention in the SfD literature or have been analysed in relatively isolated studies. Therefore, these conclusions seek to make a contribution to understandings of partnership in SfD as well as contribute to developing themes that will be carried forward in the remainder of the book.

Perhaps somewhat implicitly, the chapter has taken as a starting point the contributions of Biggs and Neame (1995), White and Morton (2005), and others who identify the importance of partnership working to development. Similarly, interviewees largely spoke of the importance of, and sought to demonstrate their involvement in, a range of partnerships. A wide variety of purposes of partnership working were identified by our interviewees, included some identified in specific cases in the SfD literature such as sharing knowledge (Armstrong, 2004), joint capacity building (Black, 2010), and obtaining or pooling of resources (Hayhurst and Frisby, 2010). Other potential partnership-working purposes identified from this research, although not uniformly addressed or achieved in the case of Zambian SfD, included joint delivery of activities and co-ordination of provision and advocacy. This diversity of partnership purposes adds a further dimension to the discussion at the outset of the chapter, regarding the extent to which references to partnership may be associated with ‘ambiguity’ (Black, 2010). Clearer differentiation and specificity in referencing partnership purposes and forms and issues in SfD policy, practices and future research may be valuable in developing further clarity from current ambiguities.

Beyond such definitional matters, a number of factors have been identified that contribute to both the importance and operation of partnership working. As we identified in the previous chapter, the policy impetus for partnership working represents a response to the fragmentation that is prevalent across development sectors in the global South, including SfD in Zambia. The prominence of NGOs in the SfD movement (Giulianotti, 2011a), together with the suggestion from this research that there is potentially greater diversity in the community organizations involved with SfD than is commonly identified in the literature, suggests that such issues of fragmentation are highly unlikely to be unique to Zambia. However, rather than examine relationships across a range of organizations, empirical research in SfD (e.g. Hayhurst and Frisby, 2010) and, to an extent, in development studies (e.g. Lister, 2000; Harrison, 2007) has most frequently been focused on specific, and commonly bilateral, international partnerships.
As a result, issues regarding the inclusivity, or otherwise, of partnership arrangements that have emerged in this research have yet to be significantly considered in SfD. Power relations had very distinct but significant effects on partnership inclusion or exclusion at the different levels considered in the chapter. Internationally, for example, Northern donor organizations exercise power in being selective regarding the (type of) in-country organizations that they support, and in a similar fashion Zambian SfD NGOs found themselves somewhat excluded from more extensive partnership working within the HIV/AIDS sector. By contrast, it was notable that SfD organizations and activities appeared to provide impetus towards greater integration and inclusion within our community case studies. Identification of these varied patterns of inclusion and exclusion points to an issue that would benefit from further investigation in SfD, requiring a greater scope than is feasible through programme-specific research or evaluation. Further, these findings build on and extend the analysis, developed initially across the preceding chapters and continuing throughout the remainder of the book, regarding the multilayered composition of structural influences on SfD.

Supplementing such structural analysis, the importance of various aspects of agency within SfD partnerships has also been highlighted across the chapter. This was recognized directly by representatives of Zambian SfD NGOs, one of whom spoke of the importance of developing their own partnership-working skills to ‘change and reorient people’s minds for trust, on communication, you know conflict and resolution, management of risk’. Further, the chapter has also highlighted the importance of personal contacts in forming partnerships, especially amongst Zambian organizations. It is perhaps something of a paradox that while the establishment and maintenance of partnerships were dependent on the skills and contacts of individuals, partnerships were commonly formed to overcome the limitations of existing human resources within organizations. One such example was partnerships that were set up to develop capacity to deliver HIV/AIDS education as SfD NGOs emerged. Similarly, teachers’ limited capacity to deliver sport and PE within some Zambian schools was, at least in part, overcome by working with SfD organizations.

In contrast to the personalized approach that was most evident in partnerships between Zambian organizations, there was a greater degree of formalization of relationships and procedures between Zambian and Northern donor organizations. However, in working with Northern donors, there were indications that Zambian individuals and organizations developed skills to address traditionally imbalanced power relations and to ensure that these relationships
are beneficial for their own organizations and communities. That such skills were developed over the period in which Zambian SfD NGOs became established reflects the need to consider the dynamics of partnership working, as do the examples of time-limited and unstable partnerships identified through the chapter. These findings are comparable to those from Hasselgård and Straume’s (2015) research into SfD in Zimbabwe. We would also reach similar conclusions to theirs in respect of recognizing the importance of localized data collection in order to deconstruct and refine the predominant representation of static hierarchies of Northern power in SfD.

Finally, this chapter has continued from the last in examining SfD in the context of policies, organizations and academic research in wider development fields. The conclusions that are drawn from this analysis again point to the value of this approach and further emphasize the importance of differentiation. The development studies literature has indicated the wider relevance of issues identified in Zambian SfD and has supported more nuanced identification of, for example, the ways in which Northern practices may influence local SfD over time. Complexities have also been recognized through contrasting the constraints affecting SfD integration into national development structures with the extent to which sport and sport-based organizations may have qualities that enhance partnership and co-ordination across various agencies within local communities. Such analysis of the relationships between SfD and development, more generally, is continued throughout the remaining chapters of the book.
Young people in Zambia: their lives and social contexts

This chapter marks a transition into the second half of the book, as we move from consideration of the establishment and organization of SfD to begin to focus on the people and communities with which SfD aims to work. Across the next three chapters, the book aims to provide a detailed, empirically informed account of local Zambian contexts in which SfD is delivered, the experiences of those providing it, and the way in which local young people engage with and are affected by the SfD opportunities available to them. These chapters therefore continue the process evident in the previous empirical chapters, in which we progressively examined international, national, and community-based manifestations of SfD. This localizing approach is now applied to understanding, in this chapter, the everyday-life contexts of young people in the Zambian communities we have worked in; in Chapter 5, how local SfD organizations address social issues in these communities and deliver their programmes; and in Chapter 6, how young people respond to this provision.

The purpose of this first ‘people-focused’ chapter is not, therefore, to directly examine SfD, but to develop an understanding of the social and development contexts within which young people in Zambia lead their everyday lives. It is intended to provide insight into how the development issues that SfD programmes aim to address are manifested at local level, and how they are perceived locally by adults and youths. To this end, the first section in this chapter considers the physical and institutional environments that shape opportunities for young people in Lusaka communities, and the second section examines the social relations in Zambian society which influence young people’s social position and their opportunities across their life course. The third section then applies these understandings to an analysis of the impact of HIV/AIDS on Zambian communities and young people’s experiences of both the pandemic and preventative interventions.

We place particular emphasis on local accounts of the social issues and challenges that young people in Zambian communities face. This emphasis on
obtaining local knowledge and perspectives is central to the overall methodological approach within the book. From the outset of our research in Zambia we have been conscious that Northern researchers in SfD are too often required to conduct their enquiries with only limited understandings of local and country-specific social and cultural contexts; although they may be well equipped with expert knowledge of development challenges from a global perspective, they may have little opportunity to explore how exactly this maps to specific localities and communities. In this chapter we address this by providing a necessarily compressed but nonetheless wide-ranging account of the social and cultural context of everyday life for the young people with whom SfD programmes seek to work.

We draw on published and documentary sources, but foreground the direct accounts of local community members. Rather than accepting external ideas about the type of ‘development’ that may be required, we therefore present local views, drawn from multiple standpoints. These come from a diverse range of adult interviewees, many with professional expertise and first-hand knowledge of local communities, and from a large number of young people interviewed over several years in multiple contexts. These two types of interviewees provide complementary but distinct perspectives. While adults provide commentaries on the issues affecting young people in their community, the views of young people provide insight into how members of the ‘target group’ for SfD programmes view their own situations.

Each section of the chapter integrates these data sources, first presenting published and adult perspectives on local issues, then examining how the views of young people compare and contrast with these. The priority given to the voices of young people is a counterbalance to concerns that young people’s perspectives have been subjugated in SfD policies, programmes and research. The chapter therefore provides an illustration of how an actor-orientated approach to analysis (Long, 2001) can bring together first-hand accounts with information drawn from other sources to allow a multifaceted understanding to emerge in which local perspectives are given primacy.

The chapter draws on several of our research projects. Adult interviewees include multiple representatives of the SfD sector and also representatives from community organizations, the latter especially drawn from our research in Chawama and Kamwala in 2009. The data from young people are similarly drawn from several of our studies; they include male and female interviewees from several Lusaka communities, with varying levels of engagement in SfD and aged from 10 to 28 years. This wide age range indicates the diversity of those
involved in SfD and reflects the fluidity and context specificity of notions of youth in Zambia and other African countries (Durham, 2000).

We have adopted informal research approaches in working with young people. Our interviews and focus groups have usually begun by asking respondents to speak about the Lusaka communities in which they live and/or work, allowing them to identify facets and issues that are most pertinent to them. Where appropriate, we have talked to them in pairs and small groups, and encouraged a dialogue rather than question/answer interviews. On some occasions, young people have been able to simultaneously talk and show us around their communities, and this produced particularly detailed conversations. Other informal time spent in communities throughout our visits to Zambia also informs our understanding of the issues in this chapter.

The parameters of everyday life: physical conditions and social provision in Lusaka communities

This first section focuses on the more tangible social conditions and institutions that frame young people’s everyday life in local communities. As has been shown in earlier chapters, both within the global movement and within Zambia specifically, SfD addresses multiple interconnected social issues. Common focuses include young people’s education, employability and health, and their general wellbeing in resource-poor environments. SfD is therefore dealing with aspects of young people’s lives that are influenced by wider policy and social provision, and these conditions are likely to have implications for how SfD organizations can work. In our work in Zambia we have therefore found it important to be able to place SfD in context – to obtain local accounts of, for example, the availability and quality of education for young people, and their prospects for employment. The section therefore aims to provide an overview of the wider social structures and institutions that influence the aspects of young people’s lives that SfD may address.

To understand the role that SfD can play in the lives of young people in Lusaka, we have found it important to first learn about the practical living conditions of their everyday lives. Many of the SfD activities delivered by the NGOs that we have worked with occur within Lusaka’s ‘compounds’: low-income areas that tend to exist on the outskirts, or the margins, of the city itself. It is within these well-recognized compounds where, of the 1.1 million inhabitants of Lusaka, ‘the majority inhabit substandard, overcrowded dwellings with inadequate, usually shared, services’ (Gough, 2008: 246). These conditions reflect the
origin of the compounds, as the term itself ‘derives from the urban-control apparatus that during the colonial period invoked race to segregate housing, labor, health, and domestic arrangements’ (Hansen, 2005: 6). To this day, the physical geography of Lusaka bears the ‘imprint of colonial urban planning’ whereby ‘land-use activities continue to be rigidly zoned’ (Hansen, 2005: 6). The built environment, and its ongoing development, reflects and reinforces inequalities in Zambia. Over the time that we have been travelling to Lusaka for this research, there have been significant changes to the physical infrastructure. These are perhaps most readily visible in the city centre and often relate to commercial developments as well as those resulting from foreign investment. This economic development has not, however, significantly benefitted the poorest in Zambian society, and the proportion of Zambians living beneath the poverty line changed little over a period of significant economic growth from 2006 to 2010 (Gentilini and Sumner, 2012). A common perception from adult interviewees, supported by Gough (2008), was also of overall increases in the cost of living in Lusaka and of ongoing deterioration in living conditions more generally for those in the compounds.

Compounds consist of a mass of tightly packed, small breeze-block homes, usually inhabited by a large number of family members. The view ‘from the sky’ that is possible via Google Earth is instructive in comparing a compound community such as Chawama (http://goo.gl/maps/N9x8n) with a relatively middle-class area such as Kamwala (http://goo.gl/maps/cSKwU), in which homes are significantly larger, mostly detached and often surrounded by small gardens. The irregular arrangement of dwellings in compound areas reflects the unplanned way in which building has occurred within these communities. As with many cities in Africa, it is the compounds in Lusaka that have accommodated, and borne the consequences of, the rural-to-urban mass migration that initially peaked when copper prices first collapsed in the 1970s (Central Statistical Office et al., 2009). Hansen (2005: 7) describes how, in all of the Lusaka compounds, ‘population expansion is accommodated on subdivided plots in a proliferation of rented rooms’, which has led to ‘the inevitable consequence [of] oppressive crowding’.

The infrastructure supporting the population in high-density compounds is often unable to cope. In contrast to more affluent areas in Lusaka, water is primarily by shared standpipe in compound areas. Supply of electricity is, at best, variable. Deterioration in service provision, as a result of economic conditions identified in Chapter 2, is illustrated by the lack of street lighting at night, despite the physical infrastructure for such provision remaining in place. In terms of
transport infrastructure, a compound such as Chawama is solely served by one main tarmac road together with a network of dirt thoroughfares, infrequently travelled by cars owing to their deeply uneven surfaces, which are gouged even further each rainy season.

The physical environment in which young people in Lusaka live is therefore quite strongly differentiated for those of different socio-economic circumstances. While those living within moderately affluent areas have access to reasonably reliable utilities, the lives of those in poorer compound communities is much more precarious. The ‘target group’ for SfD provision can be diverse, ranging from those living in conditions of acute poverty and hardship to those whose lives are more stable. One of the considerations for SfD may therefore be how, and indeed whether, its activities can have relevance to young people in such varied circumstances.

In addition to learning about the practical living conditions, it has been important to us to learn about the main social institutions with which young people engage. In relation to SfD in Lusaka, the most central of these is educational provision. As we have seen previously, education is both a development goal in itself and a mechanism through which wider development activities may be delivered and/or supported. At local level, there can therefore be multiple intersections between different aspects of ‘education’ and SfD, across its sport-for-development and sport-development forms. In Lusaka, for example, the Go Sisters programme run by the EduSport Foundation provided education scholarships to a small number of its participants, with the aim of directly increasing their education access and qualifications (i.e. individual development through sport); the II SfD programme worked with a range of government departments and the British Council to develop a national PE curriculum for schools (i.e. development of sport); while at community level, multiple SfD activities and programmes worked regularly with individual schools to access participants and host their sport-based activities. It has therefore been important for us to learn about the structures of education provision, its availability to young people and the issues surrounding access to it.

For young people in Zambia, national-level data and reports indicate some positive momentum in educational provision, but this is counteracted by a number of continued and significant challenges. Official statistics on primary-school enrolment have improved significantly since the turn of the century, from 71% of eligible children in 1999 to 91% in 2010, with the small gender gap being reversed in favour of girls by the end of this period (UNESCO, 2012). While enrolment in secondary school education has also increased, from 27% in 1999
to 72% in 2010 (UNESCO, 2012), there remains a significant problem in terms of pupil drop-out and non-completion of secondary education. Only 76% of the poorest children in Zambia complete primary school, compared with 92% of the richest pupils (UNESCO, 2012: 67), and completion rates of secondary education are particularly low, with only 22% of boys and 17% of girls completing their final grade 12 examinations. Again, these percentages are far lower for young people from compound communities (UNESCO, 2012).

If there has been some increase in educational enrolment, then the expansion of community schools, which are especially prominent in compound communities, has been a significant contributing factor (as recognized by the Ministry of Education, cited in UNDP, 2011). As described in Chapter 2, community schools complement, and address limitations of, education provision in government and private schools. However, community schools’ provision and facilities vary significantly, especially as they receive little (if any) state funding and are staffed by volunteers or low-paid community members. Those that we have visited have varied from a single breeze-block room to plots that encompassed a variety of classrooms, outdoor space earmarked for further building and small agricultural plots tended by pupils. Classes are frequently extremely large, with Zambia having an estimated 58 to 1 pupil–teacher ratio overall, far in excess of the recommended 35 to 1 (UNDP, 2011). As a result of these problems, the UNDP (2011: 56) reports that ‘the quality of education in Zambia is among the lowest in Southern Africa’.

Across countries in the global South, questions are commonly raised about the accuracy of development statistics, and it is notable that comments from adult interviewees suggest that actual attendance of young people at schools may be more problematic than the national enrolment data suggests. For example, two representatives of a church in Chawama commented:

Some, they go to school; others they don't because they lack some means of support to go to school. Others, they just say, 'Since I am an orphan, I don't have anybody to support me.'

Most of them [young people] don't go to school because of lack of [financial] support … some of them, they have reached high school but they can't go to college or university because they have no support.

These reports of apparently lower engagement in school may be a reflection of localized variations that can be particularly marked in a compound such as Chawama. A further explanation could be that the official statistics measure enrolment rather than levels of attendance, as these interviewees spoke of.
Regardless of the specific reason, concerns about low attendance were widely expressed, with the financial difficulty of paying school fees and other costs of education, such as books and uniforms, also identified as a factor. Opportunity costs to parents of allowing their children to attend school were also identified by a head teacher:

The economic situation that is prevailing within our environment, because most of the parents that stay in Chawama, most of them don't work, they depend on selling things at the market, so they use their children to raise money.

While such problems were undoubtedly greater in compound communities, difficulties affecting young people's attendance at school were also evident in areas that are relatively more affluent, as described in one of the more middle-class areas we spent time in:

People in Kamwala, those who can, at least most of them, they can afford three meals in a day. Secondly, they can afford to send their children, out of five children, they can, at least, they can manage to send three of their children to school. (Staff member, SfD NGO)

Education therefore continues to be a problematic area of service provision in Zambia, and one which contributes to strong differentiation among young people. While many children and youths are benefitting from policies to improve school-based provision, a proportion of the poorest have limited access. The testimonies of adults suggest that these patterns of exclusion can be very localized, which has implications for how SfD engages with education at delivery level. Local expert knowledge about how education inequalities play out at community level may therefore be a valuable resource to SfD providers.

In development contexts, one of the key outcomes of education is employability. Under a neo-liberal agenda, employment is the basis of individuals' economic security, and thus the central mechanism in development strategies to alleviate global poverty (Hayhurst, 2009). SfD is perhaps not as widely focused on immediate employment outcomes as it is on education ones, but nonetheless intersects with employment in multiple ways. In Zambia, SfD providers promoting school attendance to young people stress the importance of education as a route to employment. SfD can also provide specific opportunities for developing employability skills, through peer-leadership roles and internships, and some programmes have expanded the educational and training content of SfD programmes to include entrepreneurship and business skills (Hayhurst, 2014). All
of these activities illustrate the importance of employment as a possible outcome of SfD, making knowledge of national and local labour market conditions important to SfD design, delivery and impact.

Our evidence indicates that, as with education, opportunities for young people to gain employment are highly differentiated, and constrained for those living in the compounds. As in many African countries, high proportions of Zambians are employed in the informal sector, which accounts for around 70% of non-agricultural employment across the whole country (UNESCO, 2012). Gough (2008: 248) lists various ‘piecework’ jobs undertaken by men she interviewed: ‘loading and unloading trucks, moulding blocks, mending electrical equipment, assisting in the wiring of houses, digging pit latrines and so on.’ Economic activity, especially in the compounds, is otherwise centred on stalls in bustling markets selling food, clothing and other produce. Hansen (2010) identifies that such street vending has become a more common occupation for women, as family composition has changed and as they have increasingly sought (or been required) to contribute to household income.

Perspectives of community members support the findings of other authors who have considered the limited employment opportunities available to young people. Adult interviewees commented:

But once they finish … maybe at grade 9 or even grade 12, they have no job. They have no professional skill that can give them a job. So you find that, again, they become stranded in terms of employment. (Head teacher, community school, Chawama)

Even if you finish education you are still unemployed and it’s extremely difficult to find any employment … meaningful employment where you can realize your potential and you can advance in your education in your … area of expertise. (Church representative, Misisi)

Similarly, Gough (2008) recognizes that the few formal employment opportunities are often only available to those young people with influential family or social connections. As Hansen (2005) noted, one consequence of the lack of long-term or meaningful employment for young people is that many are unlikely to leave their compound communities and social mobility, more generally, is limited.

Once again, the knowledge of adults with long-standing connections to Lusaka communities has proved illuminating in going beyond national data to explain the challenges that young people face in gaining employment. This detailed knowledge of local context also proves valuable when other, less formal, aspects of compound life are considered. Beyond the lack of opportunities
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for education and employment, many community interviewees spoke of the limitations in formal or informal recreational opportunities available to young people. If the lack of such opportunities had been one driver contributing to the establishment of SfD NGOs (see Chapter 2), the deterioration of recreational facilities was also a common concern across different communities:

The first challenge that I have for the youths is recreation; lack of recreation facilities. This used to be a play park. It became dilapidated. It was tending to a place where they were throwing rubbish. (Staff member, centre for homeless children, Kamwala)

But in terms of community recreation facilities, [they] are not just there. The local authorities actually have not that much. Where there used to be community recreations, now you will find the bus [station], or they have allocated it to somebody who can build a house. (Staff member, NGO, Kamwala)

If you look at the recreational facilities in this community, there is none … children’s play parks are no longer in existence; there used to be. (Head teacher, community school, Chawama)

These interviewees drew attention to the detrimental effect of urbanization on recreational facilities, as Akindes and Kirwan (2009) have also commented on in relation to sports facilities in other African locations. Often, what solely remain in compound communities are barren, dirt-covered, grass-free areas that sometimes have football goals and, in fewer cases, netball posts. These areas often remain under threat of further building and/or vandalism; even in the middle-class area of Kamwala, locals complained to us that football goalposts had been stolen so that they could be sold for scrap metal.

In contrast to the lack of positive recreational provision, many adult community members also complained that the only type of social amenity that was increasing in number was public bars. A representative of an SfD organization articulated a common comment of many interviewees that 'if you look around Chawama, I am sure you have noticed that there are a lot of taverns [where] a house is being turned into a tavern'. There was a widely held view that young people would drink in bars or other informal community spaces through lack of productive alternatives:

So as a result [of lack of employment], you have so many young people playing around in bars, drinking alcohol, because they have nowhere to go. We don't have these facilities, hence they indulge in beer drinking and other sorts of things. There are no recreation facilities around … As a result, the young people are involved in illicit behaviour. (Teacher, community school, Chawama)
Gough’s (2008: 247) study of life in Kalingalinga, a compound which has been the site of much SfD activity, also reported community members bemoaning ‘boys and girls just sitting at home with nothing to do … young people have a lot of idle time and they indulge in drinking and robberies.’

The many adult interviewees we have been able to consult have therefore provided detailed accounts of the day-to-day living conditions and wider structural factors influencing young people. When we now turn to our various discussions with young people themselves, it becomes evident that their views often align with the accounts of problematic issues discussed so far in this section. Young people also, however, provided additional and sometimes different perspectives on how they experience everyday life. This female peer leader from Chawama, for example, was very similar to our adult interviewees in her views on education and employment issues:

> There is high unemployment; you find that you leave school and then you want to do something but you can’t get a job. Even those who reach college level, they don’t have a job … if you are working it is usually because they know someone and will get a job through that person.

Like the adult interviewees, young people also spoke about the lack of opportunities in their communities and the resultant consequences. They spoke of young people in these environments suffering from limited things to do, boredom and a resultant lack of purpose in their lives. This reinforces the point previously made, about the potential value of sporting activities for simply occupying young people and providing them with something to do. Young people’s views on the value of participation in sport, independent of any development outcomes, is a theme we return to in Chapter 6.

However, what was notable was that in giving such accounts young people often spoke in a general way and referred to other young people. They often contrasted these wider perspectives with more specific and complex reflections on their own lives and views. Despite their wider concerns, many spoke positively of their aspirations and felt that, in comparison with others, their future would be different:

> Right now, I stand on my rights and my values. That is what keeps me moving in life. I keep on because I know something is ahead of me. (Female peer leader, Kabwata)

Although many young people were struggling to complete formal schooling, they still spoke of high expectations for their future careers that were perhaps
not reflective of the actuality of their everyday lives. Education was highly valued by young people, as they felt that this would help them achieve their employment aspirations, as well as enabling a route out of poverty more generally. Young people talked of aspirations to become doctors, lawyers, accountants and teachers. Some discussed wanting to do work ‘with paper’, a role distinct from the manual work undertaken by those employed within their communities. Many remained optimistic regarding their future, as well as holding a level of belief that they could still achieve their ambitions, which they perceived as realistic. However, there are some contrasts with the views of young women having more long-standing and first-hand experience of the limited opportunities available to them. This is explored in more detail in Chapter 6, and again reinforces how different young people’s individual perspectives can be.

Interestingly, young people’s views on broader dimensions of their own compounds varied. A number of young people talked about their communities as being places where they were happy living. It was clear they had strong associations and social ties within them. Many talked about their compounds as places that had many challenges, but they were still ‘home’ and somewhere young people felt deeply connected to. They did not necessarily feel they ‘were stuck’ in the compounds, as other studies of youth in Lusaka suggest (Hansen, 1997, 2005). Young people also often portrayed a deep desire to create positive change within their own communities. In explaining such positive views, it may be particularly relevant that the young people that were interviewed were all involved in SfD activities that centred on trying to achieve such social change. These young people recognized that their optimism and positive views of communities were not shared by others in their communities. For example, one young person spoke of the lack of belief amongst other young people that they could change their circumstances and, as a result, had low future aspirations for themselves:

[They] do not have the ability or the power to decide what they want. They have no goals in life, they just want to live blindly day to day to day. They just live for today, not thinking about tomorrow or the future … they have nothing in their lives. (Female peer leader, Kabwata)

It is also possible to recognize more critical perspectives from those young people who had been able to gain positive experiences outside their own communities. Young people who, through various SfD activities, have had opportunities for national and international travel described being less content because
of a growing awareness of what they felt their compound was lacking. These young people were more likely to discuss wanting to leave compound life:

That is where I was born and brought up and hopefully I will die somewhere else! I want to get out of Chawama so I can experience different lifestyles. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

This is where I have grown up, but if I get a job I will move out. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

While such comments retain the level of aspiration identified amongst other young people, they also indicate that young people’s perspectives are by no means homogeneous and reflect different aspects of their backgrounds and experiences. This diversity of views highlights the importance of understanding different, localized, interpretations of what otherwise may appear to be uniformly structured contexts. These data also begin to indicate how young people’s perspectives of the contexts within which they live may be reflected in, and shaped by, involvement in SfD.

This section has brought together the views of adults and young people on some of the key conditions that circumscribe young people’s current lives and future possibilities. We have found the detail provided valuable and relevant to our efforts to understand how SfD might operate in these local contexts. We have also been encouraged by how the information obtained from adults and young people has been complementary and synergistic. On the one hand, these accounts confirm that there is strong local recognition of development challenges in education and employment, and arising from everyday living conditions. On the other, they have identified greater differentiation in young people’s situations and responses than we would otherwise have recognized. In the next section we therefore explore further how young people interact with these environments, by shifting the focus from social institutions to social relations.

**Young people and social relations in Zambia**

The purpose of the previous section was to provide an overview of the key physical conditions and aspects of social provision which have a bearing on young Zambians’ everyday lives. The commentaries from young people, especially towards the end of the section, were a reminder of the importance of recognizing individual agency within such contexts. In this section, our focus is on these more dynamic aspects of how young people live their everyday lives.
We address a further set of influences – key social relationships and relations that influence young Zambians. We focus on a number of dimensions: family, peer groups and associational life, and the intersection of these with constructions of gender.

By first considering ‘family’, we are addressing the most widespread and immediate social network for young people. In Zambia, as elsewhere, family composition, practices and ideologies all significantly affect young people’s lives and this influence is recognized in the work of many SfD organizations. In Lusaka, for example, the Go Sisters programme works specifically with parents to encourage them to allow their daughters to participate in the programme. Families are also seen as conduits for promoting social change – for example by supporting their children’s education – and, conversely, as potential barriers to it. Despite this, detailed empirical accounts of family relationships remain extremely rare in the SfD literature (Kay and Spaaij, 2012). As a social structure, the family in Zambia has undergone considerable and sometimes dramatic change. The traditional conceptualization of family is of the ‘extended family’, including aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents (Gough, 2008). Extended families were traditionally the central supportive social structure in Zambian life. However, the dual and combined influences of economic conditions and the HIV/AIDS pandemic have contributed to extended family structures breaking down, especially in urban areas such as Lusaka (Gough, 2008). Largely as a consequence of deaths associated with AIDS and other diseases, estimates suggest that there are 1.3 million orphans or similarly vulnerable children in Zambia (UNDP/Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2011). Combined with wider economic conditions, Gough (2008) identifies increasing flexibility in household composition in Zambia, with an increasingly large proportion of children being either temporarily or permanently raised not by their parents but by other relatives. Specifically in the Lusaka compound of Kalingalinga, Hansen’s (2005: 14) research identified the prevalence of:

unconventional household arrangements, including domestic groups of youth with no adult head as provider – households consisting entirely of young men, or of young women, or of siblings, and child-headed households, or households of children with a granny caretaker, for whom the children may actually be providing.

For many of our adult interviewees, changes to the extended family system were a source of great concern. The following comments from a community
representative in Kamwala and a member of staff from an SfD NGO respectively were typical in identifying and expressing anxiety about the consequences of these changes for young people:

We have of late noticed that; we Africans believed in the extended relationship, which is dying slowly because of the economic crisis. People are shying backwards to assist because they don't have enough to supplement other children. So, as a result, these children are running onto the streets.

Because of the HIV pandemic, many children are running their lives on their own, so that is why there are a lot of children on the streets. Nuclear family now is not here because a lot of children have no parents. So, one home out of seven there is only one [parent] living and the rest are children … so people have very big families, so when parents die they are on their own.

Changes in family structures and household composition can have varied consequences. Many of our interviewees, particularly in the more middle-class community of Kamwala, recounted stories of families who were forced to sell, rent and move out of homes after a senior member of the household had died. Amongst such families, residential and social mobility was largely downward to poorer housing and compounds, as also observed by Gough (2008). In Kamwala especially, community members spoke of their perception of eroding community cohesion and trust as a result of the ongoing movement of families into and out of the community.

These perspectives from Kamwala contrasted with accounts we received about the more deprived community of Chawama. Here, the dominant narrative to emerge was about a continuing ethos of community support. One community member indicated:

As you see, the population here in Chawama is growing because we have got some parents who died because of this pandemic of AIDS, HIV/AIDS. And they leave orphans. And we, as the community, have to look after those orphans. We support them through. Sometimes we might help them with books, supporting them at school. I think that has not really changed. We work together, yes. (Community representative, SfD NGO)

Noyoo (2008) cites Zambian people and communities as being friendly and resilient in the face of adversity, a characteristic we particularly noticed amongst young Zambians who have been significantly and directly affected by changes in family and household structures. In a variety of ways, children and young people have to take on significant responsibilities to contribute to the functioning of the household and family. As well as having to take responsibility for
either older relatives or younger siblings, earning money to support families was also a priority for some young people. Elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, Robson et al. (2006) have similarly identified the importance to young people of supporting their families.

Family and economic pressures also affected the possibilities of some young people attending school:

Some of the challenges that we normally have, some parents are not very supportive and they are not helpful. You will find that you bring the children together to educate them, but the time with the parents, they want to send them to sell groundnuts and things. That is some of the problems that we normally face as a community. (Head teacher, community school, Chawama)

Some interviewees also described the extreme measures that families were driven to in response to the poverty that they experienced:

Then there are some parents, they encourage children to do prostitution because maybe that is where they raise money, that type of things. This really happens here within the community. They are bread and butter through prostitution. Those are some of the problems that we face. (Head teacher, community school, Chawama)

Adults’ accounts, therefore, indicate the ways in which young people’s families may constrain their choices as a result of the social and economic pressures to which they are subject. Policy rhetoric that positions young people as gaining increasing status and driving social change within African societies sits uncomfortably with traditional and continuing social norms, in Zambia and in other African countries, which reinforce expectations that young people ‘show high levels of unquestionable respect for adults’ (Svenson and Burke, 2005: 30). As a result, traditional positions of adult privilege are generally maintained and young people continue to face ‘considerable hurdles to participating in the economic, social and political spheres’ (UN Economic Commission for Africa, 2009: 7).

Families are also influential as sources of strongly gendered norms that characterize Zambian society in the private and public spheres. Traditional perspectives regarding gender are deeply embedded across different aspects of Zambian culture, as the following comment from an SfD NGO worker somewhat contradictorily, but strongly, indicates:

The relationship with boys and girls is more cultural than religion. Even the bible says, though, the man is more superior than the girls in a given situation. It strongly states that the girl should be submissive.
Young people in Zambia

Such traditional views of gender have meant that girls and young women have often had far greater responsibilities in their households than male family members. Cultural norms regarding gender, combined with the breakdown of family structures in some cases, differentially affected access to education amongst girls:

You find girls of about 12 years old are heading families because everyone else has died. So if there is a boy and a girl, the boy will go to school but the girl will have to look after the family at home. (Staff member, SfD NGO)

The roles that women have undertaken meant that they were, however, valued by many interviewees as playing a significant role in maintaining extended families and community cohesion. This perspective was mentioned in relation to adult women rather than to girls:

The women, I think that it is a big effect in Chawama community. So, most of the time we find the women are in the forefront of finding things that we can keep up in everyday life. For example, maybe we find that the husband is not working and she has children, and those children need to go to school, they need food. And the woman is there fighting for those children. It is really affecting the women here in Chawama. (Community representative, SfD NGO)

Our adult interviewees also expressed concerns about some other aspects of young people’s ‘associational lives’ in Lusaka communities. While religious belief is strongly evident in Zambian society and churches often run programmes of activities for young people, few adult interviewees spoke of churches occupying a significant place in the lives of young people. Instead, they commonly expressed anxiety about alcohol and drug abuse amongst young people:

The big problem we have in African countries is substance abuse. But here is getting very bad; they can’t live without alcohol, especially these young ones … So people are now abusing drugs from a very tender age. … So you wonder where this generation is heading to. (Teacher, government secondary school, Munali)

Such perspectives align with wider concerns expressed about moral decay amongst Zambian young people (Locke and Lintelo, 2012). Our adult interviewees also echoed Gough’s (2008) recognition of communal and associational dimensions of alcohol and drug abuse, with young people pooling their money to engage in such activities.
The data obtained from young people provides a valuable complement to the views expressed by adults. Young people involved in interviews and focus groups offered nuanced accounts both of the influences of peer groups and in respect of other issues identified thus far in this section. Friendships and networks with peers within their communities were recognized as important influences by young people. Some did discuss the negative impact that ‘immoral’ friends could have on young people’s behaviour:

When your friends are lazy and they just sit and drink all the time and do bad things, it is very hard for you not to do the same. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

I get pressure, but it depends on how you handle that pressure and the choices you make. I decide to keep away from people like that. I feel I am strong enough to stay away from people who might make me behave immorally. (Male participant, Kamwala)

Another young person spoke of the need to, and benefits of, associating with ‘good friends’:

We need to play safe. You have to know which friends you are going to join because there are friends that are bad, they encourage you to do bad things. You have to at least be having good friends, which encourages you to do good things so it’s very important. (Female participant, Lusaka)

Similar perspectives were given by other young people, who identified the importance of friendships for discussing problems and challenges within young people’s lives, for gaining advice, and for providing general social support that helped young people remain optimistic and hopeful:

We listen to one another; it is good being together – we’ve known one another for a long time and I know [she] will always tell me the truth. (Female participant, Chibolya)

You go first to [your family] and get information, and then you talk to your friends … and then you know if it is true, if you have asked different people. (Female participant, Kamwala)

This second quote also emphasizes the importance of family to many of the young people. Again, young people spoke of their own and others’ families in diverse ways:

Like, the way it is here, everything is done by family. Like, every decision you make you have to think of your family. ’Cause, like, I can say that is how it is.
We are more like connected. Just like I said, whatever we do, we look at the wellbeing of the family. (Female peer leader, Kabulonga)

Definitely you have to listen to your parents … your parents know more than you – you have to listen to them because they will tell you what is right … they know more than me, so they will always tell me the right thing. (Male participant, Kamwala)

Yes, I have to work and try and pay for my school fees, but also to help my mother with the family. Once I have some money I can go back to school. My father died three years ago and my mother needs the help with money. (Female participant, Kamwala)

In Africa, once your parents send you to school they expect you to help them in return. (Female participant, Kalingalinga)

Such quotes indicate levels of mutual and collective support within the families of the young people we spoke to. Most of these young people reflected fondly on their families and saw adult family influences as significant motivators within their lives. However, they recognized that such supportive family contexts were not the experience of many young people. They talked about ‘dysfunctional families’ that were plagued by domestic violence towards women and girls and those in which parents or older adults would encourage, or at least tolerate, substance abuse. The quotes presented earlier also appear to indicate slightly different perspectives on the roles young people often take in supporting other and older family members. It was important to young people that they supported their family as well as they could, but they also felt a particular weight of expectation that they would have to look after their parents or older family members as they began to experience deteriorations in health. Interviewees also identified families in which young people were forced to turn to prostitution, in the case of young women, and crime, in the case of young men, in order to support their families.

These perspectives also indicate the hierarchical dimensions of family structures. Young people who lived in traditional family units spoke of their fathers as exercising most authority within the home. This gendered dimension of family structures was also represented in the views of young women and girls, who felt the expectations to fulfil supportive roles most acutely:

Girls we are workers at home. Working vessels like the bible says. So we only say something when someone has said, ‘Can you say something?’ … that is what culture says. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

Similar to Gough (2008), accounts of daily life given by girls and young women told of rising early and undertaking household tasks including assisting with
cooking and cleaning, and helping other family members get ready for their day. Especially if they were able to go to school, girls and young women were left with limited time that was their own, with requirements to support older family members in the mornings and evenings providing the main structure to their daily lives.

Beyond the home, young people talked about the challenges that young women faced in managing relationship dynamics with young men, the difficulties of saying no to male requests, and also the pressure to be married and in a stable relationship as soon as possible:

> It is different, you can't tell the man what to do. He tells you what to do. … I think, for us, we can't tell the man what to do because he is the one who provides money, he does everything. You just keep quiet – you have to give respect to him. He can beat you up if you say anything; he will say, 'I bring money, I do this.' We don't have much power. Some men do respect women, but some they don't at all. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

> When they [men] beat you up or they give you money, it is harder to say no. (Female participant, Kalingalinga)

Whilst some of the young people interviewed felt that traditional gender dynamics were beginning to change, with women having more of a say in society, they still acknowledged the limited influence and power that women had within public spheres in their own communities. Such gender relations are significant when considering constraints on female health behaviour in relation to sport and HIV/AIDS education, as discussed in the next section as well as in Chapter 6 when we consider gender empowerment through sport.

Beyond their families, young people also often spoke about the limited status that they felt they had within their local communities. Young people indicated that they felt disempowered and ignored in the context of their communities, and this was a continual source of frustration:

> What really kills the Zambian culture is that adults think they can do it, but they also need the youths to help them out. … I have never seen anything like that, calling upon the youths to make decisions … it is adult driven, and then youths are completely eliminated from decision making. (Female peer leader, Kabwata)

This quote speaks of a commonly expressed desire amongst young people to promote change in their local community. However, young people felt they had little opportunity to shape the development of their community and generally
had very limited contact with adults who had access to transformative power sources:

RESPONDENT: The councillors make decisions and even the people from the churches, those older people … (Female peer leader, Kabwata)

INTERVIEWER: And does he [the chairman] interact much with young people? Does he talk with young people?

RESPONDENT: No, he doesn’t.

Overall, this section has indicated some of the significant challenges affecting young people in Lusaka communities, and the ways in which they may be particularly affected both by long-standing social hierarchies and by more recent social changes. However, the section also points to the need to avoid generalizations about such influences, and indicates the different ways in which continuities and changes in Zambian society can be experienced in different communities, according to gender and by individual young people. Such variation will also be a feature of the subsequent section, in which the effects of HIV/AIDS across Zambia, particularly for young people, are considered.

**Young people and HIV/AIDS in Zambia**

This final section now applies the actor-oriented approach to the specific context of HIV/AIDS. The previous chapters have gone some way to explain the prominence that HIV/AIDS has in development contexts, both within and outside the SfD movement. To complement this, we now examine the challenges that HIV/AIDS poses to Zambian youth, from the perspectives of adults and young people. By presenting these views, we aim to contextualize the work undertaken by Zambian SfD NGOs to address the pandemic.

It is helpful to first re-emphasize the impact that HIV/AIDS has had across Zambia. In recent years overall levels of infection have been in decline, as they have been in neighbouring countries. When first formally measured in 1991–92, however, almost a quarter of the adult population in Zambia were infected with the virus (UNDP, 2011). Since then, the prevalence of HIV amongst 15- to 49-year-olds decreased to 16% by 2002 and dropped further to an estimated 12.9% by 2011 (UNAIDS, 2012). Nevertheless, the impact of the disease remains hugely significant, with an estimated 970,000 Zambians living with HIV, of whom 170,000 are children. AIDS-related deaths number 31,000 annually, and it has been estimated that 2.8 million people will have died in Zambia of

Women and girls have been particularly affected by HIV/AIDS, with the HIV prevalence rate amongst women aged between 15 and 24 years standing at 7%, more than double the 3.1% rate amongst men of the same age (UNAIDS, 2012). HIV infection is also differentially distributed on a geographical basis throughout the country, with the highest incidence rates in urban areas and particularly the capital, Lusaka, where the majority of our SfD research has been undertaken. Interestingly and perhaps surprisingly, the Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (Central Statistical Office, 2007) indicated that HIV prevalence was higher amongst Zambians with higher levels of education, those currently in employment and those with above average wealth. At the very least, these distinctions indicate that HIV/AIDS has affected the whole of Zambian society. As Gough observes:

Few families (in Lusaka) have been unaffected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Those who would normally be the breadwinners are succumbing to HIV/AIDS resulting in the elderly looking after the young, orphans being catered for by other family members, and youth headed households. (Gough, 2008: 246)

In considering the factors that contribute to HIV infection amongst young people, the focus of this section is on sexual behaviours and the factors that influence these behaviours. The importance placed on sexual behaviours both in the literature and by our community interviewees reflects the fact that heterosexual intercourse is by far the most common form of transmission for young people in Zambia (NAC, 2010). Influences on young people’s sexual behaviour are complex, as Magnani et al. emphasize:

Sexual and reproductive health related behaviour of youth in Lusaka are influenced in important ways by a myriad of factors. Some of these are characteristics of adolescents themselves, while others are characteristics of the environment in which they are embedded. (Magnani et al., 2002: 83)

There are relatively few other Zambian studies that examine the range of factors that influence young people’s sexual behaviour and HIV infection. Both Kalunde (1997) and, more recently, Nshindano and Maharaj (2008) focus on the attitudes of young people. Reinforcing studies from other locations in southern Africa, these researchers identify a degree of negligence on the part of Zambian youth. Kalunde (1997) notes an attitude of ‘youth infallibility’ which both bears similarities and contrasts with Nshindano and Maharaj’s (2008: 40) finding that...
Young people in Zambia

Young Zambians have a ‘fatalistic attitude’ towards the risk of HIV infection due to a belief that the disease would ‘claim the lives of all people so it did not matter whether they contracted it now or later’. Amongst Zambian university students, such attitudes manifested themselves in broad acceptance of multiple partnerships and concurrent relationships (Nshindano and Maharaj, 2008). These authors also identify a gendered dimension to attitudes and sexual behaviours. Young men were found to ‘feel considerable pressure to conform to the stereotypical [sexual] behaviour generally expected of them’ (ibid.: 40). Meanwhile, the opportunity for young women to engage in transactional sexual behaviours for which they received ‘material benefits’ such as gifts was, as in other sub-Saharan countries, ‘a major factor inhibiting behaviour change’ (ibid.). In addition, the Zambian NAC identifies a wider range of factors that contribute to the disproportionate rates of HIV infection amongst women, including: ‘high levels of social and economic vulnerability, inadequate access to life skills and information, low levels of negotiation skills, and unequal protection under statutory and customary laws and traditions’ (NAC, 2006: 8).

Literature from Zambia and elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa considers intervention approaches to addressing HIV/AIDS. Commonly, research has questioned the impact of HIV prevention interventions. For example, Campbell et al. (2005) highlight the limitations of interventions that are not orientated towards the social contexts in which young people live and that do not seek to develop environments that are more socially supportive of safer sexual behaviours. In respect of Zambia in particular, Magnani et al. comment:

Because of the sizeable number and diverse nature of factors influencing adolescents’ behaviours, it is unlikely that a single, easy to implement intervention will provide a solution to the high rates of HIV/AIDS infection among adolescents in Zambia. (Magnani et al., 2002: 84)

They conclude that programmes need to operate at a community level, and focus on specific protective behaviours rather than general education, in order to change ‘social norms and values surrounding adolescent reproductive health behaviours’ (ibid.). Amongst these social norms and values, these authors urge a particular focus on the repressive gender practices affecting the capacity of both young men and young women to engage in safe sexual behaviour.

Zambian HIV/AIDS interventions targeting young people have, however, largely been underpinned by the ‘ABC’, or ‘abstinence, be faithful, use a condom’, approach. Interventions tend to emphasize knowledge acquisition around these areas (Magnani et al., 2002). All three preventative strategies are
fraught with challenges. Previous studies from various sub-Saharan countries have suggested that abstaining is not a realistic or sustainable choice for many young people (Meekers and Calves, 1997). Similarly, studies suggest that condom use may be sporadic, with young people having difficulty accessing condoms, being unsure how to use them, and feeling unable or insecure about negotiating their use with partners (MacPhail and Campbell, 2001; James et al., 2004; Pettifor et al., 2005). Both young men and young women can interpret asking a partner to use a condom as a lack of trust (Varga, 1999), whilst, as indicated earlier, young women engaging in transactional sexual activities are likely to have limited bargaining power to negotiate these encounters safely (Stephenson, 2009).

Our adult interviewees’ reflections on HIV/AIDS and young people’s lives echoed several of the themes from the literature. Two teachers referred to a noticeable degree of intergenerational differences and expressed concerns about the attitudes of young people as a whole:

This generation, they are so energetic – they want to do everything, they want to experiment. When they hear something they want to try it … when you ask these boys, most of them will have had sex … These days sex is an open thing – you go into class and ask how many people have had sex, they shy away, but you just have to open up. So, as a teacher, you have to say, ‘Look, I know most of you have had sex,’ and you have to say, ‘I hope when you are having sex you are using a condom.’ (Teacher, community school, Kamwala)

The more you give them time to be free, that is the time they use to engage themselves in promiscuous activities. Alcohol abuse and substance abuse … this will lead them to immoral behaviour because they don’t know what they are doing; the man will take advantage and they get pregnant, which is a trend now – teenage mothers. (Teacher, community school, Kamwala)

The association between alcohol and drug abuse and risky sexual activity was a common theme across a range of adult interviews. For some adult community members, young people’s ‘immoral behaviours’ reflected limited opportunities for productive use of time, as Zambian SfD representatives also spoke of in Njelesani and colleagues’ (2014) research. This point was sometimes phrased in religious parlance: ‘an idle mind is the devil’s workshop’. Several interviewees suggested that additional factors affected young women:

When a female has no activity, no employment, what do they do? They go into abuse of alcohol and, end result, they end up being prostituting, which is not fair. (Staff member, youth employment organization, Chawama)
The girls, sometimes they may have problems – maybe they don't have money, they come from poor families – so in the end they would like to have a boyfriend, so that they can be given money to do other things or to buy things for themselves. (Teacher, community school, Chawama)

Girls are also a victim in the society because, due to desperation, they go to look for men. Not because they have high sexual desire, no. They don't even have the desire. They want to exchange their bodies for money. But the end result is they are contracting a disease. (Community representative, Kamwala)

The girls are the most affected by HIV/AIDS; a woman has no say in sex. A girl child is also abused in that way, many children are abused by relatives; I'm talking about a girl child, they will be abused by relatives in the home, and when it is in the home it is dealt with at a family level. Normally it would go to court, but the family wouldn't want that – they would not want to break up the family. (Staff member, SfD NGO)

Such comments highlight how women's and girls' increased risk of HIV infection is affected by multiple interrelated factors, including gender inequality, poverty, lack of employment, family circumstances and abuse.

The views that adults expressed were echoed in many of the contributions from young people. Throughout our research, the young men and women we spoke to proved to be invaluable informants, willing to talk unselfconsciously about HIV/AIDS and its impact of their local community, and to share their views on the factors contributing to the spread of the virus. Many young people talked about the disruption and devastation that HIV/AIDS had caused family units, as well as how it had taken the lives of many educated and skilled adults in their community. However, whilst happy to talk about HIV in impersonal terms, it was evident that there was still a certain stigma attached to the virus. It was rare in interviews and focus groups for a young person to refer to their own experience of living with family members with the virus; even if a family member had died, young people tended to talk about their final illness rather than directly name HIV/AIDS. It was also notable that no young people self-disclosed to us as having HIV themselves. Given the prevalence rates, it is likely that the virus had infected some of the young people we have spoken with, although they may not necessarily have been aware of it.

As well as speaking impersonally, young people also commonly spoke in externalizing ways, which explained the risk and circumstances of HIV infection amongst other, unnamed, young people in their communities. There was also a moral dimension in some young people's explanation of HIV infection. For example, while most of the young people we spoke to agreed that abstinence
from sex was a difficult strategy for many young people, they tended to refer to those who did not abstain as ‘foolish’ and ‘lacking in self-discipline’. Interviewees also strongly highlighted the influence of family in shaping young people’s values and beliefs towards HIV/AIDS and risk. Rather than being spoken of as important sources of advice and information on HIV/AIDS, young people more often talked about parents instilling particular morals and values that made them less likely to engage in risk-taking behaviour:

> It matters what sort of background they have or what sort of parents they have. If there is some sort of disorder in the house, most of the children will grow up in the same manner as their parents because those are our sort of influences. You have to have parents with good morals and then you learn good morals. That is what your influences are. (Male participant, Kamwala)

Such comments have resonance with young people’s recognition of ‘dysfunctional’ families, referred to earlier in the chapter. The young people we spoke to felt that others were more inclined to expose themselves to risk if their parents were absent or appeared not to care about their children’s behaviour.

Perspectives of young people also reflected issues of peer pressure, lack of opportunity and fatalism that our adult interviewees had also mentioned and that are referred to in the literature. Again, young people distanced themselves personally from these positions, yet talked about their peers as generally lacking in hope or purpose and, as such, placing limited value on looking after themselves:

> Some youth, they think there is no future, so it doesn’t matter if they get these diseases because there is nothing for them to be. (Female participant, Munali)

Other young people hinted that rather than being resigned to contracting HIV/AIDS, some of their peers did not consider themselves to be at risk:

> You can say to that young man he needs to use a condom, but if thinks he is not going to catch anything he will think, ‘Why should I bother?’ (Male participant, Kamwala)

Both peer pressure and, in some cases, power relations were also considered by young people as important factors that significantly influenced sexual behaviours. Again, women were described by young people as having limited agency in determining their sexual behaviours. Without, again, disclosing anything of their own behaviours, young women spoke explicitly and specifically about
Young people in Zambia others in their community engaging in sex in return for ‘desirable goods’ that young men may give them:

Some girls want things like soap to take care of themselves; others now, though, want more. They will have sex with a man if he has a car and will drive them around and take them places they need to go to. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

Beyond the adult views expressed earlier, what was evident from interviews with young people was their exposure to education on HIV/AIDS from an array of sources. Those that were attending school discussed the integration of HIV/AIDS education within various taught subjects as well as the establishment of extracurricular ‘anti-AIDS’ clubs that young people could attend. Outside school, young people often experienced HIV/AIDS education in different settings:

Yes, I think now it is everywhere; it is not just at school, it is not just at coaching, even at church we have meetings and we discuss it. (Male participant, Kabulonga)

Many of the young people we spoke with were not only involved with SfD NGOs but also, concurrently, with development-orientated organizations and activities in a number of these different settings. Whether young people with less supportive families and peers were doing likewise was, however, difficult to determine.

Importantly, young people also spoke of the types of information they received about HIV/AIDS, the sources of this information and their own perception of the efficacy of these messages. From our initial visit to Zambia, young people spoke of the prevalence of messages regarding the value of abstinence and avoidance of what the messages suggested to be promiscuous sexual behaviour before marriage:

Yes, they teach us we have to abstain in our lives – you can get HIV, you can die – so we know you don’t have to die, you have to respect yourself. Abstaining is what we do, but some don’t. (Female participant, Kamwala)

However, there was also evidence of other messages regarding the importance of HIV/AIDS testing:

Because there are others who do not know, and they teach us because there are some girls who sleep with people a long time ago and they don’t know if they
are infected. So they teach us where we can get tested and that you must get tested. (Female participant, Chibolya)

A number of those interviewed on our first visit to Zambia considered that the scale of the HIV/AIDS pandemic was due to young people simply ignoring the information they were told:

HIV/AIDS is now all over; when someone tells you not to do something you have to not do it. But when you try to tell your friend this is not good, this is bad then. But sometimes they want to be bad. (Female participant, Chibolya)

Yes some still ignore it though – they sit just playing, they don't listen and when the teacher asks what he has explained they can't answer, they can't explain … they just ignore the teacher and say, 'We don't need to know.' (Male participant, Chibolya)

There were also indications that adults in formal positions were not necessarily trusted sources of information:

Like, when the teacher is talking, some people go, 'She is lying, she doesn't know what she is talking about.' (Female participant, Kamwala)

Moreover, some girls and young women tended to present a perspective that boys were generally less inclined to listen to the HIV/AIDS education than they were:

Boys don't learn the message – they think they don't get HIV/AIDS. They can't be careful with what they have. They just spread it. Sometimes even if they know they have it, they spread it … everywhere we tell them but they don't understand, they don't listen. (Female participant, Chibolya)

Thus, while young people commonly experience HIV/AIDS education, their perspectives indicated that the impact of this may often be limited. We will consider the relevance of this for the activities of SfD NGOs and their potential impact across the following two chapters. Overall, young people and adults recognized different ways in which societal influences shaped behaviours that could contribute to the risk of HIV infection. The conclusion to the chapter will attempt to draw together some of the interrelationships between broader social structures, HIV/AIDS, and the perspectives and behaviours of young people in Zambian communities.
Conclusions

This chapter has drawn on multiple sources, combining detailed local accounts from adults and young people with published data and literature on Zambian society. With SfD organizations in Zambia and elsewhere working primarily with young people, it has given special priority to exploring the value of young people’s own perspectives on the issues affecting them. Their informed, detailed accounts confirm the credibility and value of young people as research participants. Together, they and our adult informants have provided nuanced understanding of how nationally recognized social trends and problems are experienced locally. These rich qualitative accounts also allow identification of some cases in which local circumstances deviate from national patterns. At the very least, these local understandings have implications for the delivery and outcomes of SfD activities at community level. Our actor-orientated approach therefore guides us to advocate the importance of the perspectives of local people in providing contextual, localized information to inform SfD research and practice.

The localized data has revealed that the social problems that Zambian SfD organizations address are the products of interrelated and multilevel influences. At local level, the global and national antecedents of poverty discussed in Chapter 2 reduce opportunities for young people, and interact with inequitable social relations to heighten the risk of exposure to HIV. In turn, HIV/AIDS is itself a contributing factor, having wrought fundamental changes in Zambian social and family structures that make young people’s lives precarious. While these changes have affected all Zambians, young people highlight the different and diverse ways in which they and others experience the consequences of HIV/AIDS and other social problems. In doing so, it is noteworthy that many young people express optimism and refer to the support that they draw from family and friends. Some also spoke of positive feelings of attachment towards their communities, despite the many social challenges that they experienced within them. These findings stand in contrast to other studies of Zambian young people (Hansen, 2005; Gough, 2008) which have given less prominence to positive views. It may be that this heightened sense of agency is a consequence of our sample largely consisting of young people involved with SfD activities, emphasizing the importance of recognizing the diverse situations, perspectives and responses young people may offer. That the young people themselves portrayed diversity amongst their peer group would support Coalter’s (2013) criticism of any presentation of young people as universally ‘deficient’. It is in-depth
qualitative data from young people themselves that allows this differentiation to be substantially illuminated.

The agency of young Zambians living in difficult social conditions is necessarily, but to different degrees, constrained. This is evident in the commentaries given about the particularly problematic nature of gender relations within Zambia, which illustrate how constructions of idealized masculine and disempowered feminine youth identities can play a critical role in shaping young people’s responses to risk in sexual encounters. Thus, although the data indicates that at least some young people within Zambia are well educated about HIV/AIDS, it also shows that sound knowledge is not necessarily sufficient to mitigate the effects of broader structural influences. This indicates and reinforces the challenges facing SfD and other organizations that focus on addressing HIV/AIDS in navigating the multilayered influences that shape young people’s behaviour and capacity to engage in safe sexual practice.

The chapter has gone somewhat beyond ‘heartfelt narratives’ of SfD, to reveal local adults and young people as custodians of local expert knowledge. Their informed and considered views allow a localized understanding of the immediate context of SfD that nationally- and internationally-focused analyses conceal. There is also evidence of local desire and efforts to create change in communities, and of challenges and obstacles to achieving this. The implications that aspects of local community contexts have for SfD organizations working within them will be considered further in the following two chapters.
Approaches to local SfD provision

This chapter provides an in-depth analysis of how SfD is delivered in Zambian communities, paying particular attention to those who are central to this provision; namely, Zambian peer leaders. In doing so, the chapter addresses a number of topics that have frequently featured elsewhere in the SfD literature, in studies that have largely focused on specific programmes. This chapter offers a contrasting and complementary approach that follows Long’s (2001) view that the boundaries of specific programmes cannot be clearly demarcated. Therefore, we examine approaches and provision across the range of SfD organizations with which we have undertaken research.

The chapter addresses a number of topics that have frequently featured elsewhere in the SfD literature. In comparison with studies undertaken by others, which have largely focused on specific programmes, it offers a contrasting and complementary approach. Again following Long’s (2001) view that the boundaries of specific programmes cannot be clearly demarcated, we instead examine approaches and provision across the range of SfD organizations with which we have undertaken research. Although most of our work has been conducted with the NGOs EduSport and Sport in Action, it has also involved other SfD organizations operating in Lusaka communities, and further examples are drawn from these. The chapter does not, therefore, attempt to investigate causal relationships between particular SfD programmes and their outcomes, nor does it propose particular models for ‘effective’ SfD delivery. Instead, by examining SfD practices across different programmes and organizations, it aims to develop fuller knowledge than more narrowly focused research or evaluation can provide.

Throughout the chapter, there is an ongoing focus on the role of peer leaders in SfD delivery. Peer leaders are central to SfD approaches and provision in Zambia, including in the two NGOs with which we have worked most frequently. The involvement of young people in the delivery of SfD is common across the movement, so much so that Nicholls (2009: 167) describes SfD as occurring ‘on the backs of peer educators’. However, despite the prominence of
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peer leaders within SfD, there has been little detailed empirical research into their involvement within the academic literature. Specific studies of peer-led SfD activities have largely been limited to quantitatively evaluating the benefits of this approach for participants (e.g. Maro et al., 2009; Woodcock et al., 2012), leading Coalter (2013: 103) to suggest that the involvement of peer leaders in SfD may be a ‘method in search of a theory’. The intention here is not to examine or develop a particular theory of peer leadership, but to increase knowledge about peer leader attributes, roles and experiences.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first considers issues affecting the provision of sports activities in Lusaka communities, the second discusses the delivery of education through and alongside sport, and the third examines associations between SfD provision and community relations. Each section draws on data collected across a number of our studies and makes extensive use of narrative content from adults and young people. Most of the primary data comes from four studies: our initial investigation of the delivery of SfD in Zambia in 2006, when we first collected data from staff and peer leaders at Sport in Action and EduSport; the community-based research led by Iain in 2009; the work undertaken through the Zambian element of the II study, which allowed us to conduct interviews with representatives from a more extensive range of SfD organizations; and the four-year research programme we carried out from 2009, conducted with the Go Sisters programme run by EduSport.

Given the centrality of peer leaders to SfD delivery, the interviews conducted with approximately 50 young people involved in peer leading in the Go Sisters programme are particularly important. Some had been involved as peer leaders for a number of years and several have participated in repeat interviews over this time. During the period of the research we also attended several training sessions for prospective and existing peer leaders, and were present at numerous sport and education activities that they delivered in Lusaka communities. Our informal observations from these activities, and our many informal discussions with EduSport and Sport in Action SfD staff, also inform the chapter.

Provision and peer-led delivery of sport activities

This section describes the way in which sport is provided by SfD organizations in Zambia and identifies a number of issues that arise in local delivery. Within the literature on SfD there is surprisingly little detail about the mechanisms of sport provision that underpin SfD programmes, despite warnings such as
Coakley’s (2011) against making uncritical assumptions that sport can contribute to development. The terminology of ‘sport for development’ could itself be considered indicative of sport as a singular social practice rather than a diverse one. As Spaaij (2009: 1266) emphasizes, however, there are ‘important questions about which sports and sports processes produce what outcomes, for which participants and in what circumstances’, a point that Coalter (2007a, 2010b, 2013) has consistently asserted. Nevertheless, exploration or even explanation of the nature of sports provision is largely restricted to case studies of specific SfD programmes (e.g. Burnett, 2009; Woodcock et al., 2012), and wider analysis of the particularities of SfD sport provision is limited.

Our examination of sport provision associated with SfD in Zambia shows that Sport in Action, EduSport and other NGOs tend to focus their delivery on a fairly narrow range of sports. Although there are variations in the extent to which particular sports are delivered in specific communities, the majority of provision is based on team sports such as football, netball, basketball and volleyball. Local Zambian indigenous games are also commonly played, either alongside other sporting activities or in stand-alone sessions, typically with younger children in school settings.

Several points are notable about this selection of sports and their link to wider SfD practice and debates. The main sports that SfD NGOs deliver in Zambia are those that have been identified in the SfD literature as raising questions about cultural imperialism (e.g. Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011: 300). While acknowledging this viewpoint, we align more closely with Njelesani et al. (2014) in recognizing the significance of alternative cultural influences, together with a number of important pragmatic considerations. First, the sports delivered by SfD NGOs are those that were already popular and, to differing extents, established in the communities in which Zambian SfD organizations work. The popularity and use of football, in particular, in Zambian communities is reflective of its widespread appeal across the world, and it has been extensively used and valued as an engagement tool in SfD work across the global South (Armstrong, 2004; Spaaij, 2012). Zambian SfD practitioners interviewed by Njelesani et al. (2014: 798) described this sport as being associated with and ‘generat[ing] a sense of belonging, collectivity, and identity in Zambian culture’. Although these interviewees recognized the colonial history to which Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) refer, it was this contemporary, localized cultural perspective that had been more important in their decision to use it within their programmes. A second significant local consideration is that, with the exception of basketball, only rudimentary facilities and limited equipment are
required for the selected sports, which will be seen later to be an especially pertinent issue. Third, team sports enable the engagement of a large number of participants and potentially hold greater potential for integration amongst participants – a rationale that Schulenkorf and Edwards (2012) also identify among SfD practitioners in Sri Lanka.

Another practical consideration in the selection of sports offered by SfD concerns their capacity to enable single- and/or mixed-gender participation. The issues about gender integration/segregation reveal some of the complexities in the interaction between types of sport, local cultural norms and the developmental aims underpinning SfD activities. Zambian SfD organizations provide football opportunities, for example, for girls and young women in order to counter specific perceptions of it being a male-only sport, with the intention of also challenging wider cultural stereotypes of gender appropriateness. Such an approach is adopted in EduSport’s Go Sisters programme, and has been identified elsewhere by Brady and Banu-Khan (cited in Larkin, 2007) in their study of the MYSA in Kenya. Conversely, some of these same Zambian organizations also deliver provision that conforms to traditional gender divisions – for example, parallel provision of activities in which girls and young women participate in netball alongside boys and young men participating in football. Some of our interviewees have suggested that it can be easier to attract girls and young women into netball; this gender distinction was, however, most visible at inter-school and inter-community competitions delivered by SfD organizations. This suggests that the norms and practices of other community organizations may also play a part in influencing the form that SfD provision takes in particular contexts.

Within communities, a range of sport activities are delivered in a variety of settings. The SfD organizations that we engaged with deliver regular activities in a selection of (mainly) community schools, both within the curriculum and as extracurricular sessions. This delivery compensates for the limited capacity of teachers at these schools to deliver PE for all levels of pupils, despite this being made mandatory by a governmental decree in 2006 (Njelesani, 2011). Nevertheless, as Njelesani (2011) also hints, this form of delivery does raise issues regarding piecemeal provision of PE within curriculum time in schools and its substitution by sporting activities. The weekly Friday-afternoon sport tournaments organized by EduSport in Chawama community exemplify these issues. A number of community schools stop all classes so that pupils can take part in the competitive football and netball games that are organized. Some pupils, however, appear to attend only as spectators in what is the designated PE block
in their schools’ timetables. Teachers from the schools that are involved none-theless value the opportunity for their schools to participate in these tourna-
ments, and a PE teacher in a local government school indicated to us his wish for similar opportunities to be available for his type of school. Such views suggest that the distinction that has been drawn in some global North contexts (e.g. Kirk, 2004), between the inclusive nature of PE and the exclusive nature of competitive sport, may have little relevance to stakeholders in communities in which few other opportunities for organized activity are available.

Other sporting provision is delivered by SfD organizations as community-based activities. These activities involve regular and semi-regular sport training sessions, and make use of available outdoor pitches and courts in selected commu-

nities. Teams developed by EduSport and Sport in Action from their community activities also take part in competitions and leagues, some of which are organized on an inter-community or city-wide basis by these same SfD NGOs. In addition to extending community sport provision by instigating these activities, SfD organizations also initiate or contribute to developing performance pathways for participants to compete at higher levels. During the time of our research, EduSport and Sport in Action were able to offer particularly talented young people further participation opportunities, such as the Norway Cup football tournament, which involve international travel.

The involvement of SfD NGOs in ‘mainstream’ sport provision in these ways blurs the lines between sport development and sport for development. This is also evident in the work of peer leaders, many of whom see developing sports provision as a key part of their role. Such peer leaders are very proud of how they have increased participation within their communities and have established sporting pathways where young people can now play organized and/or competitive sport. This type of engagement is seen as much more than merely developing sport, and is valued as a way of connecting young people within communities and providing a focus and a sense of pride and identity. These desired outcomes are also integrated within the broader educational aspects of delivery, in which peer leaders facilitate discussions and action with young people about issues that are most pressing to them in their local contexts.

The intertwining of sport development and sport for development is not confined to the work of SfD organizations but is also evident in the aims and approaches of ‘sports development’ organizations such as community sports clubs. Several representatives of sports clubs in Zambian communities spoke to us about the developmental objectives of their provision; some mentioned only allowing young people to participate in the club’s activities if their behaviour
outside the club met appropriate standards. As yet, the potential contribution that sports clubs in the global South might make to social objectives has not been investigated, in contrast to research conducted in the North (e.g. Coalter, 2007b; Adams, 2011).

Irrespective of the organizations or settings involved, one of the most widespread and common challenges to delivering community sport activities is the limited facilities and equipment available. While Zambian coaches and leaders manage to adapt sports sessions to the resources at their disposal, this is a major obstacle which ultimately limits delivery. A male peer leader from Sport in Action described typical situations:

We used to train with maybe one ball. Sometimes we had two and then you have a session like pass and play, like in volleyball. Then in football we have dribbling and jogging, which is very difficult for the kids to, like, do with one ball. So that was really a challenge.

Similar limitations are common across the global South (Burnett, 2001; Akindes and Kirwan, 2009) and yet are rarely highlighted as priorities, if at all, in global SfD policies (e.g. UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace, 2003; SDPIWG, 2008a). Large-scale international programmes orientated towards facility development within specific countries are also uncommon, although some smaller Northern organizations have supported Zambian SfD NGOs in the construction of new concrete courts and through the provision of equipment.

Although the absence of facilities and equipment can severely impede provision, the real heart of SfD delivery lies in peer leadership. Almost all SfD provision in schools and community settings in Zambia is reliant on the input of local volunteers and, in particular, peer leaders. Despite the centrality of peer leaders within SfD in the global South generally, there is a lack of SfD research into the characteristics, activities and experiences of the peer leader role. This has, however, been a major focus throughout our own research.

Our findings illustrate that peer leaders in Zambia are far from a homogeneous group. EduSport and Sport in Action had no set age requirement for involvement, and the peer leaders that we interviewed varied from 15 years of age to mid-20s and, in the case of one peer leader, 37 years of age. The gender of these peer leaders broadly reflected the participant base, with a reasonably equal split between young men and young women, which Nicholls (2009) would claim is similar to other SfD organizations and activities in the global South. Most peer leaders live with either their direct or their extended
family, and thus could be considered to have a greater degree of support than some young people in the communities in which they lived. Peer leaders are therefore diverse in age, experience, home life and ambitions and as a result approach their role from varied perspectives. Acknowledgement of this diversity is often lacking within current literature, in which peer leaders are often discussed as a homogeneous group.

While the responsibilities of peer leading can take up a significant amount of time for the more active peer leaders, all those we spoke to were additionally engaged in other forms of education, employment and volunteering. Some peer leaders had received a scholarship from their NGO to complete their secondary education, but others were often employed in ‘piecework’, odd jobs with limited financial rewards. Many peer leaders were also volunteering within other organizations, including schools or other NGOs. This wider involvement chimes with a common community-orientated motivation for becoming a peer leader. Molassiotis et al. (2004) found similar motivations amongst peer leaders in another HIV prevention programme in Zambia, and in our study this motivation was exemplified by one female peer leader from Kamwala, who commented:

I gained the love of it and helping people … looking at my community and wanting to help out and help the people in my community. Even though I am not getting paid, it was wanting to do things for my community.

Such a community-orientated motivation is one of the key factors in recruitment of peer leaders. Other considerations identified by interviewees include a commitment to attending sessions, a willingness to help beyond participating, an ability to foster discussions with young people on broader life issues, and personal ‘good’ behaviour within the community. The recruitment of new peer leaders is normally undertaken in an informal way, often through identification and recommendation of current participants in sporting activities by existing peer leaders or other community organizers. Some general degree of involvement in sport appeared to be sufficient in terms of sport-specific leadership skills required of new peer leaders.

Once recruited, peer leaders with Sport in Action and EduSport further develop their skills through formal and informal training. Initial training consists of the basics of coaching a range of sports to young people, mainly focusing on rules and organization of team sports as well as some information on traditional games. Subsequently, some peer leaders access more specialized coaching
training courses that are often based on Northern awards. Interviewees indicated that core elements of these courses are subsequently shared through informal discussion with other peer leaders. It is therefore inappropriate to consider peer leader training solely in the context of formal workshops as most other studies have done (Price and Knibbs, 2009), and instead to understand the upskilling of peer leaders as occurring through a community-of-practice (Wenger, 1999) approach. In this context, young people learn from being members of a peer leader community, through which they have regular contact and discussion with other more experienced individuals.

Furthermore, the formal training that peer leaders engage with could also be considered somewhat variable in content and quality. Whilst peer leaders do engage in formal training and receive ongoing support from the staff of their NGOs, much of the dissemination of knowledge takes place orally and via peer leader networks. Such informal aspects of the peer leadership system can be overlooked in SfD research undertaken largely by those from the global North. Moreover, the rationalistic desire for standardization and formalization in SfD espoused in some international SfD policies (for example, the International Community Coach Education Standards Framework developed by UK Sport – see Paramasivan, 2013) and research (e.g. Lyras and Welty Peachey, 2011) ignores both the potential rigour and consistency that may exist in informal systems.

The roles that peer leaders have vary considerably. On a day-to-day basis, EduSport and Sport in Action peer leaders are given individual or collective responsibility for the delivery of community sports activities, on a regular or irregular basis. As we shall consider later in the chapter, other peer leaders may take on a variety of tasks, including delivering educative sessions; connecting with local schools, key community stakeholders and parents; and seeking to mobilize young people to come together to try to make significant changes within their communities.

Without the independent contribution of peer leaders, neither Sport in Action nor EduSport would be able to sustain their level of provision across a range of community venues. Moreover, by their own accounts, peer leaders also undertake work to organize competitions, form sports teams and, as the following quote also indicates, initiate particular developments in their communities:

As peer leaders in each zone, we have got our own plans or our own action plans where we plan something, maybe this year, we are going to have this. (Female peer leader, Chawama)
This level of responsibility certainly contrasts with suggestions in the literature that peer leaders have little control over the organization of the activities they deliver (Price and Knibbs, 2009) and little input into SfD planning (Nicholls, 2009; Njelesani et al., 2014). It is appropriate, therefore, to move away from a global North lens that would place peer leaders as working within formal hierarchical structures headed by SfD NGOs. Certainly in Zambia, the position of peer leaders demonstrates greater complexity and fluidity. Our research points to a gradated peer-leadership model in which those individuals who are no longer at school and have been involved for an extended period of time, some for a number of years, take on further tasks and greater responsibility within the organizations they represent. In the main, such differentiation of roles is absent from the specific literature on peer leaders, although the existence of similar practices elsewhere is hinted at by Coalter, who identifies that:

Many sport-for-development organizations involve young men and women at various levels of planning, implementation and decision making, providing important experience of control, empowerment and a sense of collective responsibility. (Coalter, 2010a: 1381)

The importance of this contribution by peer leaders means that any challenges faced by these individuals are also problematic for SfD organizations and their provision of sporting activities on an ongoing and regular basis. Although the lack of payment to peer leaders by EduSport and Sport in Action does not appear to deter the young people themselves as other studies have suggested (Lesko, 2007), parents and families often do not identify the same value in investing significant time as peer leaders. As the previous chapter showed, young Zambians are commonly expected by their families to undertake family chores, do school work and/or – especially for those who are not at school – be economically productive. These expectations affect peer leaders and the extent to which they can commit their time to regular delivery of activities. One female peer leader from Chawama explained how:

In Africa once your parents send you to school they expect you to help them in return. But once you have finished school, if you do not do anything to help them and get them money then they feel that you are neglecting them or foolish in your mind.

In the first instance, these and other external pressures on peer leaders can affect the regularity with which sports activities are delivered, with resultant implications for the consistent engagement of participants in particular communities.
Moreover, the high turnover of peer leaders presented further challenges for EduSport and Sport in Action, who had to continually invest time and resources in new peer leaders with little guarantee of their long-term involvement. These issues can take on heightened significance in relation to the development function of the peer leader role, and the next section now considers these aspects.

Delivery of education through and alongside sport

This section considers how educational activities are delivered through and alongside sport in order to address the complex outcomes to which SfD is orientated in Zambia. The role of peer leaders is, if anything, even more significant to this aspect of SfD, in which relationships between participants and leaders are particularly relevant and important. A peer leadership approach is not only used by SfD NGOs, but frequently by other Zambian NGOs. Svenson et al. (2008) found that 43% of a sample of Zambian young people aged 15–24 had participated in some form of peer-led education. The common use of peer-led approaches in Zambia and elsewhere is underpinned by a number of both practical and educational considerations. These approaches are frequently justified pedagogically as providing a stimulating way of engaging disadvantaged young people and as enabling a context in which emancipatory education can occur (Warwick and Aggleton, 2004). More practically, peer-led education is relatively cheap to organize, can occur within a community setting and may be more likely to be sustainable than educational activities organized by external agencies (Campbell and MacPhail, 2002).

Peer leaders involved with Sport in Action and EduSport are expected to educate fellow young people on a range of topics. Health-related content tends to dominate, with HIV/AIDS information particularly prevalent. Beyond this, peer leaders usually promote broader health messages, including those about the consequences of drinking, smoking, and other substance or drug misuse. Peer leaders educating young people about HIV/AIDS are expected to provide information on what the virus is, how it is caught and what strategies can be used to avoid infection.

Interventions solely based on the provision of information are unlikely to be effective (Campbell et al., 2005), especially when the ability to resist pressure from peers and partners to have sex is considered to be an essential skill for HIV/AIDS prevention (Hallman, 2005). Zambian SfD peer leaders are therefore also expected to provide a supportive environment that facilitates the development of what are frequently termed ‘life skills’. Our interviews across various
Zambian organizations and individuals involved in SfD indicate rather nebulous ideas about what constitute ‘life skills’. As practised by the SfD NGOs and peer leaders in our research, however, life skills can involve supporting young people to develop leadership qualities, improve their negotiation skills and develop strategies for addressing problems in their lives. Peer-led education is, therefore, utilized by Zambian SfD NGOs with the intention of providing information that helps young people identify well-informed choices, and life-skills components that enable them to act on these choices.

Peer leaders in EduSport and Sport in Action deliver SfD activities which are intended to develop both core-content knowledge and broader life skills. They provide core-content information via various different methods. They speak to participants prior to and after sporting activities and also deliver separate education workshops. Also, both sport and traditional Zambian games are adapted to include educational messages as part of their delivery. For example, one of the key educational messages peer leaders are seeking to convey to young people is that it is difficult to tell whether someone is infected with HIV/AIDS by looking at them. It is hoped that this message will encourage young people to take precautions even if they feel a potential partner looks healthy. Zambian peer leaders illustrate this message using a game where a group of participants stand in a line with their hands behind their backs. Several carry a stone in their hands, which symbolizes they are infected with HIV/AIDS. Another participant has to dribble a football along the line and ‘guess’ who has the stone. Errors in doing so are used as ‘teachable moments’ to reinforce the key message.

The integration of HIV/AIDS messages into sporting activities is designed to present information in a way that is accessible by young people and appeals to them. Sport-based experiential approaches may be more culturally appropriate than the dissemination of written materials, especially given the high levels of illiteracy and more general lack of engagement with the written word in Zambia (Hughes-d’Aeth, 2002). Adopting a sport-plus approach of disseminating particular educational messages through adapted activities is common across SfD, and many organizations have developed their own curricula to do so. We do not discount Forde’s (2014) criticism that the ‘neo-liberal’ orientation of some such curricula may ignore structural problems in implicitly portraying HIV/AIDS as a problem of individual behaviour. However, the distant lens applied by Forde (2014) in solely analysing curriculum documentation can present an incomplete picture without more localized examination of its practical application.
For example, consideration must be given to who delivers educational activities within SfD, how they do so, and the training and support they receive. Peer education and leadership are underpinned by a number of pedagogical principles that could make them an effective educational approach. The most frequently cited benefit of peer-led delivery, compared with alternative educational approaches, is that young people may be more responsive to information shared by peers rather than that provided by adults (Turner and Shepherd, 1999; Warwick and Aggleton, 2004). Zambian SfD peer leaders provided several contextually grounded explanations and examples that support this rationale:

I, being a peer leader, will tell them the dangers of having sex at a young age. And they feel comfortable discussing this with me. I had a group [to] whom I said: ‘How many of you have boyfriends?’ And they were all quiet so I said, ‘I have,’ and then they said, ‘Oh, we do too.’ So it was easier for them to open up and be honest. (Female peer leader, Kamwala)

You can be open to your peers. We are not that open to elders. Like, here in Zambia, in our culture maybe it is a taboo talking with your parents about HIV and AIDS. So it is more easy talking about that to your peers and sharing information about that. (Female peer leader, Kabulonga)

For instance, if a girl is having problems with a boy and he is pressuring her for sex she can discuss that with all of us and we all listen and advise her and support her. That girl knows that she is not alone – she has someone to discuss her problems with. (Female peer Leader, Chawama)

These descriptions reveal a combination of mechanisms by which SfD activities may contribute to HIV prevention. Hughes-d’Aeth (2002) has noted the value of peer leaders being able to share their own experiences with participants and having a ‘first-hand’ understanding of the community context in which participants live. In Zambian SfD activities, we have observed how peer leaders encourage young people to debate and discuss the critical challenges they face within their lives in order to identify strategies to address these problems. For example, in peer-led Go Sisters sessions, approaches to dealing with peer pressure to have sexual intercourse are commonly addressed. In those sessions observed, peer leaders would explore with participants why this pressure may be inappropriate and what dangers it poses, in order to then encourage the group to suggest solutions for how they may be able to avoid or challenge negative influences from their peers. Participants are encouraged to discuss ‘real-life’ examples and how they have dealt with these to facilitate learning as experientially as possible.

Peer leaders also spoke of taking their own initiative in organizing and contributing to ‘extra’ debates beyond the sports context. These debates appear to
align what Nicholls (2009: 168) identifies as ‘the key to successful peer education [that is] horizontal dialogue that enables participants to plan as equals and to take a course of action that is contextually and culturally sound.’ One peer leader described facilitating young people to discuss key social issues within their community, identifying possible solutions, and then lobbying parents and community workers to assist them with implementing their ideas. We will discuss the importance and challenges of peer leaders and participants engaging with key stakeholders in the local community in the next section. However, as described by peer leaders, the process of discussion amongst young people appears to encourage them to have a critical awareness of social reality that is necessary for developing agency and transformative action (Freire, 1972), and this is explored further in Chapter 6. There were also indications from peer leaders of resultant action by young people. For example, a group of young participants had identified the high levels of litter as being something that upset them within their community and made their compound feel run-down and dirty. To address this they recruited several others from their sports sessions and held a ‘clean-up’ in their local area.

Whilst these peer-led approaches to education are theoretically sound and are both pragmatically and intentionally orientated towards the particular community contexts that the SfD NGOs are working in, delivery in Zambia is not without challenges. The aspiration is that peer-led activities provide transformative education experiences that allow young people to be better informed and provide a basis upon which they can make changes within their lives. There is, therefore, a high expectation placed on peer leaders within SfD. Zambian peer leaders recognized that they spend a relatively limited amount of time with participants, whose level of involvement in SfD would vary at different times according to its relative importance in the broader context of their lives. As a result, peer leaders questioned their own ability to engender change within the time spent with participants. With differential involvement of participants, peer leaders also acknowledged that they were unsuccessful at encouraging behaviour change amongst some of the young people they worked with. One female peer leader from Kalingalinga suggested ‘it is a fifty-fifty thing. Others have been changing [for the better] and others they become worse’.

Those peer leaders who sought to develop facilitative approaches discussed how time-consuming and difficult it could be to encourage young people to take action. In addition, at a more fundamental level, it was apparent that some peer leaders struggled to deliver what is a particularly challenging
educational approach, one that more extensively trained and experienced educators often find difficult. When observing some life skills education taking place, we noticed that peer leaders would often adopt more didactic delivery styles and stand in front of peers giving talks about particular issues with participants remaining passive. Campbell’s (2004) study of South African peer-education programmes acknowledged similar issues. This may be a consequence of the lack of guidance included in Zambian SfD peer leader training on facilitation, negotiation and pedagogical underpinnings of participatory education. Various training activities that we have observed over the course of our research have been delivered in a didactic fashion both by senior peer leaders and by staff from SfD NGOs, with limited interaction between the trainers and peers. As such, some young leaders have limited exposure to the types of dialogical approaches acknowledged as more likely to promote transformative thinking and action (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). The limitations of training also highlight the accomplishments of those peer leaders who are able to facilitate a more critical approach in their own teaching. Acknowledgement of peer leaders’ abilities is rare within the existing literature (Nicholls, 2009) but understanding the training available to them assists with illustrating how exceptional many of the young people who undertake these roles are.

A further challenge identified by peer leaders is the difficulty of establishing a relationship of trust and respect between themselves and the young people participating in the activities. The emergence and selection of peer leaders from groups of participants did ensure a high degree of identification between them, and advocates cite this as a key factor in distinguishing peer-led education from more traditional approaches led by adults, who young people may feel have little understanding of the context of their lives. However, a degree of authority is also required by peer leaders in order to deliver SfD activities and have educational messages accepted by participants. As van der Maas and Otte (2009) also identify in a study of an HIV/AIDS programme in Nigeria, Zambian SfD peer leaders frequently mentioned the challenge of commanding respect from their fellow peers. The following accounts particularly highlight this difficulty when peer leaders are working with young people who they have grown up with and who they are now attempting to exercise some influence over:

At times it is not easy to gain respect; at times you find that some of the people are my age mates, so when you tell them, ‘You should do this,’ they look at you with that eye and sometimes they refuse to do it. (Female peer leader, Kamwala)
There are some who say, ‘I am not listening to you, what do you know?’ They think we do not know any more than them. (Female peer leader, Chilenje)

This tension reflects the complexities of social relationships and power dynamics inherent in youth culture in Lusaka (Hansen, 2005). Whilst some of the peer leaders engaged by Zambian SfD NGOs are clearly inspiring role models for many young people, the quotes from the young people above suggest that this may vary depending on the viewpoint of the individual participant. This highlights the importance of carefully matching leaders to particular groups of young people involved in SfD activities as well as, for future research, the limitations of aggregate measures of the efficacy of peer leadership programmes, as have emerged in the SfD literature (e.g. Maro et al., 2009; Woodcock et al., 2012). Chapter 6 will explore further the perspectives and responses of a variety of young people to the multidimensional peer-led approaches discussed throughout this section.

Community relations and SfD approaches

This final section considers the extent to which the delivery of SfD in Zambia demonstrates communitarian dimensions. It therefore addresses a particularly prominent criticism within the critical–theoretical strand of literature – the view that SfD policy and practice are underpinned by a neo-liberal orientation that only advances ‘individualized notions of success and achievement’ (Darnell, 2010a: 66). Hartmann and Kwauk (2011), for example, express concern that SfD practices commonly focus on personal development, to the detriment of the more desirable aim of achieving structural social change. Coakley (2011: 308) voices similar reservations, claiming that advocates of SfD ‘discount social issues and the need for progressive change at a collective or community level’.

The issue is complex, however, as failure to directly address community-level change is not the same as ignoring locally important social issues. Enforcing an analytical separation between ‘individual’ and ‘social’ change oversimplifies both and ignores their interconnections; certainly authors such as Fokwang (2009), Guest (2009), Spaaij (2012), and Kath and van Buuren (2014), who have spent significant time with local SfD organizations in the global South, depict more complex relationships between SfD, communities and broader social structures. The more internationally focused neo-liberal criticism of the individualism of SfD therefore risks downplaying important aspects of communitarianism that a focus on local practice may reveal. In this section we, therefore,
consider the extent to which SfD in Zambian communities is characterized by collective and communitarian dimensions. We again draw on the perspectives of peer leaders, staff from Sport in Action and EduSport, and other community representatives to do so. The discussion falls broadly into two parts – firstly an account of the ways in which SfD organizations demonstrate collectivism and communitarianism within their own work, and secondly an examination of how they engage with external ‘communities’.

Focusing on Zambian SfD organizations themselves reveals an immediate communitarian ethos. Our experience of Zambian SfD organizations is that they are premised on collective and communitarian principles. This was emphasized in our very first meetings in 2006 with adults involved with Sport in Action and EduSport, who spoke of their concern to fill the gap for young people in the community who otherwise lacked adult role models and mentors. We have seen above that peer leaders, too, are often motivated to take on their role by a desire to contribute to their own communities. Positive, supportive relationships between young people and adults from these NGOs were seen not only as a positive outcome in themselves but also as facilitating efforts to improve young people’s lives in more practical ways:

Our first priority is friendship. Relationships are so much more important even than knowledge. With good relationships so many things can happen. (Staff member, Sport in Action)

The NGOs therefore aimed to contribute to their communities by themselves providing an alternative ‘SfD community’ for those who might benefit from it. The importance ascribed to this aspiration can be explained through the associated recognition of the breakdown of traditional extended family systems, and community cohesion more generally, as discussed in Chapter 4.

This communitarian ethos was apparent across the range of sport activities that were identified earlier in the chapter. The potential of sport to ‘bring together’ young people was viewed as significant by representatives of both SfD NGOs and other community organizations. Rather than being a ‘hook’ to engage young people in other developmental activities, as in the ‘plus-sport’ model, there was a common suggestion that the opportunity for young people to meet and interact with one another in community settings was a desired end in itself.

Aspirations for fostering positive relationships and developing supportive communities within SfD are particularly apparent throughout the peer leader system as a whole. As Coalter (2010b) has also identified with the MYSA in
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Kenya, part of the rationale for Zambian SfD NGOs prioritizing peer-led delivery was so that peer leaders could act as positive role models for participants. As a member of staff from Sport in Action put it:

We want our people to be aware [that] sometimes they might be the highest influence on that child’s life and they have to act like a parent and a guardian. Give them the love that the children don’t have.

There is a reciprocal aspect to role modelling expectations of this type. Peer leaders themselves are affected by their status within communities of participants. As Lesko (2007) also commented upon in her study of a safe-sex campaign in South Africa, SfD peer leaders recognized the responsibilities that came with the role. One Sport in Action staff member who had progressed from being a peer leader spoke of the consequences of his roles in terms that were shared by other interviewed peer leaders:

One thing which keeps me moving, to say I should never disappoint these kids. Because once I screw up in my life or once I do something which won’t make a good leader out of them, they’ll really get disappointed. And which means others will then quit what they are doing now. … So if I do something bad, which means it will abolish their lives, it will come to an end. Others will just start doing bad things because of me.

Such responsibilities to their communities of SfD participants sit differently across a range of peer leaders. In contrast to the individual quoted above, for whom increased responsibility appeared to positively influence his own behavioural decision making, another peer leader referred to problems caused by the lack of positive modelling behaviours amongst some fellow peer leaders. The influence of peer leaders may, therefore, have varied consequences if they are viewed as role models by participants. Turner and Shepherd (1999) reinforce the need for caution in considering the effects of role modelling, which they identify as potentially problematic when linked to attempts to change sexual-health behaviours.

Peer leaders not only identified responsibilities to their communities of participants but also spoke of the social support that they themselves gain through their involvement as peer leaders. As will be evidenced further in the next chapter, one of the key findings to emerge from the research is the establishment of peer leader networks and ‘families’. Peer leaders organized informal meetings between themselves to discuss particular issues in the delivery of sporting and educational activities and develop solutions. This collective support was similar
to that in another study of Zambian peer leaders (Svenson and Burke, 2005), and was perceived by our interviewees to be invaluable in contributing to peer leaders’ own personal development as well as their ability to perform their roles effectively. The description of solidarity amongst a peer leadership ‘family’ highlights the cultural relevance of this system in a context where the ravages of HIV/AIDS have inflicted significant damage on the traditional, and valued, extended family system. The hierarchical dimensions of the peer leadership system also reinforce the association with traditional family models. A number of peer leaders referred to staff in their respective SfD NGOs as ‘parents’ and discussed the importance of their ongoing advice and guidance in dealing with particular situations.

As indicated earlier, there are also a number of examples of peer leaders graduating to roles with greater responsibility and, potentially, paid employment within their SfD NGOs. Northern donor funding allowed Sport in Action and EduSport to employ additional staff, who they tended to recruit from peer leaders who had demonstrated significant commitment to planning and delivering activities in their local communities for many years. Even if not formalized and only available to a limited number, the existence of this progression route appeared to be a source of motivation for peer leaders. For example, the same Sport in Action staff member cited earlier recalled his views of the organization’s staff when he had been a peer leader: ‘we were still looking to up to them, you know this is what I can do. They were my inspiration’.

The role of peer leader brings many benefits to individuals; in fact, as we discuss in the next chapter, peer leaders might be considered some of the main beneficiaries of SfD programmes. Yet as the above accounts illustrate, peer leading is not an individualized activity but one which fosters connections and collective identity and joint working. One important dimension of local SfD organizations, which Coalter (2009) also touches upon, is their creation of these supportive and developmental ‘internal’ SfD communities in which peer leaders and staff participate. Whether the communitarian ethos of SfD organizations in Zambia is evident elsewhere in Africa and in other regions is not known but is amenable to future research.

This section so far has considered a number of ways in which Zambian SfD organizations demonstrate collectivist values in their own practices and the social relations that they seem to foster within sport. We turn our attention now to a central issue for SfD – how to work towards social change at a collective and structural level.
Any efforts to foster social change first require acceptance and support of SfD activities within local communities. Resistance in communities can inhibit the development that staff and peer leaders from SfD organizations seek. In Lusaka, the challenge of engaging young people in SfD activities was exacerbated by sceptical views of sport held by adult community members, as Guest (2009) also recognized in Namibia. Such views were widely commented upon by representatives of SfD organizations, as exemplified by the following quotations:

Most of the parents believe that if their children are just playing football then they will not concentrate at school. (Staff member, EduSport)

One parent has been stopping their child from coming [to sport activities] … and one parent has been telling [the child] what they are doing is rubbish. (Staff member, Sport in Action)

Peer leaders were also open about the difficulties they had engaging young people and encouraging them to change potentially damaging behaviours when the broader social context was not supportive. These data, therefore, contribute to understanding the influence of broader community and family structures on peer education approaches, an issue that has received limited attention in the literature (Campbell and MacPhail, 2002; Campbell and Mzaidume, 2002; Price and Knibbs, 2009). Peer leaders and staff from SfD organizations identified how these contextual influences could severely impinge on the ability of peer-led education to promote changes in attitudes, values and behaviours amongst young people, even when they were committed to adopting health-protecting behaviours. As this male peer leader from Kabulonga explained:

If the family is not in agreement with our views and the youth is determined that he will behave as he is doing, then we may not change that. We have to keep on and try but without the family it is not easy.

Another peer leader explained how the impact of SfD activities would be limited in cases of young women and girls being forced into prostitution by their families:

Some girls, they just have no choice; they may not want to behave immorally, but their father or their brothers are forcing them into prostitution so they have money. They tell the girl, ‘You have to get us money,’ and if she says no she will not do it they beat her up and make her do it. For that girl, learning with us does not really help, it does not change. (Female participant, central Lusaka)
Issues of trust within communities compounded the challenges that SfD and other organizations faced. Historically and more broadly, NGOs and CBOs have been associated with problems of corruption (Bawa, 2013) and short-termism (Samoff, 2004). In turn, this has affected the credibility of other organizations within communities, as Fokwang (2009) also identified in her study of Ntambag Brothers Association in Cameroon. Many of our community-based interviewees spoke of similar difficulties. For example, as a representative of an SfD NGO in Chawama described:

> [there were] problems before we had a chance to speak to these parents. … Because when you go out, some of the parents will say: ‘Ah, they are making money. These guys are gaining money and then they are using our children.’

As a result, SfD organizations undertook specific activities aimed at promoting engagement between themselves, peer leaders and family members. For example, as part of the Go Sisters programme peer leaders organize regular parents’ workshops, which seek to encourage members of the broader community to value SfD activities and to support the desired outcomes of peer-led activities. Peer leaders and community representatives provided examples of how some parents were modifying their attitudes:

> At first, when it started, they used to have that; they say, ‘Sports, maybe they’re just for men,’ but this time they’ve come to understand the important of sports for their children, yeah. This time there’s no problem. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

> Most of the girls that have really taken part in Go Sisters, they do tell their parents about what is happening in Go Sisters. And most of the parents are really proud of their girls, you know, being part of the Go Sisters, and then telling them whatever is really happening in Go Sisters. So it is really, you know, making an impact, even to the family members, even the other girls that are around us. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

> Many people say that it’s a very good programme and they should continue funding it, do more sports facilities, yes. It’s, in Zambian tradition, people believe that girls are supposed to be in the kitchen only, but they now realize they are supposed to do something else – like gender, like gender equality. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

> Most of them, the parents, they are admiring what is happening … most of them, they’ve appreciated because looking at the way their kids used to be in the past, and the lives that they are leading this time is different, yeah. (Teacher, community school, Chawama)
However, NGO staff also suggested that parents who engaged with workshops and the programme more generally tended to be those already inclined to support their children and that efforts by peer leaders were not necessarily reaching the parents who posed the greatest obstacle to positive change.

SfD peer leaders felt relatively powerless to do anything if parents remained unsupportive. Broader community and family structures are, therefore, critical to facilitating positive impact, but how these interact with peer-led education has rarely been considered in the existing literature (Campbell and MacPhail, 2002; Campbell and Mzaidume, 2002; Price and Knibbs, 2009). Power dynamics between adults and young people that were illustrated in the previous chapter made negotiating with parents particularly difficult for some young peer leaders, as one explained:

> When a parent says that a girl cannot come, I try to speak with them and explain what we do. They will not always listen to me though; to them I am just a child and I have no right to be saying these things to them. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

Therefore, peer leaders’ attempts at engagement with adults within their communities came with the risk of clashing with traditional cultural values and beliefs. Young people are generally expected to show unquestioning respect for adults. A fine balance can therefore be identified between empowering both peer leaders and young participants and becoming ‘over-empowered’, as was captured in the following explanation by a female peer leader from Kabwata:

> So, sometimes it makes them disrespectful to their parents, because they think they have the right to do anything and that is not true. If they get into fights with parents, they say, ‘You can’t tell me that, I know my right,’ and then the parents get angry, saying, ‘This is what they are teaching you, to disrespect your elders?’ You have to balance what you are teaching them.

In a similar fashion, Campbell and MacPhail (2002) also discuss how South African peer leader programmes were heavily criticized by adult community members for encouraging young people to challenge their knowledge and be disrespectful of their authority. Although largely unexplored in the SfD literature, there is a significant challenge for SfD organizations in navigating potential tensions between increasing community support and encouraging the development of young people in ways which could provoke significant challenge to broader cultural traditions, such as respect for elders.
Conclusions

This chapter has examined approaches to provision of SfD in communities in Lusaka. In contrast to empirical case studies that tend to focus on specific programmes, we have attempted a more holistic examination of the delivery of SfD in Zambian communities, and have made extensive use of the knowledge of local adults and young people to inform this. Overall, we have identified great diversity, complexity and fluidity in SfD practices, strongly oriented to the conditions and needs of their immediate local communities. While we do not claim generalizability for these findings, they do offer some additional insights to current understandings of SfD in the academic and policy literature.

The chapter has emphasized how strongly the practical delivery of SfD by NGOs is shaped by local factors, and has especially highlighted the significance of the personal individual influence of peer leaders. In Zambia, as more widely in SfD, peer leaders are the main facilitators of SfD provision and their varied characteristics, biographies and capacities shape its delivery in multiple ways. As a result, provision at community level combines responsiveness to local needs with pragmatism, such as in the development of provision in locations where peer leaders live and can capitalize on their local knowledge and networks. Peer leaders negotiate constrained conditions and draw on shared local knowledge and expertise through the communities of practice they develop. All of these factors reinforce the significance of local conditions and contexts in shaping SfD.

The resulting forms of provision defy easy categorization, frequently including considerable development of sport itself while also blurring distinctions between 'sport plus' and 'plus sport'. From a local perspective, however, it is precisely this malleability of sport which makes it a valued developmental tool: the choice of sports activities can be shaped according to the availability of facilities and resources, and the development content oriented to the most relevant local issues. As their own accounts show, however, peer leaders' ability to influence individual young people and promote wider social change can face considerable difficulties in the context of broader social and environmental factors.

Despite the strength of the communities established through peer-led networks, these continue to have limited power to encourage broader structural changes of the type needed to alter the material conditions of young people's lives. Whilst the networks are important to young people and assist them with
navigating the challenges of their everyday lives, they are not necessarily or always sufficient to provide a basis for collective action which might promote structural changes in the local community. Our data especially highlights the critical ways that broader social and environmental contexts affect how much influence individual peer leaders can exert on young people in their communities. Yet our data showed also that changes in wider social networks might indeed be occurring, with previously restrictive views being modified as families became receptive to the involvement of their children in SfD programmes. Such dimensions should not be overlooked and will benefit from fuller research.

In summary, our examination of deliverers and delivery of SfD in Zambia offers a counterpoint to a number of perspectives in the existing literature. First, it is important to identify the contrast between the rationalistic approaches to SfD suggested in the literature (e.g. Lyras and Welty Peachey, 2011; Schulenkorf, 2012) and the complexity and fluidity that characterize peer-led delivery. In the practice of SfD in Zambia, there is no standardized ‘formula’, and how delivery takes place is influenced by factors associated with SfD organizations, individual peer leaders and the communities in which they operate. Second, the literature has commonly identified and criticized an individualistic focus of SfD practice which, it is suggested, does not address broader community change (Darnell, 2010a; Coakley, 2011; Cornelissen, 2011). While issues of impact are addressed in the following chapter, we can draw similar conclusions to those of Svenson and Burke (2005: 45), who identify that peer-led initiatives can be both ‘a product and a method of community mobilization’. SfD approaches and provision in Zambia clearly reflect, are influenced by and, in some respects, challenge local community beliefs, needs and issues. A third broad point of contrast is with the widespread – if not always empirically supported – recognition in the literature of Northern dominance over the practice of SfD. While not denying Northern influence, our research does clearly point to the ways in which local SfD is strongly orientated towards and shaped by the communities in which it is delivered.

In addition to offering these substantive findings, the chapter also provides a further example of the use of local narratives. As in Chapter 4, we have found that data obtained from adults and young people reveal detail and complexity about local realities that would otherwise have remained unknown. The accounts given in this chapter were, however, especially notable for the extent to which they acknowledged and openly discussed negative aspects of SfD, including the constraints within which activities were provided, and the challenges peer
leaders faced in their roles. As we have shown, young people were willing to
discuss with us the difficulties they faced in attempting to generate 'change',
whether in individual behaviour or in wider cultural norms, and to describe in
some detail their own limited status and authority. Such insightful and self-
critical accounts offer reassurance to those doubtful of the value and integrity
of local SfD narratives. The next chapter now makes further use of such data to
explore the experiences of SfD from participants’ perspectives.
This chapter continues our examination of SfD at community level, now focusing on the young people who engage with SfD programmes. Its purpose is to develop fuller knowledge and understanding of how SfD activities feature in these young people’s lives. It is perhaps worth reiterating that this ‘investigative’ approach has a different emphasis from evaluation studies, where the primary focus is upon analyses of SfD ‘impacts’ (e.g. Burnett, 2009, 2014; Coalter, 2010c; Woodcock et al., 2012). This chapter is not attempting to offer an evaluation of whether ‘programmes’ achieve ‘outcomes’: instead, it has the more straightforward purpose of obtaining the perspectives of young people on their experiences of SfD. In this respect, the chapter is situated within a ‘research’ rather than an ‘evaluation’ paradigm.

By focusing in this way on young people’s accounts of SfD, the chapter is addressing a recognized gap. To date, first-hand indigenous accounts have not made a significant contribution to understanding in SfD (Darnell, 2007; Hayhurst, 2009; Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011; Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011), and young people’s voices have been especially under-represented. As Darnell and Hayhurst suggest:

Despite the focus on young people in much SDP programming, their involvement as leaders and their knowledge and agency, continues [sic] to be subjugated amidst dominant development narratives and policy. (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011: 190)

The point is reinforced by Nicholls et al. (2011: 250), who note that the knowledge held by young people, and especially young women, ‘is rarely considered as part of the evidence base of sport for development and is often dismissed’. As Guest proposes (2009: 1348), it would therefore ‘be useful to know more about the diversity of actual experience of individuals and communities as related to development through sport programmes’ before researchers critically interrogate their impact. This chapter is intended to offer such a contribution to the
SfD literature by presenting localized accounts that make further use of the detailed qualitative data we have obtained from young people about their views and experiences.

The data used in this chapter has been collected across several years through numerous interviews, focus groups and informal discussions with participants and peer leaders, including recurrent interviews with some participants over several years. This work has spanned several different studies and has involved some young people involved with particular programmes, such as IDEALS and II, and associated with specific organizations, primarily EduSport and Sport in Action. We have also collected data with young people outside of the context of specific programmes, such as the interviews we undertook with young female footballers. Although most of these young women had involvement with SfD organizations, it was their participation in football teams that led to them being involved in this particular study.

While sport contexts have provided access to speak to young people, it has been important to us that our discussions have spanned issues beyond engagement in, and responses to, particular SfD programmes or organizations. In fact, even in discussing participation in sport, it has been apparent that some young people’s involvement spanned different organizations, programmes and activities, including but not confined to those we have worked with. The content of our data is not, therefore, confined to SfD, but also provides wide-ranging information on the context within which SfD operates. Our commentary is also informed by what we have learnt from many exchanges with adults in young people’s communities, including parents, head teachers and teachers, and those staffing sport and other youth development programmes, who have provided us with additional insights into the challenges facing local youth and the role of SfD activities in their lives.

As will become obvious in the sections that follow, when young people talk about their experience of SfD activities, they do frequently describe the beneficial effect their participation has had on them. This is especially the case for peer leaders, who typically have more intense engagement and higher levels of time commitment than participants. Similar distinctions have also been identified by Mwaanga (2003). Thus, although we do not ‘evaluate impact’ here, our investigative approach does provide several pointers to ways in which sport may have beneficial effects for participants, beyond the immediate experience of taking part. It also identifies some constraining factors which may limit such benefits. Findings regarding both benefits and constraints reinforce the value of obtaining such accounts directly from young people.
The chapter is structured into three main sections. In the first of these sections, we consider the values that young people attach to individually and collectively participating in sporting activities, from grassroots to, for some, elite level. These opportunities for participation have primarily been enabled by SfD organizations that seek to enhance sport provision in order to achieve wider development outcomes. In the second section, we examine the contribution of SfD activities towards two outcomes that are prominent within SfD generally and are particularly relevant to Zambian contexts, namely HIV/AIDS education and gender empowerment. Finally, we turn to the experiences of young people who have been able to access other opportunities, for education, training and support, through their involvement with SfD NGOs.

Experiences of sport in everyday life

As we have seen in Chapter 5, SfD organizations have had a substantial impact on sport provision in Zambia. Within Lusaka in particular, opportunities for participation have increased considerably in a number of communities (Banda, 2011). Through the work of SfD organizations and peer leaders, numerous new opportunities to take part in sport have emerged, allowing young people to undertake new activities and to connect with others within and outside their immediate communities. This section explores how young people have been affected by their involvement in these activities. As debates in the literature about the ‘impacts’ of SfD tend to focus on potential ‘social change’ outcomes (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011), relatively little is known about the role that simply taking part in sport may play in young people’s everyday lives. Here we use young people’s own accounts to explore what value young Zambians place on their involvement in sport.

The first theme evident in young people’s views on the experience of taking in part in organized sport activities relates to the direct benefits arising from simply having the opportunity to participate. The SfD NGOs with which we have worked since our first visits to Zambia in 2006 operate in impoverished communities that commonly have limited services, amenities and resources. The combined influences of Zambia’s political–economic context and processes of urbanization, as explored in Chapters 2 and 4 respectively, have had often severe and adverse consequences for the recreational facilities and organized activities available to young people in these communities. Resources for sport are limited and, more generally, safe spaces for young people to come together are restricted.
It is perhaps unsurprising therefore that an overarching finding has been that the activities provided by SfD NGOs are greatly valued by those who participate in them. Sport sessions offered or developed by local SfD NGOs and other organizations have been significant additions to the very limited opportunities and facilities otherwise available to local youth. For the young people who were participants, many of whom were not attending school, taking part in organized sport activities provided a degree of purpose and structure that was not readily available in their lives. This quickly became a valued part of day-to-day life and, for many participants, became very important indeed.

When asked generally about their experiences of sport, all of the young people responded extremely positively. It was evident that there was a great deal of enjoyment of sport as an activity. This can be overlooked in analyses of SfD which mainly focus on the outcomes of such participation; what came through strongly in the research was how much young people valued the opportunity to take part and be involved in sport in its own right:

And for the love of it. I love sport. (Male participant, Chibolya)

At the same time, Sport in Action has imparted the coaching skills in me, which has been the love of my life because I love sport. (Male peer leader, Kabulonga)

There were indications that frequent participation was especially appreciated. Our interviews with young people who participated in the IDEALS programme, supported by volunteers from UK universities, emphasized how young Zambians especially valued being able to take part in regular activities. Whilst participants’ engagement varied, often because of some of the social factors identified in Chapter 4, some described taking part in the sport and/or educational activities at least twice a week and spoke of how much they looked forward to this. For some, it clearly became an important element in their lives; one young male participant in Chibolya explained ‘when we finish I cannot wait until Tuesday when I come again. … I go home and I wait for that’. During our work with Go Sisters, we were able to explore this issue by asking the peer leaders to outline how their involvement with the programme and with SfD activities fitted into their patterns of day-to-day life, including their time spent at home, in education and training, in paid work, and in other voluntary activities. This data reinforced the general finding that benefits of involvement appeared most pronounced among peer leaders – that is, the ‘participants’ whose engagement with various SfD activities was most intense and substantial. For the young women involved as peer leaders, the structure that Go Sisters
activities provided was particularly important: they valued the focus it gave them and the sense of purpose fostered by having something to do. One young woman described it as ‘organizing the sport and going to the ground, it gives me something to get up for. I am needed there’.

Many of the young people we spoke to described how their parents or guardians were supportive of their sports participation and encouraged them to take part despite having limited interest in sport themselves. This contrasts with some of the representations of families given in the previous chapter, and suggests that participants in SfD may be those who benefit from parental approval and support, and may indeed require it. Several of the girls and young women discussed how their mothers in particular felt it was important for them to take part in sport and felt that it was a positive thing for their daughters to do. For some young people, however, sport activities were an opportunity to escape from their home environment and some of the difficulties they experienced there. This female participant in Chawama explained how participating in football provided her with what Brady (2005) and Spaaij and Schulenkorf (2014) describe as a psychological or sociocultural ‘safe space’, somewhere to get away from broader problems:

It is very hard, my life at home is difficult and I can get very upset … it helps to know that I will see my team mates, and once I am playing I forget everything. All I want to do is make a good pass or score a goal … it helps me forget.

Some young people suggested that participating in sport not only provided a focus in itself, but also diverted them away from less productive activities. This aligns with the perspectives of local adults reported in Chapter 4, who warned that young people often fell into ‘immoral behaviours’ because they simply lacked other activities to occupy their time. The notion of sport as a diversionary tool is, however, complex (Giulianotti, 2004; Mwaanga, 2010), and this was reflected in the contrasting views offered by the many different young people we spoke to. In our long-term project with Go Sisters, for example, peer leaders were increasingly willing to share their reservations with us about the limits of this ‘diversionary’ effect. Notwithstanding this, across different studies, young people have repeatedly spoken of their belief that sport had helped them individually to avoid harm, as the following participant describes:

Football has changed my life: it has kept me away from the streets, it has given me something to do and something I’m good at. It has meant I am not on the streets smoking and drinking, and others fall pregnant, but most of the time I
Peer leaders also believed that, for some young people, sport activities did provide an alternative to being ‘stuck in the compound’ with limited structure or focus in their lives (Hansen, 2005). One young woman suggested:

Most of the girls, before, they were just lazing around and not doing anything and having children and getting married – there was nothing for them to do in the community. And now, they are at least doing some sports and becoming players; they are not just hanging around waiting for boys. They just go to sport. It has given them a purpose. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

The divergent perspectives of peer leaders ensure that we are cautious in avoiding over-claiming the benefits derived as a result of participation in organized sport activities. The variation in the accounts of what young people gain from participating in SfD activities is reflective of different experiences and levels of engagement in these activities. These accounts do emphasize, however, how much the provision of sport in itself can offer an enhancement to opportunities for young people.

The second theme within young people’s accounts of their participation in sport concerned the social connectedness they gained from their participation. Sport did also provide benefits beyond the direct experience of participating, yet still relating to the context of sport itself. As we have discussed in the previous chapter, providing and nurturing social support for young people have been important concerns of the SfD NGOs with which we have worked, and young people found benefit in becoming part of this ‘SfD family’. Interviewees indicated that social support can take many forms. Similar to Coalter’s (2010a) finding about the MYSA in Kenya, peer leaders in Lusaka developed strong friendships and extensive social support networks through their involvement in SfD activities:

The friendships and being part of a team is very important. If it wasn’t for sport I wouldn’t have met so many girls, who I now consider are my extended family, and that has been very important. We share our differences and learn from one another. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

Similarly, participants described activity sessions as opportunities to come together with existing and new friends to enjoy themselves. For a number of the
young people, particularly those from the more deprived areas, the sports sessions offered them time away from environments where they felt less secure:

So the way I play a game, I am very happy. My friends, we are laughing together, so I am very happy being with my friends. I have never seen any fear in their eyes [here]. It's good to me what we are doing here, very good to me. (Female participant, Lusaka)

The activity sessions therefore offered an environment in which young people could develop trusting friendships that provided them with a key support structure. Participants talked about developing friendships with peer leaders and other participants with whom they could share problems and issues, and generally turn to during difficult periods in their lives. Their descriptions of these relationships clearly contrast with those discussed in Chapter 4, where several commented on the risks of becoming bonded into ‘bad’ friendships which fostered unproductive or negative behaviours. Echoing Coalter (2010a), young people also demonstrated how such networks could provide compensation for a lack of social structure elsewhere. Young people with no parents or limited family support placed especially high value on these networks:

I don't have parents any more, and the people at the ground are now my family. They now look after me and it is them I turn to when I need help. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

As with the community-orientated SfD approaches discussed in the previous chapter, participants also referred to trusted peer leaders as being like older brothers and sisters, who would ‘watch out for them’ and be there when they needed help. Many young people who spoke about how they valued their relationships with older youths and adults went beyond descriptions of the personal support they received, and talked in terms that had resonance with the role modelling desired by SfD NGOs:

[EduSport staff member] is my role model – I trust her very much. I would like to be like her: she is very good and is very kind. And she has a good job but she is still helping people. I would like to be like her. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

As Meier (2015) has pointed out, the use of ‘role models’ is widespread in the field of ‘Sport and Development’, but has received little specific or critical attention. Sports role models are, however, diverse, and range from high-profile
professional athletes, who endorse campaigns for human rights, education, health care and so on, to local coaches and leaders. Meier has suggested that while celebrities are expected to exert influence through their high public profile and status, they have little if any direct contact with young people; in contrast, local sports role models may be actively involved in young people’s lives and exert influence through their proximity, relevance and accessibility (Meier and Saavedra, 2009; Meier, 2015).

Meier’s observations on the importance of local, accessible role models resonate with the strong testimonies we obtained from three different female Go Sisters peer leaders from Kalingalinga:

The Go Sisters in the office are very good people. They understand all of us and what it is like living here.

I want to be like [peer leader] – she is also a very good peer leader and she works really hard; she is always organizing activities and running things and motivating us. She is so good, and she had the chance to go to Livingstone with the Go Sisters. I would like to do that, to have that chance to travel and see other places with Go Sisters. I think it is a very good thing.

I want to be like [peer leader] – like the way he does things, the way he gets kids to listen to him and the way he inspires people. I want to be like that. Everyone in Kalingalinga knows [peer leader] and they think so much of him. I want to be looked up to like that. He is such a good peer leader. People really listen to him and the parents also.

It is notable that these young people describe their desire to emulate the personal qualities of peer leaders and staff, they do not solely covet the status and experiences they have gained within sporting contexts. The personal qualities that they admire in these role models confirm the communitarian ethos described in Chapter 5: young people spoke warmly of the support peer leaders gave to others, and the contributions they made to their communities. As identified in the previous chapter, the behaviour of role models beyond the sporting context may also be influential, and this adds a layer of complexity when considering the broader social outcomes that SfD may want to achieve.

The final theme concerning the benefits of sport participation per se relates to a more select group of sport participants – talented young Zambians who had progressed to high levels of sport performance. (Professional) sport is often posited as a means of moving ‘out of the ghetto’ (Gough, 2008), and as we have seen in Chapter 4, some young Zambians we spoke to did hope to find a way to escape or transform their current circumstances. Many young people
highlighted the significance to them of the coaching aspect of SfD activities; it gave them the opportunity to develop and improve their sport skills and challenge themselves through sport. Beyond this, several SfD participants we spoke to hoped that sport would be their ‘route out’ of their lives within the compounds:

I want to do sport because I want to be a professional footballer: I want to travel round the world and get lots of money. Through sport I can move away from where I am now. (Male participant, Chawama)

The research undertaken with women who played for Zambia’s senior and junior national football teams enabled exploration of the experiences of those for whom this had become something of a reality. As might be expected, the benefits of participating had been especially strong for these talented women. For many, it had been the increase in opportunities to play sport that had allowed them to identify that they were skilful and talented players. Several said they had initially started playing football within their local communities though SfD activities focused on female empowerment. Through this participation they had been chosen to play in a team selected and organized by an SfD NGO that was entered into the main women’s football league in Lusaka. This had in turn led to further talent identification, which for some then led to opportunities to play for Zambia at junior national level. For many, SfD activities provided by NGOs had therefore provided a catalyst for them to progress in their sport.

Being a member of an elite-level team provided many participants with completely new experiences. At an individual level this led to several gaining cultural capital though the capacity of sport to link them to external resources that would not have normally been accessible. For the young female elite footballers, selection to national teams provided the opportunity to attend training camps with others from across Zambia and travel to different countries to play competitive fixtures. The young women talked about how much they enjoyed experiencing different cultures and foods; one discussed seeing ‘an ocean’ as a particular highlight when travelling from landlocked Zambia to coastal South Africa. They were very aware that without sport they would have been unlikely to travel beyond their local area, as this young woman explained:

Sport really has changed my life; I could never have seen those things or tasted those foods. I would never have gone to Angola or South Africa or places like
this. I would never have been outside of Chawama if it was not for sport. (Female participant, Chawama)

For a select group of young people with exceptional talent in sport, involvement with SfD therefore led to the access of resources and experiences that would simply not have been available otherwise.

The findings presented thus far in the chapter relating to young people’s experiences of SfD activities suggest that participation takes different forms and can bring a variety of benefits. These include the enjoyment of sport itself, and the role that regular, organized activities can play in providing elements of purpose, structure and focus in young people’s day-to-day lives. The activities also offer a range of opportunities for developing social connections and support. For some, participation can clearly become very important, resonating with Willis’s findings in his analysis of MYSA. Willis in fact describes involvement with MYSA activities as becoming the ‘social epicentre of their lives’ for young people in Mathare (Willis, 2000: 844). Similarly, it was the case that numerous young Zambians attributed great importance to their engagement with local SfD NGOs.

Sport did not have the same personal importance to all participants that we spoke to, and this further emphasizes the diverse ways that young people respond to and benefit from SfD activities. Not all young people choose, or are able, to take part, and those who do vary in the intensity of their involvement and the meaning they attach to it. Contextualizing sport within broader dimensions of young peoples’ lives helps to understand some of these varied responses to activities provided by SfD NGOs. Chapter 4 identified some of the contextual issues, such as the broader family responsibilities that young people are required to meet, which may limit involvement in sport. On the other hand, the lack of other recreational or productive opportunities within compound communities may encourage some young people to be involved with sport rather than constrain them. Understanding the ongoing experiences and perspectives of young people is important in order to consider how their involvement in sport may contribute to broader personal and social development.

**Beyond the experience of participation: development through sport**

While continuing to focus on young people’s direct engagement with SfD activities, in this section our attention moves beyond the immediate experience of
Youth’s experiences of SfD participation. Like the wider SfD movement, the NGOs we worked with in Zambia sought to effect social change through sport in multiple ways. This section focuses on how young people experienced two key aspects of this work – the use of sport to deliver HIV/AIDS education and its use for young people’s empowerment. These two aspects are strongly interlinked both in SfD practice and in respect of young people’s lives, as demonstrated by the discussion in Chapter 4 of the influences on sexual behaviours of young women in particular. Therefore, the distinction between the two, that is useful in terms of the structure of this section, is inevitably an artificial one.

As has been discussed earlier in the book, the HIV/AIDS pandemic was and remains a key driver for the SfD movement as well as the SfD NGOs that we have worked with across a number of studies. Interviews with staff and peer leaders from these organizations enabled exploration in the previous chapter of their approach to offering educational content alongside and through sport to increase young people’s knowledge of HIV/AIDS, together with opportunities to develop life skills to help them apply this knowledge to their own lives. This subsection turns to examining young people’s experiences and views of both of these elements – the effectiveness of learning about HIV/AIDS through sport, and the issues surrounding translating knowledge into practice.

While it was recognized in Chapter 4 that young people were exposed to HIV/AIDS education in a variety of settings, most young people we spoke to felt their knowledge and understanding of HIV/AIDS had increased as a result of what they had learned during their participation in SfD activities. As this male peer leader from Chawama expressed:

I thank EduSport because they have taught me [sic] what is bad and what is good. So I know what is good. I know what is HIV. I know if I do this, I will go into HIV. If I do this, I will go into AIDS. So, I know what is bad and what is good.

When talking to participants, it was evident that many had high levels of knowledge and were articulate about HIV/AIDS. They were confident discussing what the virus was, how it was caught, and ways in which it could be prevented. The discursive methods by which HIV/AIDS information was provided through SfD activities were considered beneficial by young people:

I think it is different [to learning about HIV/AIDS at school] because here we do not just hear the information, we talk to each other about it … we do games that allow us to see what will happen to us. (Female participant, Chawama)
Their accounts also indicated that the friendships and trusting relationships that emerged through playing sport were important for establishing a setting where young people felt they could talk openly about sensitive issues and raise queries they had about the information they received. One participant explained how:

> At school you would not ask the teacher if you did not understand, [but] at the ground they might say something about, 'If you do this you will get HIV,’ and I will say, ‘I was told this,’ and we discuss it and it is explained to me. (Male participant, Kabwata)

Young people’s sense of confidence and security in this environment led some, as suggested within the peer leader literature (Price and Knibbs, 2009), to attribute higher status to the information they were given in SfD contexts than to that provided by teachers. One young person held the view that ‘teachers might lie to you because they do not want you to know certain things.’ In contrast, and in line with rationales for peer education discussed in the previous chapter, young people we spoke to felt that their peers would provide honest and accurate information. That peers often discussed information that would not be readily available in other educational settings also added to their credibility. One female peer leader explained that:

> In school and at some church groups, they would not necessarily tell the youth that they could use a condom to prevent HIV … we tell the youth this. We say that abstinence is the only safe way but if you have to have sex you must use a condom. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

Many young people, therefore, saw information provided by peers as giving a truthful account, which emphasizes the importance of this information being accurate. As Chapter 5 has illustrated in relation to Sport in Action and Edu-Sport, peer-led education is based on a relatively informal, unregulated network, and while this approach is well aligned with features of local Zambian contexts, it is difficult for staff from these NGOs to track what type of education is being communicated in all communities. There were some instances where we spoke to young people who believed, for example, that HIV/AIDS could be caught from touching, which suggests that the detailed information being communicated is not necessarily accurate. This highlights a fundamental risk in these and other informal education systems. The effectiveness of this method of delivering HIV/AIDS education in SfD relies on peer leaders and participants having accurate information to pass on to each other.
The young people's responses nonetheless suggest that, for some, the educational elements of SfD activities were valuable for developing knowledge and awareness. As we have reported in Chapter 4, these activities were not the only source of information for young people. In common with other studies that have explored HIV/AIDS knowledge (Campbell, 2004), young people we spoke to recognized that they receive an abundance of information from school and community groups. Even young people not in school spoke of how HIV/AIDS was discussed continually within other community programmes and via church groups. However, the data gained from young people suggest that involvement in SfD activities at least provides further reinforcement regarding the prevalence of and ongoing problems created by the virus in their communities. Further, SfD activities may offer a particularly valuable site for discussing and interrogating this knowledge in ways which may not be available in other educational contexts.

The previous chapter identified that local SfD approaches and provision went beyond imparting factual information. As well as providing information, the importance of equipping young people with ‘life skills’ that could help protect them from situations and pressures that could expose them to HIV was emphasized by the SfD NGOs that we worked with, and was evident within the activities they delivered. Many of the young people we spoke with felt they now had a number of strategies to help resist peer pressure and were also more confident to insist that they were not pressurized into activities that they did not want to do. As this young female participant from Chawama explained:

We talked a lot about pressure to have sex and it helped me realize that I did not have to have sex … I can say no and it does not make me bad.

Young people talked about the conversations that they had with each other as being important for helping them recognize when they were being coerced and acknowledge that this was unacceptable, as well as providing a space to discuss ways of navigating such pressure. In line with what has been found in studies examining gender, sexuality and HIV/AIDS risk (James et al., 2004; Hallman, 2005), young men in particular often felt compelled to have sex to affirm their masculine identity. This male participant explained:

I was having a problem with my friends: they all said they had sex and I was not a man because I had not had sex. They said I should be with a girl that I am friends with and there was something wrong with me. I brought this problem to the ground and my team mates; they say, ‘No, you can just ignore them. It is
not right for you to be having sex at this time.’ They helped me do what is right.
(Male participant, Kabulonga)

These positive findings cannot be accepted uncritically and should not be universalized. The issues raised by peer leaders in Chapter 5 regarding the challenges that they faced in encouraging young people to engage with education and alter problem behaviours are useful counterpoints here. Similar to Campbell’s (2004) examination of generic HIV/AIDS community education programs, young people who felt their engagement with SfD had enabled them to exert greater control over their lives appeared to be those who had supportive family and home environments. While the idea of standing up for their rights and ignoring pressure to participate in risky behaviour was a persuasive one, and can be a reality for some young people, the breadth of our data has made it clear that it is not always possible for all young people to act in this way.

It will also be evident in the above discussion that, in their efforts to equip young people to assert their rights, Zambian SfD NGOs enacted HIV/AIDS education in a way that invokes notions of empowerment. This widely used concept is one that we have examined in most detail through our studies that focus on young women. We now explore the core concept of empowerment in more detail and examine how young people felt their engagement with SfD NGOs and activities had supported, or otherwise, their own empowerment.

The young people with whom we have worked have experienced a wide range of development ‘work’ through their involvement in SfD activities. The work of Zambian SfD NGOs aims to encourage education, promote gender equity and impart overarching life skills. Together, these elements have the broad intention of fostering young people’s ‘empowerment’, to equip them to be active agents in improving their own, and perhaps others’, lives. Empowerment is, however, a complex, multilayered process and, as in other development sectors (Rowlands, 1995; Mosedale, 2005), is a commonly used but infrequently defined concept in SfD. The term is most often employed with regard to gender-orientated ‘female empowerment’, and our own most substantial and detailed accounts come from research with young women. These include female peer leaders and participants in both mixed-sex and predominantly female SfD activities, including some specifically orientated to female empowerment, as well as our female football interviewees. In line with our broader, localizing methodology, our discussions with these young women have considered their own understandings of what ‘empowerment’ might mean and ‘look like’, as well as how involvement with SfD may contribute to their becoming ‘empowered’. 
As might be expected given the broader lack of consensus about ‘empowerment’ (Luttrell and Quiroz, 2009; Hennink et al., 2012), the concept of empowerment was open to numerous interpretations and was discussed in many different ways amongst young Zambian women. Peer leaders were well versed in messages about sport raising self-esteem and self-confidence and developing life skills, but had some difficulty explaining what this would mean in practice and how it might contribute more widely to the reality of girls’ and women's lives in their community. The varied interpretations that the peer leaders had of empowerment included:

Empowerment is really like helping someone to do something on their own. Today you help them do something – like, you tell them, ‘This is what I want you to do.’ The next time they start doing it on their own. So I would say, from one step to another and doing it all by yourself and not getting help from anyone. You can get suggestions, opinions, but do that on your own, which means you are empowered. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

I am able to stand in front of people. That is my main challenge. 'Cause I used to feel shy, you know, standing in front of people and all that. So my main challenge was, and interacting, I am able to interact with anyone and so that is my main empowerment. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

Like, for me, how I understand about the word empowerment, I get more happy when I see young girls are being empowered. I don't have to see some girls just languishing … I just want them to be involved in activities so that, two, three years’ time, they should also co-ordinate, coach in Go Sisters programmes. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

During the interviews, peer leaders mainly spoke in terms of individual empowerment. Some spoke of empowerment simply in terms of getting girls and young women involved in sport and retaining them as participants. For most, however, empowerment was about having understanding and skills, aspects of personal development that many authors consider valuable but not necessarily sufficient for empowerment (Kabeer, 1999; Hennink et al. 2012). In an isolated contribution, one interviewee discussed the broader idea that empowerment involved translating the sense of ‘being/feeling’ empowered into action:

Yes, empowerment is having good knowledge and applying the knowledge to the best of your ability. So I think that is the whole complete process of empowerment … because I think if you are empowered quite ok, alright, [but] you may not do anything about it, I don't think you can call that empowerment. It is just half of it and it is not complete. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)
In general, issues of collective action and representation, which are necessary for structural change to occur, rarely featured in the young women’s interpretations of empowerment per se. However, this seemingly limited view of empowerment has to sit alongside peer leaders’ broader discussions of societal and community barriers to gender equity, as explored in the preceding chapters. As such, several peer leaders reported mixed reactions to their work, including resistance from some parents. They described the difficulty of dealing with this at times, especially as the views of young people had less status than those of adults in the community.

Similar findings emerge from our work with female footballers, whose very participation in a ‘masculine’ sport challenges the restrictive gender norms that disempower girls and women. Within the context of the rigid patriarchal structures that exist in Zambia, having young women as leaders and organizers who were openly participating in the overtly masculine sport of football was a ‘new possibility’ (Rowlands, 1995) and a considerable challenge to the dominant community order. On the surface at least, these young women were redefining their roles and positions within communities. As one player explained:

In Kalingalinga they think, ‘Football, it is only for the men.’ But we have shown them that women can also play and we can do the same things as men. It is making Kalingalinga change how they see women here. (Female participant, Kalingalinga)

The young women’s comments supported the claims often articulated by practitioners and policymakers about the value of sport for challenging disempowering stereotypes and cultural values. The sense of individual empowerment was very strong for the young women we spoke to:

I think, before I came to the ground, I did think that men were stronger than women and we could not fight this. I know now that it is not right for a man to beat me; I have a right to say ‘No, you should not do this to me.’ (Female participant, Munali)

Here again, however, there was an apparent separation between individual and collective empowerment. As with the perspectives of peer leaders, however, these individualized senses of empowerment were not matched by wider social change. As much as young women discussed redefining notions of femininity and their status and position within communities, they also talked about
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having to navigate negative attitudes and sometimes aggression towards their participation:

I have had men say to me I should be ashamed, I don't behave like a woman should. They say I am trying to be like a man and it is wrong … they say these things as I walk down the street. (Female peer leader, Kabwata)

Although young women could offer some examples where they felt they were developing what Rowlands (1995) terms ‘power from within’ and generating new possibilities, it was apparent that they often had to navigate a delicate balance between continuing to conform to cultural norms and contesting them. A number of the young women we spoke to had to negotiate with their families to be able to participate in various SfD activities, and could only do so by offering a range of compromises:

My father, he did not want me to play, he said I should be at home and helping my mother with my sisters. … I told him that I would do my jobs in the morning before I went to the ground and once we had finished I would come straight home … in the end he let me play, but sometimes I can't because my mother needs me to do work for her. (Female participant, Chilenje)

Other young women also spoke of tensions between the sense of personal agency generated within SfD contexts and the structural constraints on exercising this agency in their broader lives. Speaking of her own experience, one commented:

Yes, I play football and I feel strong and we are showing those in our community, then, we can do the things that men do … but they [men] do not include us in community matters, we still have no say in what happens. It is changing a little but very slowly. (Female participant, Chawama)

Speaking of other participants, another peer leader gave further detail of familial constraints and believed that broader support was required if young people were to become empowered:

Sometimes at the ground they change, but then, when they get home, someone despises them so they stop that change. Unless at home they are helped a bit, it will not happen. That message needs to happen all over, not just from me. (Female peer leader, Kabwata)

These comments highlight an issue that other studies have also identified – that while, individually, participants in SfD may experience increased
confidence and knowledge and also develop critical awareness of their situations, this falls short of eroding the cultural norms that present structural constraints (Kay, 2011). Our Zambian interviewees were conscious that their individual sense of empowerment was not matched by changes in broader cultural structures around them. Despite accessing some aspects of power, they were unable to disrupt significantly what Rowlands (1995) defines as ‘power over’, i.e. the repressive influences that negatively affect their lives. Yet their accounts also made reference to ways in which they engaged with and confronted these constraining structures – by being seen by men taking part in sport, by negotiating with parents – and to small changes, happening slowly. This suggests that instead of drawing a rigid distinction between ‘individual’ and ‘collective’ change, it may be productive to recognize the interaction between them.

This more complex picture also emerges in accounts of other contexts in which young people experienced strong individual development through sport, but were then powerless to challenge norms and values within their broader communities. Chapter 5 described the way in which, within SfD communities, young people felt respected and able to exert their rights, but peer leaders felt this did not necessarily translate to other contexts. One female peer leader explained that ‘people respect me very much in my community now … I organize things, I make things happen,’ but revealed that this influence did not extend beyond participants involved in SfD activities. As in Chapter 4, young people felt excluded from community affairs, and that their opinions were rarely sought by community stakeholders or those in positions of power within communities. This was also the experience of peer leaders who within an SfD community had generated some position of standing and authority amongst other young people, but continued to be ignored by adult stakeholders and leaders. One commented:

I organize a lot in my community and I meet with many youth – they respect me and I know them well. I have been doing this for nearly eight years, but not once does any councillor come and see me. No one in power has ever asked for my view on how to help the youth in my community. (Male peer leader, Kamwala)

The qualitative data that we have collected has been useful in revealing the complexity and contradictions surrounding the use of sport for empowerment. From a research perspective it was notable that a contemporaneous small-scale quantitative survey that we undertook obtained relatively positive
findings regarding issues connected to empowerment, whereas the greater probing possible within interviews revealed a more complex and sometimes problematic picture, including negative parental reactions. Whilst many young people have been able to experience aspects of empowerment, their capacity to achieve transformative change is clearly heavily circumscribed in the face of sociocultural forces within their communities. This is, however, in line with community development theory (Ledwith, 2011), which suggests that genuine transformation of repressive beliefs and values within communities is a slow process. On the one hand, the experiences of interviewees suggest that young people’s individual experiences of becoming ‘empowered’ are insufficient to generate structural changes in the immediate future. At the same time, these strong senses of individual empowerment that many experience are an important and necessary building block in this process. Perhaps most importantly, this ‘individual’ change does not occur in a social vacuum, but involves interactions with – and challenges to – those who resist it. This point is returned to and considered in more detail in the conclusion to the chapter.

The final substantial topic that has emerged through our work with young people has been the extent to which SfD programmes have offered access to non-sport education and training opportunities, and the importance this has had for those accessing such opportunities. Our data here comes from our work with those involved in the Go Sisters programme, from whom we have gathered data on support for educational opportunities as well as various forms of vocational training. These benefits are not necessarily unique to this programme, and the ‘beneficiaries’ are not homogeneous: among our Go Sisters interviewees are some young women who received education scholarships, and other young people who have held some form of leadership position in SfD activities. These leaders have developed skills through their experience of fulfilling their leadership roles, and through varying levels of training opportunities provided to support them. We start by considering the benefits obtained by participants through their access to formal education, then examine the outcomes of peer leader experiences and training at multiple levels.

Both generally throughout their activities and across particular programmes, the SfD NGOs that we worked with in Zambia have had, at a minimum, implicit educational objectives that extend broadly beyond the specific focus on HIV/AIDS. SfD NGOs have consistently encouraged young people to value education, and this ethos permeates specific ‘life skills’ activities as well as guidance
provided by supportive adults and peer leaders. More specifically, a number of SfD NGOs provide scholarships that enable young people to stay in school to complete the grade 12 certification which marks the successful completion of compulsory secondary education.

Go Sisters was one of the programmes which supported access to formal education through funded scholarships. These were central to the programme and one of the most highly valued components of the UK funding that supported the programme’s expansion from 2008 to 2013. Between these dates, Go Sisters provided 128 school scholarships for girls and young women whose opportunities to attend or complete secondary school would have otherwise been limited or constrained by the costs of school attendance and other factors of the kind discussed in Chapter 4.

The opportunity to obtain school education was highly valued by the recipients and by their parents:

They have done a lot: they have taken me to school, they have taught me many things. I can now do things. Before I was doing bad things, I didn’t look after myself and I had a son. I thought my life was finished and I would not finish school, but Go Sisters has helped me to go back to school and to make something of my life. I will be able to provide better for my son as well. It has changed me a lot – I wasn’t a good girl at all and I’m telling the truth. I know now I need to look after myself and be good, and I do not want to let the Go Sisters down when they are sending me to school. I want to finish my education to show them they were right to give me the sponsorship. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

I have got a scholarship for my education from Go Sisters; my mother thinks that is a very good thing and she wants me to finish my education so I can go and get a good job. So she supports me to do Go Sisters because she knows I could not do my education if I wasn’t a Go Sister. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

Beyond the beneficiaries themselves, other stakeholders in the Go Sisters programme highlighted the life-changing potential that these education scholarships provided:

A lot of girls, their lives or their life story has changed in the sense that that they have a hope, they have been able to finish school. We had young girls who did not have a hope to finish school, who had no hope of ever going to school. But through their interaction in sport and getting a sponsorship under Go Sisters, we have been able to see a lot of girls from deprived families complete school and be able go to college and, some of them, work. (Head teacher, community school Chawama)
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The language, and importance, of ‘hope’ recognized by this interviewee can be identified as having some broader significance. Enabling increased aspirations amongst young people is by no means a panacea for the challenges that they face, no matter how realistic those aspirations may be. However, the alternative, as Barnett recognizes, can also have important implications: ‘where hope and resources are absent, behaviour change messages are less likely to be effective’ (Barnett, 2008: 243).

Notwithstanding their value, the provision of these scholarships was not without challenges. Scholarships that enabled young women to return to school were not necessarily enough to compensate for gaps in their previous education. It could be difficult for young women to succeed academically if they were re-entering school having been out of the education system for some time, and there were cases of drop-out amongst those receiving scholarships because of these educational challenges. For some, therefore, the educational scholarships did not automatically lead to enhanced opportunities. Whilst scholarships allowed young people to stay in formal education, this did not mitigate broader social challenges that limited their educational prospects. For example, young people below grade 10 (the school year before young people begin final examinations) attend community schools in their compounds that are often staffed by untrained volunteer teachers. When scholarships enabled them to transfer to high schools outside of their communities to take their grade 12 examinations, they found that they did not always have the necessary skills and knowledge to be able to successfully thrive in that environment. A number of young people talked about failing grade 12 subjects and having to retake them the following year, sometimes when scholarships were not available for them to do so. Others were unable to access results owing to unpaid fees, as this participant discussed:

My goal is to go to college but, as at now, I can say that we are having financial problems … when I was at school, Go Sisters paid half of my tuitions at school, but the rest, my mum was like, ‘I don't have the money right now.’ So we couldn't finish that balance, so even my results, they are still at school. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

Scholarships alone, therefore, were not always able to facilitate educational attainment and enhance career prospects for young people. As indicated in Chapter 4, even where young people did successfully complete high-school education, job prospects remained limited. Nonetheless, the opportunity to
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attend school was regarded as one of Go Sisters’ biggest contributions to young women’s futures and to the wider community:

I think the biggest achievement for the programme is the fact that they are able to provide the scholarships to girls ... [so] they are able to finish their school and go to college ... for me that is the greatest achievement. ... So it’s really difficult to quantify that kind of achievement. But for me I think it’s the greatest achievement because they’re making a difference in the community, they are making a difference, girls are participating in sport and they are finishing their school, they are going to college, they are working, and those that are working are giving back to the same communities. (Representative, MSYCD)

As these comments show, scholarships were regarded as a means to equip young women for paid work. This was also a strong theme in comments made about the benefits gained from peer leadership roles. As the previous chapter showed, the roles of peer leaders were diverse and the formal and informal training they received varied considerably. From 2008 the Go Sisters programme, for example, offered a hierarchy of roles including peer leader, action-team leader and provincial co-ordinator, supported by a range of training activities. Go Sisters and other peer leaders have adopted other leadership roles beyond their involvement in SfD, including school prefects, Sunday school teachers, coaches, youth action group leaders and nurse assistants. Notwithstanding this variety, there has been great consistency among the Go Sisters peer leaders who were interviewed in reporting that they have acquired multiple skills through their leadership roles.

The ability to ’stand up in front of people’ to deliver sport and/or educational content was especially emphasized by peer leaders who we interviewed. They repeatedly stated that developing these skills led to increased self-confidence, self-esteem and self-awareness. For different peer leaders, these characteristics may develop from slightly different starting points upon beginning as peer leaders, but the overall direction of travel was clear:

It has taught me so many things – I am now a leader, I can stand up in front of people and talk to them. I can lead discussions. I was too shy before, I would not have been confident to do these things, but now I can. (Female peer leader, Chawama)

I am more confident, I can make choices better and I have discovered I am able to lead others – I can stand in front of them and I can deliver information and teach them about sports. (Female peer leader, Kabwata)
Such benefits are recognized in other studies of peer leaders in African contexts (e.g. Molassiotis et al., 2004). SfD peer leaders also expressed their belief that their increased self-esteem and self-confidence would benefit them beyond the sport context:

I think it will help me in the future when I meet new people, I am confident and I know that I can teach and I can help other people. You know how to talk to people. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

International donors had also provided some peer leaders with opportunities to travel internationally – to South Africa, the UK, Norway and Canada – so that they could be involved in various leadership development opportunities. As with the elite football players, peer leaders discussed the value of these experiences for cultural exchange, exposing them to alternative cultures and developing their leadership skills and knowledge. Through connections made during overseas visits, a small number of peer leaders were able to secure scholarships to undertake further education within donor countries, an opportunity they again recognized would not have arisen without their long-term involvement in SfD.

A small number of peer leaders involved with SfD NGOs have had opportunities to progress beyond peer leadership to more senior roles with greater responsibility. For those girls and young women associated with the Go Sisters programme, experience as interns, action-team leaders and provincial co-ordinators further developed their leadership abilities and an additional array of professional skills:

OK, yeah, I’m an assistant co-ordinator for the [province], yeah, there’s a Go Sister co-ordinator and the general co-ordinator for all programmes in [the province]. For me, I assist both of them; it’s a very big, huge responsibility, yes; they organize workshops, tournaments, monitor and evaluate where you see that here they didn’t do well, and hold meetings. [I do] files, paperwork, yeah, I do write minutes, when there is a meeting, yeah. I do that. And I write reports as well, monitoring quarterly reports, to submit to the co-ordinator, the Copper-Belt co-ordinator Go Sister. Then she submits to [EduSport]. Yeah, I also do the typing. (Female provincial assistant co-ordinator)

Unpaid internships emerged as an important element of Go Sisters’ direct contribution to education and employment skills and aspirations. While the provision of internships could be identified and criticized as being aligned with a neo-liberal political economy, our concern here is to go beyond this to
interrogate the experiences of the young people who became such interns. The internships were small in number (12), but it became apparent that they delivered exceptional developmental opportunities for those who obtained them. They allowed young women to work as assistant co-ordinators for four months and, as internships are very rare in Zambia, provided very valuable experience, including skills in areas such as information technology, report writing and presenting that enhance their employability. The detailed qualitative reflections of young women who had been interns best illuminate different aspects of their internship experiences, including their initial aspirations, the challenges that they faced and the ways in which being involved as an intern contributed to developing their capacities. In the first of the two examples here, a long-standing Lusaka-based peer leader (in Box 2) explains how she had used the internship as an opportunity to build the skills she needed to support her plans for developing a programme of her own which would deliver football in schools.

**Box 2: Aspirations for internship**

Obviously, before I went to Livingstone, I had an aim of doing something, like I wanted to achieve something in a space of time of which I can see myself to have done part of that. Before I went to Livingstone and before this internship, I applied for this internship and that was part of the plan – applying for this internship, getting the experience, because there is a certain programme that I am doing on my own ... [In] this small community-based organization, which is being run by me ... we want to promote soccer, so we are taking soccer, like it’s going to be a simple form of soccer – we call it the ‘seven aside five aside’, I don’t know if you have ever heard of it – yes, that is what we want, to take and introduce to the school because there has never been anything like that in Zambia, and we want to do probably indoors or even outdoors but we are planning mainly in doing it indoors, which is going to be a good thing. So all that was part of my plan. The internship was going to help me to do that, to achieve this. I was going to learn a great deal of how I see things and how I perceive things and how I was going to go about achieving this, and I think I am on my way. I have got my experience. I know where to start. It is good.
In the second example (Box 3), another young woman explains the practical challenges she experienced and overcame when she moved from Lusaka to Livingstone for six months to be an intern with the Southern Province Go Sisters team. She highlights both the challenges of everyday living – including dealing with a different language and higher costs – and the opportunity to develop her professional skills by learning from the approaches of the local peer leaders.

**Box 3: Experiences of internship**

There is a great deal that has been happening [since the last research visit]. Obviously there is positive change that has happened with me. First of all I got the chance to work as an intern with EduSport Foundation, which was a very great six months. I had a lot of experience when I went to Livingstone ’cause I was working the whole Southern Province. So I had a chance to see how other peer leaders work and how they do their activities and [that was] unlike here in Lusaka. And my greatest aim of going there, to Livingstone, being an EduSport Intern, was to learn all those different criterias on how they have their leadership skills so that I could implement them myself, so that I can become a more stronger person than I was.

Well at the beginning it was challenging, being the first time to the Southern Province, I had never been there before, so it was my first time going there on internship. And the language that I was speaking there I didn't understand, so it was a big challenge. Even the kind of lifestyle that they have there and here in Lusaka is different … in terms of, you know, the food you buy – there the food is [more] expensive than here. And for me to get used to that was difficult, because for me I was used to buying things here a bit cheaper, you know. Like even distance, in terms of transport here, it's very long like the distance, and then in Livingstone it's a very short distance, here even transport is very cheap. So all those things, you know, they were a challenge to me. But as time went by I got used to it, I got to know people, I became friends with a lot of them. I became a role model to some of them, so that made me feel really proud of myself, yeah.

I have [developed skills] in terms of writing a report, yes. Even like, you know, chairing a meeting, yeah, in Livingstone, because like I was
During our time working with Go Sisters, a number of the young women we first knew as novice peer leaders have progressed to paid work and business, using skills and/or networks they have developed through their involvement in the programme and with SfD more generally. The peer leader whose perspective was highlighted in Box 2, who devised her own football coaching programme, talked about her peer leader experiences as being fundamental for providing her with both the skills and initiative to organize this programme. A further group of peer leaders and participants who had come together to make clothing and sell it at a local market did so using connections made through sport, highlighting the possibilities of SfD NGOs fostering skills and providing resources which could encourage some transformative action amongst young people:

We started the group and the group is still there; we started a business, specialized business. So, we’re in city market right now and we’re doing typing and printing. So for the knitting we are on hold for now because, like, most of the girls they’re in school, so they’re busy with school, so they’re not able to do that. So we just go there to the shop once in a while to do the typing and printing. We were given more like a loan for us to start it. So, like, every month we have to pay back the money. But, like, when we finish paying the loan, that’s when we start getting paid. Yeah, that’s how it is. But now we’re not getting paid or anything, we are just working to pay back the loan. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

The development of entrepreneurial skills has become an element of the Go Sisters programme. Similar to the female participants in Hayhurst’s (2013, 2014) study in Uganda, some young women, through the Go Sisters programme, were ‘equipped to survive in the current global neoliberal climate using social entrepreneurial tactics’ (2014: 297). Interviews with those young women who have
been able to build on such skills that they had developed felt that the autonomy and financial independence that was enabled made a major contribution to wider processes associated with empowerment:

I do a business. I sell clothes. … After undergoing the entrepreneurial workshop, that’s when I started doing that. I also sell earrings. … They [EduSport] give them money, like more like a loan, they start doing that business and then they start paying back the money slowly … Yeah, my plan is to come up with a boutique and a salon in the same shop … Yes, it is very important [for girls to earn their own money], reason being that if we are depending on somewhere, I think that’s where the violence comes from mostly, but if I am earning my own money I don’t think violence would be there. I would say, let’s say I am married or have a boyfriend, right. I always want to get money from my boyfriend so whatever he tells me to do I will always obey … If I refuse, what happens is he beats me up. If I am independent, I earn my own money, when he tells me to do something I do not think I will easily do that. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

I think we get exposed. Empowering girls, it doesn’t mean you find a job for them and then you tell them to start working there. It’s about being self-confident and able to do that work. You discover yourself, what you can do and what you can’t do. I am one of the people that have benefitted from that. I think, those days I couldn’t stand in public and speak, but now I can speak in public, I’m a public speaker. So for me that’s empowerment on its own. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

Possibilities of upward social mobility in Zambia are very limited (see Chapter 4 for a broader discussion of this issue) and it was not a viable outcome for the majority of the young people we spoke to. Reflecting the difficult economic conditions and the high levels of unemployment in compound communities, many young people involved with SfD activities were unable to secure any regular paid employment. Most of the peer leaders that were involved in our Go Sisters tracking research and who were no longer in school did not acquire paid work. They often extended their volunteering commitments extensively, and this became a substitute for paid employment, but they continued to lack economic capital that, again, restricted their ability to make significant changes in their lives.

Whilst the peer leaders who had taken part in internship opportunities spoke positively about their experiences, one expressed disappointment that it did not provide a springboard for regular employment as she had hoped. She described returning to her community and ‘normal life’ after undertaking the internship as a challenging experience and, whilst she felt she had enhanced
her skills, this had not yet led to the tangible employment outcomes that she was hoping for.

I got used to, like, waking up in the morning, going to the office, looking into the files, like planning what to do during the day. But when I came here [returned to Lusaka] it was kind of like hard ’cause I got used to that life … but when I got back here you wait [for something to do]. (Female peer leader, Kalingalinga)

With a critical lens, therefore, we could suggest that involvement with SfD activities may foster a false hope amongst young people, creating individual ambitions that may be thwarted by structural barriers. As Hayhurst further suggests, specifically focusing on young women, even when participants were able to develop entrepreneurial skills this did not significantly alter the ‘broader structural inequalities and gender relations that marginalize girls in the first place’ (2014: 297). Whilst we encountered instances of sport promoting upward mobility in young people, this has to be placed critically alongside the more commonplace experiences of young people for whom involvement with SfD NGOs could do little to change their own overall life prospects. But while we join others in resisting exaggerated claims about the capacity of SfD to deliver structural change, we are also wary of dismissing its potential contributions. Young people’s accounts give multiple examples of how ‘individual’ change is nonetheless connected to wider social relations. Assessments of SfD must be realistic about what the early seeds of structural change ‘look like’, and how – and over how long – wider change might occur.

Conclusions

This chapter adds further dimensions to understanding of localized SfD by drawing on young people’s own accounts of their involvement with SfD NGOs and their various activities. These commentaries reveal complexity and diversity, even in simple descriptions of taking part in sport; for some young people, participation in SfD activities offered enjoyment but did not appear to have a wider significance to their lives, while for others it became much more central and meaningful. The chapter has, therefore, highlighted that young people’s responses to the same activities, in the same localities, may vary to greater extents and with more divergent consequences than standardized measures (for example of self-esteem and self-efficacy; Coalter, 2013) might indicate. This finding reinforces the importance and value of obtaining direct and qualitative accounts from participants.
Detailed qualitative data not only reveals the specific nature of individual responses to SfD, but also emphasizes what varied ‘contributions’ SfD activities and organizations may offer young people. The chapter has especially highlighted how much value many young people attributed to sport in its own right – ‘as sport’, an enjoyable activity that they could take part in together. The preoccupation with sport as a vehicle for social change can overlook the extent to which desirable elements of sport can be experienced through the activity itself – by taking part in organized activity, being physically active, having social contact, and using and developing sport skills.

In this respect, the findings of this research align with Guest’s (2009: 1347) suggestion that, rather than placing predetermined agendas and outcomes on SfD, practitioners, funders and researchers should view an effective programme as ‘one that simply provides the social space for communities to enact their own versions of healthy and positive development.’ This form of development appears to occur widely within ‘SfD communities’ in Lusaka. The community-within-a-community concept first raised in Chapter 5 provides an interesting context for interpreting the outcomes of SfD. Within the contexts of SfD activities and the organizations responsible for them, young people were able to gain access to opportunities to learn and to be valued, respected and listened to; opportunities that were not generally available within the wider communities in which these young people lived. However, this alternative way of being and knowing did not necessarily translate into young people’s wider lives. Whilst there is a research gap in terms of understanding whether and how sport can significantly disrupt and contest existing social conditions, maybe for a proportion of young people this is too ambitious an aspiration, and for them an outlet that provides friendship, hope, fun and enjoyment is all that they are seeking from sport. What was communicated most extensively by young people was how much they valued the social relationships that could be fostered through sport. Without talking directly to young people, the nuances and diversity of experience of SfD activities becomes lost.

Young interviewees’ accounts, therefore, stress the value of sport as an activity in its own right. In emphasizing this, we are not, however, arguing that sport has no capacity for ‘development’. Whilst critical, as others have been (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011; Spaaij, 2011), of the capacity of SfD to create wider structural change within communities, we believe our data does provide glimpses of the potential of sports programmes to have such a role. The data on the value of sport for delivering HIV/AIDS education and facilitating wider educational involvement suggested that, for some, sport could make a worthwhile contribution to
such development goals. Various ‘development’ benefits were especially marked for the minority who had been supported in internships connected to the Go Sisters programme. However, the cases of Go Sisters interns also illustrate the constraints of SfD: while young women gave unequivocal accounts of the very significant benefits they had obtained, these gains had not yet led to tangible outcomes in terms of subsequent employment. This offers something of a paradox: is such marked personal ‘development’ negated by the lack of outcome? We argue that personal development remains a valued and important goal of SfD interventions, and recognize that whilst currently this may not be translating into broader structural changes within the lives of young Zambians, it may provide the foundation to do so in the future. Although aspects of this chapter have illustrated the limitations of SfD for transforming the contexts of young people’s lives, as Chapter 5 has also illustrated, the benefits at an individual level and the empowerment young people experience from the opportunities available to them may play a role in catalysing broader social change over time.

Hartmann and Kwauk’s critique of SfD interventions suggests that change can only be achieved if sport is delivered in a way that places community-orientated activism at its core:

Recruiting participants onto court is only part of the deal; the other more crucial, challenging and humbling part is to provide an education program alongside and in the sport program that actively seeks to engage participants in a mutual process of grappling with power, inequity and identity. (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011: 297)

Through engaging diverse groups of young people in various research studies, many different experiences relating to ‘development’ can be identified. At one end of the spectrum we spoke to young people who attended SfD activities simply to take part in sport and were not exposed to the type of education Hartmann and Kwauk advocate. However, linking with the analysis in the previous chapter, several of the young people cited in this chapter illustrate that engagement in SfD can lead to greater critical awareness and determination to make change. There were some examples of collective action emerging from networks established in an SfD setting. In some instances, more time is required for such collectives to build across other SfD sites and to mobilize effectively to lead to changes in existing social and cultural dynamics. There is also a need for SfD programmes to continue to purposefully engage in a critical, action-orientated agenda that seeks to support young people to facilitate changes at a community level. Whilst many of the programmes that we conducted research
Young people’s experiences of SfD

...with were committed to critiquing existing conditions and looking to facilitate change, such a progressive agenda was not always evident in all.

While it is important not to overstate the value of sport or SfD (Saavedra, 2009), the perspectives of young people would suggest that some gains are better than none. The findings of this chapter also raise the question of whether, despite the obvious limits, sport may nonetheless contribute to wider social change. For example, the experiences of young women suggest repressive gender values continue to dominate in compound communities, but sport has at least offered young women some space to resist these perspectives and to develop and present an alternative view, even for a short period. We would also argue, therefore, that conceptualizing ‘individual’ and ‘structural’ or ‘collective’ social change as discrete categories may be unhelpful and underplay the value of individual change in laying the foundations for structural change.

In exploring these issues it has been valuable to be able to include in our research the young women footballers who were able to participate in elite-level sport. They provide a particularly complex and useful illustration of the limitations of upward mobility via sport. Whilst these women were able to reflect on their experiences fondly, elite participation has done little to change their daily lives. Unlike their male counterparts, they have not been able to gain any financial benefit from their involvement and have had to return to life in the compounds, where they are marginalized and unable to alter substantially the cultural hegemony that maintains their positions within poverty.

As researchers, therefore, we are not uncritical or unaware of the limitations of the SfD activities as discussed throughout the last two chapters and would not dispute some of the conclusions drawn by other scholars that interventions often maintain the status quo (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011) or fail to ‘bring about notable social change’ (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011: 291). Whilst involvement in SfD activities may raise some young people’s self-esteem, their leadership skills and their aspirations, this is of little use if the broader constraining factors within their families, communities and Zambian society prevent young people from using these qualities. However, the data gives some limited indication of Sugden’s (2014) ‘ripple effect’, whereby young people’s involvement in SfD provides the impetus for the emergence of alternative beliefs and values, or broader change amongst parents, community members and those in positions of power. Similar to Spaaij (2011), we consider engagement in SfD can provide young Zambians with access to social and cultural capital that can facilitate some degree of social mobility, although this cannot be assumed to also contribute to long-term structural change.
These conclusions reflect the complexity of the issues to which SfD is directed in Zambia and of the contexts within which SfD activities take place. While criticisms that SfD does not sufficiently contribute to transformative change have relevance in these Zambian contexts, this is not to say that those involved in Zambian SfD are not aware of these limitations and challenges. As the data that has been presented demonstrates, many young people can themselves fluently articulate about the shortcomings of SfD approaches. That they can also speak of, and identify, possibilities of broader social change through SfD is similarly important. While SfD cannot immediately transform entrenched power relations and social structures, it may offer a contribution to complementary processes that enable such possibilities. Continued research that recognizes young people's voices is necessary to further develop understanding of whether and how this may occur.
Conclusions: localizing global sport for development

In this chapter we draw together the main themes which have emerged from our research in Zambia, and reflect critically on how they may contribute to the overall aspiration for this book: to ‘localize’ global SfD. We are equally concerned with the knowledge and understanding that our empirical work may offer and with the research processes that have underpinned it. We first consider the extent to which our findings may have brought to the fore features of SfD that have previously been underexplored in the wider literature on ‘global’ SfD. This discussion is arranged around three overarching themes that emerged across the empirical chapters. Firstly, focusing on *multifaceted SfD practices and experiences*, we explore the diversity and complexity of SfD as practised and experienced in Zambia; secondly, we consider *associations between SfD and ‘mainstream development’*, examining relationships between SfD and other development sectors in Zambia; and thirdly, we confront the central issue of *local to global*, reviewing the book’s evidence on how SfD interacts with the multiple contexts in which it occurs. In the fourth and final section of the chapter we then consider the research process through which these findings were obtained, and offer some reflections on wider knowledge-production approaches across SfD.

To frame these conclusions, it is useful to reprise how the book sits within the wider landscape of SfD literature. Since we first embarked on it, the volume of published research associated with SfD has undoubtedly burgeoned, with two approaches remaining dominant. The first of these is the ‘evidence’ orientation, prominent within both SfD policymaking and academic communities. The evidence discourse underpins the extensive body of evaluation research conducted in SfD, and prioritizes forms of enquiry intended to have instrumental value for improving SfD policy and practice, including those with the capacity to identify causal links to (measurable) outcomes. Similar instrumental aspirations underpin the associated development of decontextualized ‘models’ of SfD that purport to inform policy and practice, as well as the evaluation of specific programmes.
The second prominent strand in the SfD literature is that of critical–theoretical approaches that seek to locate SfD within the broader political, economic and social structures commonly associated with postcolonialism. Although these approaches can enable examination of local contexts and local agency (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012), to date they have largely been utilized to explore internationally orientated aspects of SfD (e.g. Darnell, 2007; Hayhurst, 2009; Forde, 2014). Through this, the ‘local’ becomes understandable through the lens of global and international structures. This approach to the local is also evident in some empirical studies which have not specifically adopted the postcolonial theoretical position; although utilizing data collected in African localities, accounts by Straume and Hasselgård (2014; also Hasselgård and Straume, 2015) and Guest (2009) have also placed Northern-instigated SfD programmes in the context of postcolonial relations before examining the responses, including resistance, of local stakeholders. The smaller number of authors who have taken local dimensions of SfD as their focus (e.g. Armstrong, 2004; Fokwang, 2009; Kath and van Buuren, 2014) have been constrained in their investigation of the multidimensional relationships between these local contexts and broader political, economic and social structures.

This book sits in a rather different space from these two approaches. It differs substantially from evidence-oriented studies in SfD, and in more nuanced yet significant ways from most critical postcolonial writings. The book’s position has evolved organically as our knowledge of SfD in Zambia has grown, and the contours of the (academic) SfD field became more clearly demarcated. The theoretical, methodological and empirical strands of development studies literature have also been influential, most notably Norman Long’s (2001) writings on actor-orientated sociology. This advocates developing more differentiated and contextualized understandings of development work by grounding these in the perspectives and experiences of multiple stakeholders, then locating these ‘local’ perspectives within broader political, economic and social-structures contexts. This reflects our own strategy in the book’s empirically based chapters, which bring together perspectives from a range of stakeholders and from across different, distinct research projects. Again following Long (2001), we have also used diverse literatures and concepts throughout the book to help understand these local perspectives in light of broader aspects of both sport and international development. In the following sections, these ingredients are now brought together to examine, in turn, multifaceted practices and experiences of Zambian SfD, associations between SfD and other development sectors, and relationships between local dimensions of SfD and broader influences.
Multifaceted SfD practices and experiences

First and foremost, findings from across the research reveal that SfD practices and experiences in Zambia are characterized by diversity and complexity. While this is not the most surprising conclusion to arise from multiple studies over an extended time period, it does reveal different aspects that repay attention. Firstly, the diversity and complexity revealed in Zambia add to debates that consider how the characteristics and functions of SfD have been classified; secondly, identification of complexity and local specificity challenges some of the more instrumental approaches for SfD put forward by external stakeholders – mostly from the global North – interested in the utilization of tightly defined ‘models’ to support evaluation and develop practice.

The first of these points concerns the questions that our findings raise about how the relationships between sport and aspects of ‘development’ are conceptualized within SfD. As we noted in Chapter 1, throughout the SfD literature efforts have been made to address the different ways in which ‘development of’ and ‘development through’ sport take place. Terminology such as Coalter’s ‘sport plus’ and ‘plus sport’ has been used in a variety of ways – for example, to classify organizations (e.g. Giulianotti, 2011a), to distinguish between the aims of sport programmes (e.g. Coakley, 2011) or the relative emphasis given to sport within them (e.g. Coalter, 2010b: 298), and assert the likelihood of sport programmes contributing to developmental outcomes (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). Notwithstanding their wide use, such distinctions have not been clear-cut, as their authors admit, and our own findings concur with this.

The multilayered nature of our research in Zambia offers some additional insights into the complex picture that arises from interrelated and mutually constitutive practices in sport and SfD. At policy level, the historical analysis in Chapter 2 has shown how closely the emergence of the SfD sector in Zambia has been interwoven with the broader development of sport policies and provision. This is also observable at the organizational level, where the major contributions to development of sport provision, activities and facilities made by two NGOs, Sport in Action and EduSport, supplement and complement their more commonly recognized ‘development through sport’ endeavours. At programme level, single strategies can cut across multiple objectives, as in the use of peer leadership within SfD programmes, which simultaneously increases provision of sport opportunities and fosters personal and social development. The research has also uncovered examples of elements of SfD work that extend beyond conventional sport practices, such as the internships offered by EduSport, which
are more resonant of youth- and community-development activities than mainstream sport provision. All of these examples suggest that understandings of SfD may be limited by overly narrow and rigid distinctions.

Rigid distinctions between development ‘of’ and ‘through’ sport also risk underplaying aspects of young people's experiences of SfD, which can draw on either or both. As discussed in Chapter 6, many young Zambians placed value on simply participating in organized and competitive sport activities developed by SfD NGOs, with some then also deriving what they considered to be wider benefits as a result. Young people's experiences, therefore, cut across and were mutually reinforced by multiple aspects of SfD in ways which defy clear-cut analytical distinctions. This compounded response is not wholly accounted for through conceptual devices such as ‘balancing’ the different elements (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011) within SfD activities, nor by placing them on a ‘continuum of sport plus and plus sport’ approaches (Coalter, 2010b: 298); rather, the different aspects and experiences of local SfD are instead intertwined and mutually constitutive. The complexity evident in Zambia reinforces the argument that at many levels of SfD, boundaries between aims, approaches and activities are not clearly defined, and understanding of SfD work is not necessarily enhanced by imposing such delineation.

A second issue that arises from the complex and multifaceted nature of SfD in Zambia concerns the resultant implications for efforts within SfD to offer normative prescriptions for practice. As well as contributions in the instrumental strand of the SfD literature, numerous policy documents, manuals and toolkits, such as those held on the International Platform for Sport for Development and Peace, present ‘guidelines’, ‘curricula’ and illustrative examples of ‘best practice’ for SfD (e.g. SDPIWG, 2008b; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2014). Critical scholars (e.g. Hayhurst, 2009; Forde, 2014) have identified how the discourses represented in such documents and curricula reinforce, or at least fail to challenge, hierarchies of power that contribute to the subjugation of those involved in SfD in the global South. The picture emerging from Zambia suggests that, notwithstanding this global context, the local practices of SfD organizations may themselves offer a counterpoint to normative prescriptions.

This is evident in the elements of both pragmatism and intentionality that occur in the practices of Zambian SfD organizations, such as choices made regarding the delivery of particular sports. Some Zambian SfD organizations, for example, have chosen to develop women's football specifically to confront and resist local gender norms that contribute to inequality. Conversely, on other occasions, they also encourage separate male and female participation in
competitive football and netball respectively. While these sports may be representative of colonial influences (as well as locally held gendered beliefs), their adoption is also indicative of a degree of pragmatism on behalf of SfD organizations, as the delivery of football and netball is popular with young people and requires relatively few material resources. That both pragmatism and intentionality informs the decision making of Zambian SfD organizations stands in contrast with normative prescriptions that support planning on the basis of largely instrumental choices regarding the achievement of desired outcomes.

Another feature of such prescriptions is that they either implicitly (e.g. Higgs, 2014) or explicitly (e.g. Gannett et al., 2014) promote more formalized planning and decision making by SfD organizations. This contrasts with the many instances of informality we have noted in Zambian SfD, in areas such as the selection, training and progression of peer leaders; the development of relationships between SfD participants, deliverers and other community stakeholders; and in some partnership working between different organizations, particularly at more localized levels. More importantly, just as with some pragmatically orientated decisions, aspects of informality reflect aspects of the localized cultural and material contexts within which SfD in Zambia exists. This is not to suggest that ‘informal’ approaches to SfD are in any sense objectively ‘better’ than formal ones, but rather that in any specific context, informality may be locally appropriate, and attempts to enforce more ‘formalized’ management potentially detrimental. Although the importance of adaptability to local context is recognized in instrumental SfD literature (e.g. Lyras and Welty Peachey, 2011; Schulenkorf, 2012), it is inevitable that overarching models downplay local contextual possibilities, influences and constraints on SfD.

One of the prominent normative features in international policies, international donors’ practices and instrumental academic SfD literature is an insistence that desired outcomes of SfD programmes should be specified more precisely. For example, in guidance claimed to be developed from Kay and Dudfield’s (2013) evidence-based review, Higgs states that ‘detailed programme objectives need to be developed. These should be concise statements that state who will make what change, by how much, where and by when’ (Higgs, 2014: 16; italics as in original). Coalter’s (2013) research is aligned with this approach in seeking to evaluate changes in specific and narrow measures of young people’s self-esteem and self-efficacy over the time of their involvement in particular SfD programmes. However, if the orientation towards tightly defined SfD programmes and outcomes is redirected towards foregrounding young people’s experiences of engagement with SfD, then a rather more complex picture

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emerges. As Chapter 6 indicated, young Zambians participating in activities provided by EduSport and Sport in Action not only experienced but actively sought different outcomes from their engagement with SfD. Furthermore, the types of benefits identified by young people ranged from those directly resulting from participating in sport to various dimensions of personal development advanced through both sport activities and further non-participatory opportunities developed by the same SfD organizations. These varied experiences and responses of young people are themselves reflective of the diversity of approaches enacted by Zambian SfD, although no particular claim to causality is made here.

A further notable aspect of Zambian SfD is the importance of the communitarian environment associated with sporting activities and the organizations that develop them. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the development of such a communitarian environment by Zambian SfD organizations reflected both long-standing aspects of local culture and the concerns voiced by many Zambians regarding the loss of networks of family and community support. Most studies of specific SfD programmes have focused on the personal benefits for young people individually – benefits which our young Zambian interviewees also report. However, this focus on single programmes and specific, mainly individualized, outcomes may have limited exploration of the interweaving of various SfD practices, the significance of their local context, and the potential collective benefits that can also accrue, as identified in Zambia.

Peer leaders especially identified with the communitarian ethos of their SfD NGOs. There is an element of circularity in that peer leaders personally drew benefits from their relationships in and with SfD NGOs, and this in turn helped them to provide appropriate role models for other young people. Such a finding leads to questions about models developed to explore how SfD processes may produce outcomes. Approaches to modelling SfD tend to suggest a sequential relationship between the ‘impacts of participation on individuals, and the resultant outcomes’ at broader community levels (Coalter, 2014: 72). Sugden’s (2011, 2014) ‘ripple’ model, for example, suggests that benefits for individual young people participating in sports activities may be an antecedent to broader changes at different levels of society. However, for SfD organizations in Zambia, prior work has been necessary to change community, and particularly parental, attitudes towards sport before young people – especially girls – are even allowed to participate in activities, let alone gain any personal benefit from doing so. This example alone suggests that the assumption that individual benefits aggregate to collective ones is somewhat simplistic and points to the limitations of approaches to modelling SfD.
A normative impetus towards sequential modelling of SfD is nonetheless dominant both in international agendas for SfD organizations and in approaches to evaluating SfD programmes. In both, there is widespread advocacy for the use of programme theories or logic models (Levermore, 2011). While this does not wholly exclude non-linear causality between SfD processes and outcomes, it unquestionably involves assumptions about the sequential arrangement of SfD mechanisms and their effects (e.g. Coalter, 2013). Yet, as is evident throughout this book, simplified programme theories or logical models cannot capture the diversity and complexity of Zambian SfD. The danger of utilizing many of the models and frameworks suggested for SfD is that they inherently obscure the important complexities and multifaceted aspects of SfD that locally oriented studies reveal. The recent reflection on programme theories and logic models by Brian Pratt, long-time international development practitioner and editor of the journal *Development in Practice*, is particularly apposite: ‘one is left asking whether these methods relate to reality or merely the imagination of development planners’ (Pratt, 2015: 144). Different methodological approaches to those currently prominent in SfD are required to ensure that more localized, nuanced and ‘real’ understandings emerge.

**Associations between SfD and ‘mainstream’ development**

The second area in which our research may contribute to debates in SfD is in discussions about the relationship between SfD and so-called ‘mainstream’ development. One of the recurrent calls from within SfD is for closer partnership between SfD and the much longer established development field. In reality, ‘development’ is of course an extensive, diverse and dynamic area, characterized by divergent standpoints: to speak of a singular ‘mainstream’ is therefore misleading. Nevertheless, the purpose of this section is to consider what our research in Zambia contributes to knowledge about associations between SfD and other development sectors, in policy, practice and research.

In conducting our research we have very much aligned with Darnell and Black’s (2011: 370) concern that ‘insights from development studies often appear underappreciated in SDP [sport for development and peace] circles’. Like other SfD researchers who have utilized critical theories from development studies, our own approach has been to draw on a range of development studies literature and research. Our particular contribution is through the empirical examination of relationships between SfD and other development sectors, which remains relatively rare and may allow the more generalized conclusions that have so far
been available (e.g. Darnell and Black, 2011; Giulianotti, 2011b) to be further developed.

The association between the establishment of SfD in Zambia and broader trends of national governance and global neo-liberal ideologies was examined in Chapter 2. This showed how, in its initial phases, SfD emerged to address gaps in state provision, with the prominence of NGOs reflecting trends in development approaches nationally and globally. Subsequently, however, there has been divergence; the SfD sector has yet to reform (or be reformed) in line with significant changes in development governance more broadly. While there are relatively few empirical studies from Zambia, there has been global impetus from early in the twenty-first century towards more co-ordinated state- and country-led approaches in other development sectors, even if these ambitions have not been fully realized in practice. As yet, there is limited evidence of these trends being implemented in Zambian SfD and any rhetorical commitment to do so is relatively weak.

Aspects of divergence between SfD and other development sectors were also very evident in Chapter 3, where the relationship between Zambian SfD and HIV/AIDS organizations and policies was examined. This revealed very little integration of SfD, either generally or in terms of particular organizations, in nationally instituted HIV/AIDS policies and structures. SfD appeared subject to a degree of institutionalized marginalization arising from multiple factors, including a lack of collective advocacy on behalf of the SfD sector, and ingrained beliefs held by HIV/AIDS stakeholders which undervalued SfD practice. There was also incompatibility as a result of a lack of alignment in approaches to monitoring and evaluation, which had been initiated by different international agencies and donors in both the SfD and HIV/AIDS sectors.

This national picture of sport being a relatively peripheral concern within development policy does not necessarily hold at other levels of analysis. Certainly, in Zambia, our localized data revealed rather different findings about the intersections of SfD and development actors at community level. SfD NGOs were often at the forefront of developing co-ordinated approaches amongst different organizations working with young people in some local communities. Many community-based representatives of development organizations spoke favourably of sport, and valued it as an attractive form of provision for young people for whom there were few low-cost structured activities available in school, community or church contexts. Although these institutions were important in the lives of young Zambian people, several stakeholders saw value in
sport precisely because it offered an alternative to these established and traditional environments.

For local stakeholders, sport could therefore be important in its own right, as a relatively new, more neutral and less culturally constrained context for development than established institutions. To some extent this runs counter to views that advocacy for SfD is ‘evangelistic’ (Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2013) – a label increasingly applied to any positive expressions about the capacity of sport to contribute to ‘development’. In our Zambian studies, and as Kay (2009) also found in Delhi, India, it was notable that positive local views of sport were expressed by interviewees from outwith the SfD sector, individuals with little personal stake in it. Critical analyses that focus on the historically inscribed nature of sport at the macro level, including expert accounts of colonialism (e.g. Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012), perhaps underplay the possibility of differentiated local understandings. In order to enhance future investigation, it is useful to recognize the possibility that pivotal contributions to SfD scholarship risk obscuring ways in which local perspectives on sport may inform community-based approaches, practices and relationships.

Another area in which the practices of SfD and development organizations are aligned is through their work with peer leaders. As noted above, peer-leadership systems are enacted by Zambian SfD organizations in diverse ways, and peer leaders themselves are not homogeneous in either their personal characteristics or the SfD roles they fulfil. Despite the prominence of peer leadership within SfD, this complexity has not been the focus of SfD scholarship, which has instead mainly focused on the benefits peer-led activities deliver for participants (Maro et al., 2009; Woodcock et al., 2012). The wider development literature on peer leadership in sub-Saharan Africa offers a little more recognition of the experiences of peer leaders (e.g. Molassiotis et al., 2004; Svenson and Burke, 2005; Lesko, 2007), However, research has rarely had a significant focus on peer leaders themselves. Given the importance of peer leaders to the delivery of SfD and development activities, further investigation into the varied perspectives and experiences of peer leaders seems likely to have value to improved understanding in both of these fields.

A final consideration is how young people may themselves experience intersections between SfD and other development sectors. Our research has identified some ways in which this may occur; for example, many SfD peer leaders also fulfil similar roles in other development-orientated activities outside SfD, and many SfD participants receive development content such as HIV/AIDS education in a number of different contexts. The research has also found
examples of SfD activities providing a context in which young people discuss information gained from other environments, which suggests a degree of flexibility in educational SfD activities that can be lacking from some other HIV/AIDS interventions in Zambia (see Chapter 4). Our data on this aspect is, however, somewhat limited and does not allow full examination of how young people experience the dissemination of messages about HIV/AIDS from diverse sources, which may be different, potentially conflicting or partial in their content. This suggests that research that seeks to identify a narrow ‘SfD effect’ in terms of improvements in HIV/AIDS knowledge needs to take into account the ways in which differently gained knowledges intersect and relate to one another. Such intersections are more likely to be understood through research that methodologically foregrounds young people rather than studies that focus on specific programmes, either individually or comparatively.

In concluding this section we risk being repetitive by reasserting that the associations between SfD and ‘mainstream development’ are characterized by complexity and diversity. Nevertheless, this is the inevitable conclusion from our research at different levels and across different sectors. Broadly speaking, the level of integration between SfD and other development sectors appears to be greater and more complementary as analysis moves from national to local (community) levels, as well as from contexts which are more structured to those with greater scope for stakeholder agency. Although some of our further research beyond Zambia (Lindsey et al., 2014) suggests that similar patterns may occur in other countries where SfD has marginal policy status, we cannot assert this; as in Zambia, such observations require a wide range of research across the levels and sectors of development within single countries, as well as thorough engagement with relevant development studies literature. Following on from this differentiated analysis, we now attempt closer scrutiny of the ways in which SfD in Zambia has been subject to influences from the global to the local.

From local to global: influential and influencing SfD contexts

The final set of conclusions that we draw from our research concerns the central issue that the book addresses – the relationship between local and global SfD. In addressing this issue, we recognize that global and local are not dichotomous dimensions, nor is either singular. This has been clearly evident in Zambia, where SfD occurs within contexts which are both multidimensional and multi-layered. Our data is too limited to reveal the full complexity of these contexts;
for example, our findings concerning the limited integration of SfD with the HIV/AIDS sector in Zambia may or may not be applicable to relationships between SfD and other sectors, such as education. Similarly, we cannot offer comparative analysis of SfD in different Lusaka communities, let alone across rural and urban areas. Nonetheless, our findings provide some insights into the diverse ways in which SfD in Zambia reflects, influences and is influenced by the various contexts in which it is situated. The section examines the development issues to which SfD activities in Zambia are orientated and to which these activities may, potentially, contribute, and pays particular attention to how locally specific and broader contextual influences interact to affect them.

One of the concerns expressed about SfD is the limited extent to which it can offer solutions to what Coalter (2010b) terms ‘broad-gauge’ social problems. Nevertheless, our research indicates that the multifaceted orientation and delivery of SfD can reflect local understandings of interconnected social problems. For example, the strongly communitarian ethos of Sport in Action and Edu-Sport is a response to local concerns regarding the breakdown of familial and social support systems as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. More generally, the deep and nuanced recognition of local social and structural problems by adults and young people involved with SfD suggests a more informed and constructive framing than the view that SfD positions young people as in need of ‘development’ because they are considered to be ‘deficient’ in some respects (Coalter, 2014).

Expanding on these points, our research indicates that Zambian SfD organizations are often able to exert a considerable degree of agency. This contrasts with the emphasis given in the global SfD literature to the levers of power utilized by Northern donors (e.g. Levermore, 2009; Nicholls et al., 2011; Kay, 2012). While the impacts of funding and accountability processes are unquestionably evident in Zambian SfD as elsewhere, so too is the agency of Zambian NGOs as they both shape SfD according to local contexts and limit international impetus towards more precisely defined objectives for SfD. While Northern donor organizations may significantly influence particular funded programmes, the overall ethos and approaches of the two Zambian SfD NGOs that we have worked with most closely shows significant consistency over time with the principles on which they were initially founded.

There are also indications that the NGOs’ capacity to resist and reshape donors’ influence has developed and increased over time. This resonates with the view expressed by Bob Munro (reported in Coalter, 2010a), the founder of the MYSA in Nairobi, who observed that by initially developing without the
support of international partners, the organization was subsequently able to gain agency. In something of a contrast, agency amongst Zambian SfD NGOs appeared to increase as they gained experience working with Northern donor organizations. As discussed in Chapter 3, this degree of agency was partly enabled by factors that limited Northern donors’ ability to exert influence over Zambian SfD organizations. Both collectively and individually, many Northern SfD donor organizations and their staff were inexperienced in the processes of international development generally and required time to become well acquainted with local SfD practices specifically. The changeable approach by Norwegian donors to funding SfD in Zambia (identified in Chapter 2) is another indication of Northern funders’ ongoing process of adaption to the contours of international development (Straume and Hasselgård, 2014).

Overall, therefore, our findings suggest that there has been more scope for local agency among Zambian SfD stakeholders than the global SfD literature suggests. This is not to say that such local agency is not constrained in other ways, by other contextual influences. For example, one of the common challenges faced by Zambian SfD organizations was overcoming the widely held view that sport was ‘just play’ and lacks developmental significance. This perspective had consequences at multiple levels, from inhibiting the integration of these organizations into national HIV/AIDS structures to discouraging parents from allowing young people, especially girls, to participate in community SfD activities. Further empirical research into the influences of local social contexts on SfD is needed to ascertain whether similar issues are encountered by SfD organizations delivering activities across other African countries.

Similarly, detailed empirical examination can improve understanding of the ways in which potential and actual outcomes of SfD are influenced by contextual conditions. In Chapter 6, we identified a number of ways in which the benefits young people obtain from their engagement in SfD may be defined or constrained by the contexts within which they find themselves. Some young people talked about sport activities as something of a palliative to the conditions of their everyday lives; others, especially young females, spoke of their struggles and inability to overcome traditional Zambian social hierarchies and other structural constraints. Individual young people clearly perceive and experience their social contexts differently, and differ in how they orientate their responses both to these social contexts and to SfD.

When the focus shifts away from immediate local contexts and SfD is considered in relation to global social and economic conditions, further influences on the multifaceted relationship between structure and agency at local level are
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evident. Here, too, they lead to differentiated conclusions. On the one hand, the overarching communitarian ethos of Zambian SfD organizations sits in contrast to neo-liberal individualism; on the other, the emergence of Zambian SfD NGOs is directly associated with the global impact of neo-liberal development policies. Similarly, the orientation of Zambian SfD to addressing HIV/AIDS has been important in countering the localized consequences of the pandemic, but also reflective of the propagation of HIV/AIDS through deeply rooted global inequalities that are sustained by hegemonic power relations (UNAIDS, 2008). The global context in which Zambian SfD is located unquestionably exerts significant influence on it – yet alongside this, and within Zambian communities, practices are also locally orientated, defined, challenged and experienced.

Local dimensions have not been conceptually ignored in the SfD literature, but have seldom been the focus of detailed empirical investigation. This risks fostering an overall understanding of SfD that is collectively coherent but relatively undifferentiated. In the case of Zambia, broad historical and global inequalities have undoubtedly shaped the political and social context in which SfD has emerged; however, we can also question the extent to which international relationships specific to SfD have defined the organizations, practices, activities and outcomes of Zambian SfD. Thus, rather than local and global dimensions being singular, or international SfD being indivisible from broader global inequalities, a more complex picture emerges of a mosaic of multiple interconnected locals and globals, each with diffuse boundaries. Recognition of this complexity and fluidity offers new dimensions to understanding of the global-local phenomenon of SfD.

Developing understanding and contributing to knowledge production: reflections on localizing SfD through research

The preceding sections sought to distil the substantive findings of our research. Three conclusions emerged: that SfD practices and experiences in Zambia are complex and multifaceted; that there are differentiated associations between SfD and ‘mainstream development’, with closer integration sometimes occurring at local level where scope for stakeholder agency is greatest; and that the interplay of ‘global’ and ‘local’ produces complex, differentiated and, above all, locally specific manifestations of SfD. This ability to detect and present the very particular nature of local SfD practices and experiences rests on research approaches which differ from, but potentially complement, those that are otherwise
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In this final section we therefore reflect critically on the extent to which this more deliberately localized research approach can contribute to further development of knowledge and understanding of SfD.

The discussion that follows addresses two methodological dimensions that we believe can contribute to enhanced knowledge and understanding of SfD – conducting what we have termed ‘wide-lens’ research to ensure specific SfD practices are contextualized, and engaging in locally informed collaborative knowledge production (‘close-up’ research). The chapter concludes with a final reflection on how these approaches may combine with established forms of SfD research to inform the development of SfD policy and practice.

Wide-lens research: developing contextualized understandings

One of our key aims in our research has been to understand SfD in context. We have therefore found it helpful to bring together findings from research that spans SfD policies, organizations, delivery practices and participant experiences. We are, however, conscious that this body of work is made up of separate studies; while they have multiple interconnections, they do not constitute a single cohesive research programme. The resulting ‘jigsaw’ of knowledge is wide-ranging but far from complete, and exhibits both strengths and weaknesses.

Undertaking these interlocking studies has allowed us to draw on contextual knowledge from one research project to inform another – for example, in our examination of the interaction of SfD with ‘education’, which has been addressed from policy level to the individual. We have conducted studies with school pupils and teachers on the use of sport to deliver HIV/AIDS education; with head teachers and pupils’ parents on the role of sport in young people’s lives; with government officials and international stakeholders on the position of sport in education policy and school curricula; with NGO staff, peer leaders and participants on the value of community-based provision; and with community leaders on the delivery and response of sport-based gender empowerment programmes. Together this data has offered greater insights than any single study into how the trajectories of education provision in Zambia interact with the localized experiences of individuals, and how this may impact the relationship between SfD and education.

Our research has also been characterized by fluidity; our knowledge and research approaches have evolved organically across several years. The development of the work conducted on HIV/AIDS illustrates this. The centrality of HIV/AIDS to the work of Zambian SfD organizations was emphasized to us
from our very first visit, in 2006. It was Davies’ knowledge of the scale and significance of other organizations’ provision of HIV/AIDS education in Zambia that led to our investigation the following year of the extent of partnerships and integration between SfD and Zambia’s broader HIV/AIDS sector. While undertaking this study, our need to better understand broader HIV/AIDS policy and the ‘NGO world’ led to greater engagement with the development studies literature. In turn, this influenced the design of Iain’s 2009 study of community collaboration and Davies’ PhD study of the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS by NSAs. In some respects our knowledge has, therefore, grown substantially since the start of our studies, but still has clear limits.

Our efforts to contextualize SfD are also limited by the scale and selective coverage of our studies. Most of our research has been conducted in urban settings and our detailed work has largely been conducted with just two of the many SfD NGOs working in Zambia. Our studies have also involved a limited range of young people (again, a realization that has grown over time); work with programme participants and with school pupils has not included more severely excluded Zambian young people, such as those in rural areas. Some individual studies have also been constrained to the parameters prescribed by funders, but have benefitted from an extended three-to-five-year timescale; conversely, studies that have allowed us greater autonomy (for example, our investigation of integration and partnership with HIV/AIDS agencies in 2007) have been of short duration that has limited detailed tracking of trends over time. In valuing the way in which multiple studies can be combined to contextualize Zambian SfD, these limits must also be acknowledged.

We have found wide-ranging consideration of context to be fundamental to understanding Zambian SfD. This contrasts with the emphasis given within the evidence discourse to tightly specified units of knowledge that are framed by the positivist paradigm. Like Stanhope and Dunn (2011), we are unconvinced that social problems are amenable to this type of ‘scientific process’ or that its application to complex social problems can provide viable solutions (ibid.: 275–276). The positivist methods used in such work produce data in which social problems are decontextualized and simplified (ibid.: 277); this clearly does not capture complex, diverse and individually and/or locally specific impacts that we have identified with Zambian SfD. In our view, methods that ‘corral human behaviour into manageable measurable constructs’ (ibid.) need to be challenged with vigour in SfD. Instead, SfD research needs to turn away from efforts to ‘quantify the unquantifiable’ (Pratt, 2015) and embrace much greater use of methods that capture complexity, difference and local specificity.
How realistic is it for those conducting SfD research within the ‘evidence’ paradigm to incorporate this more sociologically driven approach? Funders of SfD typically require evaluators to work to narrow terms of reference, meet prescriptive data requirements, and report in management-focused and largely formulaic formats. This restricts methodological choice and evaluators rarely have the freedom to break free from such constraints. There may, nonetheless, be scope for some proportionate reorienting of methods used. In particular, we suggest:

- Scholarly enquiry does not need to be solely focused on programme specifics to be useful to programme deliverers; knowledge and understanding are also required. A shift away from the overemphasis on ‘what works’ as the goal of research in SfD would be beneficial.
- SfD is practised in a range of contexts and orientated towards a hugely diverse range of outcomes. There should be less emphasis on developing ‘models’ of SfD, which imply it will work in the same way in all contexts and for all outcomes. It is not sufficient to state that models will ‘take account of context’: it must be clear how this will be operationalized.
- Quantitative and qualitative methods are not mutually exclusive. A rebalancing of the quantitative–qualitative dichotomy is needed to allow these categories of data to be recognized as complementary rather than oppositional.
- In the hands of skilled practitioners, qualitative methods deliver in-depth, rigorous data; in contrast to quantitative tools, they allow researchers to directly identify and probe issues of accuracy, cultural specificity and truthfulness. Despite this, qualitative data has been erroneously dismissed by some SfD scholars – for example, as ‘heartfelt narratives’ (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011: 285) or ‘idealized testimonials’ (Coakley, 2011: 307) – in criticisms that do not appear to distinguish between ‘journalistic’ descriptive narratives developed for promotional purposes and qualitative data obtained within rigorous research processes. To ensure the value and credibility of such data, rigour and quality must be demonstrable and reported.
- Diverse qualitative methods should be employed to suit different research participants, including participatory and child-friendly methods and co-production of knowledge.

A ‘wide-lens’ approach does not, therefore, aim to reduce social phenomena to ‘manageable units’, but to reveal their breadth and complexity, recognize
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contextual factors, and illuminate the processes of SfD delivery and engagement. By accommodating use of both qualitative and quantitative methods, it also aligns SfD with other areas of development where both are employed to understand the cultural, social, political and institutional environments within which programmes operate (see the World Bank’s 1998 expert workshop on integrating quantitative and qualitative research in development programmes, reported on in Bamberger, 2000). These approaches have led to innovation in design, data collection, and reporting methods and formats, such as the use of ‘storybook’ approaches to structure and report on the outcomes of participatory evaluation activities (e.g. Roughly and Dart, 2009). Moving closer to the approaches of the wider development sector may thus enhance both the quality and credibility of the SfD evidence-base.

A ‘wide-lens’ approach may also have some implications for critical–theoretical approaches to SfD. While often making use of qualitative methods, as yet much critical–theoretical SfD research tends not to underpin all levels of analysis empirically. There has been a tendency to foreground the perspectives of international stakeholders, with less coverage of those best positioned to give in-depth accounts of local contexts. Primary data, irrespective of being locally generated or otherwise, is viewed through a rather distant theoretical lens. Theoretical links between structural influences and local experiences are essential, but even the most insightful analyses may fall short without empirical investigation into how contextual factors play out locally. Following Long (2001), we have come to believe that knowledge about SfD can only exist within understandings of its particular contexts and be grounded in empirical, locally specific study. We therefore advocate alignment with empirically orientated development studies literature, and see empiricism as the bedrock of informed contextualized research.

Close-up research: collaborative knowledge production

A key aspect of our research has been our relationships with local actors, which have developed over time and across different studies. During our initial research we were interested in seeing how realistic undertaking research in this setting was, as predominantly white global-North researchers dropping into local communities. We became very aware of the limitations; on the one hand, Zambians involved in SfD were welcoming and forthcoming in discussing their communities, organizations and activities, and indeed their own lives; on the other hand, we were continually aware of the difficulties of establishing ourselves as independent from UK funding agencies. Even on visits when we were not
undertaking research directly for UK agencies, it was necessary to continually emphasize our separation to avoid being viewed as a source of potential future income to be loaded only with ‘happy stories’. Despite our efforts, undoubtedly we were presented with particular views and values that were considered appropriate for white global-North visitors. It would be naïve to suggest that this situation has been eliminated.

We have, however, now become something of a regular fixture within Lusaka; indeed, as we were working on this book in 2015, researchers on one of our projects returned from a visit to EduSport, due to continue to 2018. The long time over which contact has been maintained has contributed to the quality of our relationships with Zambian counterparts and, to some extent, counterbalanced the limited time periods we have usually spent in Zambia. We have known several staff of EduSport and Sport in Action, and some participants, since we first visited in 2006 and have spent time with them on every visit since. Boundaries between research work and more informal discussions and social activities have often blurred.

In comparison, formats and contexts for some particular data collection activities have inevitably been more structured and formal to varying degrees. However, as qualitative researchers asking young people and adults to talk openly about their home lives, families and communities, we have always expected to reciprocate. At the end of our interviews and focus groups about empowerment, poverty and experiences of HIV, we have habitually made the offer: ‘Is there anything you would like to ask us about now, about the research or about our lives back in England?’ In response we have been questioned about anything from whether we are Manchester United supporters to how we balance work and family; Tess and Ruth especially have been asked about their home lives and children. In many cases the knowledge exchanged has been quite personalized.

These experiences raise some questions about prevailing discourses that emphasize the need for distance in relationships between researchers and ‘the researched’ in SfD. Rationalistic, positivist approaches are predicated upon the notion of the detached researcher. UK Sport’s 2006 ‘Sport-in-Development: A Monitoring and Evaluation Manual’, for example, stipulates that quantitative data collection should be undertaken by people who are not related to the programme:

The interviewing should *not* be undertaken by personnel directly involved in delivering the programme. Where possible, a neutral person(s) not known to
the participants should be used to reduce the potential for biased responses. (Coalter, 2006: 51, emphasis as in original)

It is standard for quantitative studies to avoid closeness between researchers and respondents, which is considered to compromise the supposed ‘objectivity’ of the method. It is less certain that detachment automatically produces superior knowledge and understanding compared to qualitative data collection characterized by qualities of empathy and trust. The use of qualitative approaches may require some SfD scholars to reconsider their epistemological positioning.

Our work in Zambia has increasingly been based on familiarity and trusting relationships, and characterized not by detachment but by collaboration and reciprocal learning. Our experience has been that this building of relationships over time with SfD NGOs, their staff and young people has not led to collusion, but to greater openness. Those we have spoken to have been less concerned to mask negative issues; staff have talked more about the challenges and frustrations of their work, and peer leaders about the limits to their impact. Being told about these difficulties has allowed us to make suggestions for how they might be addressed, and our research has therefore been felt to be of practical value to their work. This has enabled all of us – researchers, staff from SfD NGOs and funders – to adopt a more critical stance than had previously been possible; to come closer to an understanding of how much or how little sport may offer development; and to learn more about the forms of support required to achieve this. Our being involved researchers has, therefore, enhanced the quality of the research, not detracted from it.

Underpinning this approach has been our commitment to localizing and decolonizing knowledge production. The decolonization standpoint advocates that knowledge production can significantly benefit from culturally appropriate ownership and leadership across all stages of the research process. This clearly contrasts with research ‘into’ the global South that has been designed, implemented and reported by global North researchers. Instead, it favours local participation in knowledge production, in which research agendas and focus are derived from local interests; research design reflects local forms of communication; data collection methods use appropriate tools, language and concepts; and reporting identifies findings and guidance that address local priorities, presented in formats that are usable by local actors. These points therefore address important details of method and methodology, and have practical implications; for example, they direct researchers to use qualitative in-depth interviews among communities with strong oral traditions, and to
avoid written tools among groups with low literacy. One of our own lessons in this respect has been that local data collection can allow participants whose language has no written form to participate in our research; for example, in the most recent phases of our work with the Go Sisters programme, we have supported peer leaders to conduct interviews with Nyanja-speaking parents in communities.

The decolonization discourse has considerable acceptance within development studies and has been advocated by those in the critical–theoretical strand of SfD literature. However, the relative lack of empirical application of such approaches has limited the extent to which decolonized research has been accepted in SfD. Its wider adoption may be hindered by its emphasis on localized, culturally specific and reflexive practices which do not sit well with those who align with the evidence discourse and advocate rigid application of standardized research designs and tools. We would suggest that SfD research has now reached a stage of maturity where it can – and needs to – move beyond defensiveness to engage in more constructive critical and realistic self-evaluation of its processes of knowledge production.

Localizing SfD in research and in practice

Knowledge production, by researchers and evaluators, is vital to development policy and practice. Across the different instrumental and critical–theoretical strands of SfD research, alternative claims are made for their (potential) contributions to improving SfD practices and policies. Critical theorists have called for significant realignments towards more radical SfD approaches. Hartmann and Kwauk (2011: 293), for example, advocate such an approach, in which:

Actors 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 the hegemonic structures and relations of inequality that get reproduced through sport.

Conversely, those who alternatively subscribe to rationalistic evaluation claim that their approach offers a route, and perhaps the only route, to the improvement of specific programmes. Richards et al.’s opening editorial for the Journal of Sport for Development is a case in point:

SFD organizations must ‘evaluate or perish’. Only by applying rigorous research methods will the SFD sector establish adequate evidence to streamline its
approach and survive broad contractions in foreign aid budgets. (Richards et al., 2013: 2)

We avoid these overarching suggestions for alternative approaches to SfD as well as any attempt, within a book of this nature, to identify specific modifications that may be made by Zambian SfD organizations. While elements of the radical approaches suggested by Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) and others are identifiable within Zambian SfD, as we have also shown, there remain considerable barriers to their widespread or wholesale adoption. Nevertheless, to advocate and utilize decolonized qualitative research is not to ‘abjure programme improvement’, as Coalter (2013: 58) appears to suggest. Rather, we would argue that in-depth, contextually grounded and localized understandings, such as that developed throughout this book, are essential to any efforts to improve SfD practices or policies. The contributions of the types of understandings that we have developed may not be as direct, specific, overarching or radical as others would suggest. However, without such understandings, attempts towards improvement may well founder upon misdiagnosis and misapplication.

Our experiences of working in Zambia over a long period of time have led us to believe that understanding in SfD requires more detailed, wide-ranging knowledge of context than is habitually collected, and needs knowledge about local context especially. Perhaps counter-intuitively, the need to open up to the wider sociological perspective is especially relevant to evaluation studies. Data that measures ‘performance’ is not sufficient to inform efforts to deliver social change through sport. In this vein, Pratt (2015) has recently dismissed as ‘an intellectual farce’ the production of evidence that is driven by bureaucratic and political requirements for clarity and simplicity rather than a desire to reflect the complex reality of development. He especially criticized the persistence of ‘formulaic evaluations’ that attempt to ‘[force] data into a pre-set framework rather than allowing it to speak for itself’, resulting in ‘evaluating people against objectives imposed by a funder or negotiated by a fundraiser, but never agreed by those actually running the programme’.

We remain aware and concerned about the limitations of the research approaches and data we have presented in this book. We are especially conscious of our own dominance in this account; as much as we have attempted to diffuse the inherent power relations between global-North researchers working with global-South participants, these have inevitably shaped our discussions and data. We also recognize that our attempts to draw together our
many projects may well produce a more piecemeal picture than we would hope. We nonetheless hope that this attempt to connect these different snapshots may signal the potential for a more holistic understanding of different dimensions of SfD. Localizing global SfD is not only about knowledge production; whether they use sport or not, efforts to improve the lives of young people will necessarily be limited without deep understanding of their local realities.
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