

**TOWARDS A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD – A CASE STUDY OF
THE CHALLENGES FACING NGOs USING SPORT FOR
DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN
SOUTH AFRICA**

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ABSTRACT

Sport has the potential to play a vital development role in post-apartheid South Africa. Sport has entered the development arena in recent years, with a wide range of actors extolling the virtues of physical activity and sport. The potential role of sport in advancing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) has been noted by the United Nations, though more critical voices urge caution against oversimplified, positivist notions of sport as like any form of social capital, sport is not inherently positive or negative, but can produce either outcome, depending on the setting and the manner in which any programme is implemented. In this light the case for sport as a means of development in South Africa will be interrogated. The overall aim of the study was to determine the opportunities and challenges NGOs encounter when using sport as a vehicle for development within the education system, in post-apartheid South Africa. A case study design has been chosen since it will offer real insight, showing how specific sports programmes work in specific contexts. Two NGOs, Grassroot Soccer (GRS) and the Extra-Mural Education Project (EMEP) constitute the cases, with an in-depth exploration of their work and the challenges they face. The study population includes employees of GRS, EMEP, target groups of the organisations and officials in the Department of Education. Key informants, including the head of research, managing directors, coaching/training staff at each organisation, officials in the Department of Education and community leaders were purposively selected to participate in the study. Data was collected by means of in-depth interviews, document reviews and observations. In-depth interviews were conducted with the head of research, managing directors, coaching and training staff at each organisation, principals and teachers of selected schools and community leaders. The analysis of the interviews started with the transcription of information from audio-tape recordings. Both pre-determined and emerging themes were noted. The results illustrated that although certain challenges were common to both organisations, others are unique. The

challenges have been grouped under the following themes: Conceptual Challenges, Organisational Challenges and Technical Challenges. It was clear that EMEP faces a range of conceptual, technical and organisational challenges which serve to undermine its attempt to turn schools into community hubs and lifelong learning centres. It was also clear that GRS are assisting schools with the provision of physical activity and sport (and HIV/AIDS education) during classroom hours. However, this approach may be problematic and faces many challenges, which need to be investigated in detail if the organisation is to genuinely contribute to development and education within the South African school system. The case study suggests that NGOs face a variety of challenges using sport in schools. There is an urgent need for such organisations to formalise the relationship with schools which would reduce resistance from teachers and ensure programmes can run their course. There are pros and cons to working during school or after hours, and combining these two approaches would allow NGOs to reach the majority of learners and help schools act as a community hub. Providing regular training and support will keep school staff and coaches motivated and allow them to broaden their range of skills. Diversifying the range of sports available and linking these activities with academic subjects will allow the organisations to bridge the gap between the field and classroom, and use sport as a means to bolster academic performance. It is essential that civil society organisations, government and the schools themselves engage in a clear and comprehensive dialogue in order to improve the state of sport within the education system and maximise its potential for the development of South African youth.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that “*Towards a level playing field – a case study of the challenges facing NGOs using sport for development within the educational system in South Africa*” is my own work, that it has not been submitted, or part of it, for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Ben Sanders

19 November 2010

Signature.....

Witness

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Professor JS Phillips

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the rationale and background for the research, with the study examining the challenges facing Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that use sport as a means of development in South Africa. There will be an overview of the relevant debates in sport and development, with a particular focus on the way in which South Africa can optimise its use of sport. The objectives and aims of the research are described, as well as the research question and significance of the study. Definitions of key terms follow with an outline of the thesis.

1.2 Background to the Study

Sport is widely regarded as a means of development, a far cry from the past when it was seen merely as a form of recreation (Van Eekeren, 2006: 1). Participating in sport has proven intrinsic benefits but it also provides extrinsic value as it can facilitate the development of education, health and peace amongst others. Many states and international actors now see sport as the ideal development tool (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2009). In South Africa sports development is especially topical with the recent 2010 World Cup (Pillay, Tomlinson & Bass, 2009: 5). It has spawned much interest with many development initiatives across the country using sport as a force of social change. But despite the publicity and funds generated, sport remains underdeveloped in most townships and poor rural areas.

The concept of sport as a medium of development is relatively recent. In the past sport was regarded as a luxury, secondary to more pressing concerns. But in the last decade, states and aid agencies worldwide have begun to proclaim the merit of sport beyond the playing field. Sport is seen as a means to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), with the United Nations (UN) establishing an Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace in 2002 and passing Resolution 58/5 entitled “Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace” in 2003 (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2009). The first Magglingen Conference in 2003 set the stage as international agencies and states signed a declaration affirming their commitment to sport and development and 2005 was the International Year of Sport and Physical Education (Van Eekeren, 2006: 4). Sport is now prominent on donor agendas and has assumed a higher profile in development circles.

The increased interest in sports development has precipitated a wealth of research. As Van Eekeren (2006: 1) claims: “*Until recently, research into sport was tantamount to academic suicide*” but now there is increased knowledge of sport as a medium of development, not only from sports administrators but also in fields as diverse as health, education, governance etc. However, sports development remains a newly emerging field and while research has grown it is somewhat limited. There is a dearth of analysis and while much evidence is anecdotal, there is not enough of an attempt to understand how sport fits into wider social issues (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2009). Starting from the premise that sport can promote education, if applied in the right manner; this study seeks to contribute to the current literature by gathering empirical data (case studies) on the challenges facing sport in the education system.

Even more troubling is the fact that most research seeks to prove the value of sport, intrinsic or extrinsic, to convince donors and ensure the survival of agencies and NGOs. The focus is more on accounting and convincing than learning, and this has stunted the effectiveness of research (Van Eekeren, 2006: 10). There needs to be a detailed investigation into when sport is the most suitable development tool, rather than an idealistic approach which promotes sport as a solution, irrespective of the circumstances. It is important to critically examine the use of sport within the education system, rather than assuming its mere presence is beneficial.

Education is a fundamental part of development, worldwide and particularly in South Africa with its high unemployment and lack of skilled workers. Sport is seen as a natural and vital component of education and can function as a 'school for life' by instilling values and life skills among youth (United Nations, 2003). However sport does not automatically result in social change or an improvement in the education system or holistic development of youth. The right conditions need to be in place for sport to successfully stimulate development and education, and even then nothing is guaranteed (Coalter, 2010). Furthermore, one needs to examine the context in which sport could play such a role in post-apartheid South Africa

Post-apartheid South Africa manifests poor social indicators with over half the population living below the poverty line, unemployment estimated at 22.9% and approximately 18% of adults infected with HIV/AIDS (CIA Factbook, 2009). Life expectancy is estimated to be only 49 and South Africa has recently overtaken Brazil as "*the most consistently unequal country in the world*" with a Gini coefficient index of 0.679 (Bhorat, 2009). There is clearly much work to be done and while sport cannot solve these problems alone, it may play a

positive developmental role (Keim, 2006: 2). But before we map a role for sport in South Africa, one needs to examine the potential of sport: can it realise development and if so, how?

Thus a detailed exploration and comparison of sports development programmes in the educational sector will prove useful. Improved understanding of the challenges facing NGOs in this sector will add knowledge to government and civil society and may enhance service delivery (Keim, 2009: 33). While there is much literature on the way sport can promote development, there is little reference to obstacles that hamper this approach in South Africa. This research seeks to fill the gap by conducting case studies of two NGOs working within the education system and examining the challenges they encounter. The research shall deal mainly with work in the Western Cape, though the findings should have broader relevance.

In a comprehensive study by the University of Natal on the Non-Profit Sector in South Africa (Swilling & Russell, 2002: 87), Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs) listed a lack of government financial support, a lack of government support in general, and a lack of contributions from the public as their biggest challenges. As such it will be interesting to review the interaction between NPOs and the government, when it comes to using sport in the education system.

Preliminary investigations reveal that integration with government is a double-edged sword for many NGOs, both an opportunity and a challenge (Kaufman, 2009). While partnerships with the state can help these organisations widen the scope of their work, access funding and become more sustainable, they can also lead to dependency on government, an inordinate amount of bureaucracy and may even hamper the development work itself (Cooper, 2009).

While the state offers more stability than alternative sources of funding, it does compromise private initiative and creativity, leading to sport becoming entangled with politics (Van Eekeren, 2006: 10). Of course sport is not totally “*free of politics*” as former International Olympic Committee (IOC) chairman Avery Brundage so boldly stated over 50 years ago (Cashmore, 1990). This is nowhere more evident than South Africa, which endured a sports boycott during apartheid and has since put sport at the forefront of state policy, especially with the 2010 World Cup and focus on transformation. But it does become increasingly difficult to achieve outcomes when sport is expected to conform to government policy.

Sport has the potential to contribute to development of the new South Africa, but what should its role be? It can make a significant contribution to education, but how can this be realised? The state has a major role to play but it needs to be supported by civil society and NGOs who have shown an ability to deliver in situations where government has struggled. And for these organisations to realise the potential of sport as a development tool in the realm of education, there needs to be an in-depth, critical enquiry into the challenges they face in South Africa.

1.3 Research Question

What opportunities and challenges do NGOs encounter when using sport as a vehicle for development within the education system, in post-apartheid South Africa?

1.4 Objectives

The objectives of this research are manifold, as it aims to:

- Improve understanding of sports development initiatives in South African schools and how the relationship between civil society and government may impact these initiatives.
- Examine the interaction between sport-for-development NGOs and the education system, looking critically at the role that sport plays within the education system.
- Examine the challenges facing these NGOs using sport within the education system.
- Identify the main challenges to providing sport in schools and provide suggestions as to how overcome these challenges, from both a government and civil society perspective
- To assist sport-for-development organisations with their monitoring and evaluation methods and to help them improve the efficacy of their programmes
- To provide information and rationale for government to review its current policies and programmes on sport in schools, especially with regard to providing physical education

1.5 Significance of the study

There are a diverse range of challenges facing NGOs using sport within the education system in South Africa. A major challenge is likely to be their relationship with government. By examining the challenges facing such NGOs, they may be able to work more effectively. The findings may also prove valuable for the state, and could improve collaboration between such organisations and government, especially the Department of Education. Furthermore the findings may help Grassroots Soccer, EMEP and similar organisations to achieve their aims.

School sport is in a dire state, especially in our current dysfunctional education system. There is a real and urgent need to interrogate the problems schools face in providing sport as most South African youth do not have adequate opportunities for sports participation. As sports participation usually starts at school (HSRC, 2010), the state needs to pay particular attention to the availability of sport both during classroom hours (i.e. during Life Orientation period) and as an extra-mural activity. This study can help government review the current state of sport in schools and contribute to their making an informed decision about how to create a level playing field for all youth. Furthermore, it can help schools improve the sporting opportunities for their learners and realise the potential of sport in the education system.

From an academic perspective it is important to examine the three-way interaction between government (in this case state departments), the education system (in this case primary and secondary schools) and civil society (in this case NGOs). Of course the government does have control over state schools but they also function as independent entities to some extent, while non-profit organisations do work with these schools and often directly with the state. It will prove useful to theorise the context of sport and development and the education system in South Africa by using an organisational and governance perspective.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms

Sport – The United Nations (2003) broadly defines sports as all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction. These include play; recreation; organized, casual or competitive sport; and indigenous sports or games

Sports Development – this term can refer to the development of sport itself (i.e. creation of academies) or development through sport (i.e. promoting education, health in sports).

Government - The organization that is the governing authority of a political unit, the ruling power in a political society, and the apparatus through which a governing body functions and exercises authority (Wikipedia, 2010). A state of sufficient size and complexity will have different levels of government: local, regional (provincial in South Africa) and national.

Civil Society – a much contested term, it refers to that arena of society that is separate from the state including a diverse range of actors such as business, labour, trade unions, NGOs and independent entities (Atkinson, 1996). A strong civil society is seen as vital for democracy.

Non-governmental organisations – public organisations that are not part of the state, these are usually non-profit organisations that seek to address social ills and inequities.

Millennium Development Goals – a set of eight objectives that range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education - all by the target date of 2015. These goals were agreed upon in September 2000 by a collection of world leaders at the Millennium Summit. However, they are unlikely to be achieved in time.

Monitoring and Evaluation – the process by which organisations measure and review their activities and outcomes. It is seen as essential to accountability and improved performance.

Physical Education – a course taken during primary and secondary school that encourages psychomotor learning in a play or movement setting. It is often referred to as gymnastics and is included in the school curriculum during classroom hours (Wikipedia, 2010).

Physical Trainers – qualified individuals who work with all types of populations to help them achieve better fitness, good health and optimal physical capabilities. It also refers to

school staff that deliver Physical Education in the education system (Wikipedia, 2010).

1.7 Key Abbreviations used in Study

NGO - Non-governmental Organisation

MDGs - Millennium Development Goals

GRS - Grassroot Soccer

EMEP - Extra-Mural Education Project

DoE - Department of Education

WCED - Western Cape Department of Education

SRSA - Sport and Recreation South Africa

DECAS - Department of Culture, Arts and Sports

UN - The United Nations

UNICEF - The United Nations Children's Fund

IOC - International Olympic Committee

CBOs - Community Based Organisations

NPOs - Non-profit Organisations

HIV/AIDS - Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

PE - Physical Education

LO - Life Orientation

FIFA - Fédération Internationale de Football Association

MOU - Memorandum of Understanding

1.8 Outline of Thesis

This thesis is primarily concerned with examining the challenges that NGOs in South Africa face while assisting schools with their sports programmes. **Chapter 1** outlines the rationale for the study, explaining why sport can, and should be, used as a means of development in schools. The objectives, research question and significance of the study are described as well as the key terms and abbreviations. Finally an overall explanation of the research is provided.

Chapter 2 includes a Literature Review, tracing the important debates around sport and development and positioning the current research within these theoretical frameworks. Is sport the medium or the message? And what is the difference between sports development and sport for development? Particular attention will be paid to the socio-economic indicators and state of sport in South Africa so that these debates can be related to a local context.

Chapter 3 describes the research methods used in this study, which is comprised mainly of qualitative research. The setting for the study will be covered, providing a description of GRS and EMEP, the two organisations selected as case studies. The data collection methods and procedures will demonstrate how the information will be gathered, and how it will meet the criteria of trustworthiness and credibility, while the study's limitations will also be revealed.

The next chapters will deal with the findings of the research. **Chapter 4** will detail the noted conceptual, organisational and technical challenges facing EMEP and **Chapter 5** with GRS, noting predetermined as well as emerging themes. While each organisation will be dealt with separately, the discussion in **Chapter 6** will make reference to similar themes from the literature and provide recommendations for the NGOs and schools surveyed as well as any similar organisations, government departments and other sports development initiatives. **Chapter 7** shall provide an overall summary and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Before examining the challenges facing NGOs in the sport for development field in South Africa, one needs to trace the history of sport for development and its role in this country. This review will go back even further by looking at the different definitions of sport, because we cannot use sport in development processes unless we understand what constitutes sport. Then it is important to configure the manner in which sport has entered the development arena, both from a legal, right-based perspective to a more holistic, need-based analysis. And if sport is to play a developmental role, we need to understand the potential benefits of sport (e.g. in education, health) as well as possible harmful effects, for like any other activity sport is not inherently good or bad – it is an empty box rather than a magic box (Coalter, 2010).

This brings us to the Sport Plus or Plus Sport debate – should other development goals be added to existing sports programmes or should sport be used as a means to compliment these development goals. On the one hand, researchers argue that sport does boast intrinsic value, instilling core values and life skills, while proving an accessible form of communication for other issues. But others claim that sport can only stimulate development if it is seen as the medium rather than the message, being used as a vehicle through which social change occurs.

Moving forward, the literature review examines the differences (and similarities) between the development of sport and sport for development. It is vital to describe the range of challenges facing sport development initiatives, especially with regard to research, so that these can be

contextualised in South Africa. We look specifically at the role of sport in education, with a particular focus on South Africa and sports participation trends. An overview of the debates surrounding the 2010 FIFA World Cup and its impact on the research will be explained.

Finally, the literature sketches an outline of civil society, and more specifically the non-profit sector in South Africa, since the research centres on a case study of two locally based NGOs. The challenges facing Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs) are described, especially the loaded relationship with government, while the distinction between Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and North-driven multinational NGOs is interrogated. And while the research does focus on NGO work and their relationship with schools, one cannot examine this area without taking into account the policy and procedures of government and how the state interacts with these organisations as well as within the education system, as this will affect the work itself.

2.2 Sport, Play and Recreation

Before examining the developmental role of sport, we need to define the concept of sport itself. While this may seem a minor and arbitrary point, it is important to differentiate sport from other forms of physical activity, such as play, recreation and traditional games. We would refer to an organised league soccer game as sport, but what about two people kicking a ball on a field or throwing a Frisbee? Do more sedentary activities such as chess constitute sport or non-ball activities such as motor racing? While the distinctions are often minimal, a clear definition of sport is important if we examine the use of sport beyond the playing field.

Prominent sports sociologist Coakley (1994: 21) has defined sports as “*institutionalised competitive activities that involve vigorous physical exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by individuals whose participation is motivated by a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic factors.*” While this definition may seem overly restrictive it does help clarify the role of sport. Sport involves physical exertion therefore chess would not qualify as sport. Chess would best be defined as a **game** – it abides by certain rules and formats and is more structured than simple play or recreation, but it does not really require any physical effort.

Sport is competitive therefore two boys throwing a Frisbee would not be classified as sport. This would more likely be seen as **play**, which is more spontaneous and unstructured, a voluntary type of activity which is essentially non-utilitarian. Play involves complete freedom and spontaneity (e.g. the boys may stop playing Frisbee anytime they choose) and is thus motivated by intrinsic factors, a desire to play! Sport, however, is motivated by both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Participants play sport because they enjoy the game but also since there are extrinsic rewards (e.g. money, medals, recognition etc). Furthermore the participants in a sports match cannot just stop playing as and when they desire – they have a duty to finish the game, unlike in play. Stone (1955: 15) claims sports are composed of two elements – play and display. While sport does involve a “spirit of play” it is also a manner of display performed for recognition and the benefit of spectators. It is not acted out entirely like WWF wrestling – this would qualify as a **spectacle** – but it is important to note this aspect of sport which has become pertinent with massive television audiences and high-profile tournaments.

Recreation activities such as going to the gym or hiking are also regarded as different from sport. Recreation is regarded as a way to ‘take a break’ from everyday stresses, by engaging

in voluntary leisure pursuits to refresh one's body and mind. It does not necessarily involve physical activity (e.g. reading could be a form of recreation) and corresponds closely to play though it is usually more structured and planned as an after-work pursuit (Coakley, 1994: 16).

Another manner in which sport differs from play is that it has been institutionalised with a set of standardised rules and behaviours which have been maintained and adjusted over time and can be replicated in different situations. Certain regulatory bodies (i.e. sports federations) are responsible for upholding and enforcing the rules. The learning of the game becomes more scientific with players encouraged to improve their skills through formalised channels such as coaching. The technical aspects of the game become more prominent with the development of strategies to optimise performance and a higher level of organisation with leagues, set times for games and the appointment of referees (Coakley, 1994: 15). In short, sports have become a regular and important part of society like many other social institutions.

It is important to note that this definition of sport is not sacrosanct. Many similarities exist between sport, play, recreation and games and the distinction between these is often blurred and even arbitrary. Two people kicking a ball may be play but if these participants compete in a structured game, this may become sport. Of course, we 'play' sport, and sport can be a form of recreation. Sport consists of different types of games and is often seen as a spectacle. However such a distinction is necessary so we can accurately explain what we mean by sport and consequently, how sport can best promote development. Our definition refers mainly to organised sport and this is relevant since a major aim of sport-for-development is to organise activities in such a way that they optimise development. For example, both GRS and EMEP, the two NGOs selected as case studies for this research, seek to structure sports in schools in

order for youth to learn valuable life skills. This study will examine the challenges these organisations face in the education system and how they can best optimise the use of sport.

Having said that, it is not only organised sport that can contribute to development. Since mass participation or sport-for-all is a major objective for many organisations and communities, one needs to realise that sport can, and should, assume a greater scope in development efforts. In fact, the sports programmes of many development organisations modify the traditional use of sport by combining the exercise itself with life skills or other interventions (e.g. Sport and HIV/AIDS education). It is thus hardly surprising that many organisations have adopted the UN's broad definition of sport as "*all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction. These include play; recreation; organized, casual or competitive sport; and indigenous sports or games*" (United Nations, 2003).

2.3 The Case for Sport: Potential Benefits and Harmful Effects

Since sport is now widely regarded as an effective and low-cost solution to an array of development problems, it has become increasingly prominent on the agenda of governments, aid agencies, donors, businesses (especially when it come to corporate social responsibility) and NGOs. But how exactly does sport contribute to development – what impact can it have?

2.3.1 Sport – the Good News

In recent years, the potential benefits of sport have been loudly proclaimed and even over exaggerated in some cases. But if used in the correct manner and in the right context, there is

no doubt that sport can stimulate development in many ways. These may include improving health, well-being and reducing the likelihood of major diseases, social mobilisation, bridging divides and bringing communities together, playing a major role in the education system and instilling core values, adding economic value through providing employment and improving productivity, increasing awareness of the human body and respect for the environment, offering healthy alternatives and contributing to holistic development of youth, promoting sustainable peace and helping to resolve conflicts in communities, offering an accessible form of communication for sensitive issues (e.g. HIV/AIDS), subverting gender stereotypes and empowering women and girls, uplifting people with disabilities and other marginalised groups (e.g. refugees) and providing volunteer opportunities and increased employability. Since investment in sport is relatively cheap, especially given the high number of volunteers (Coalter, 2010), sport is seen as a low-cost, high-impact tool to solve development problems

Of course these are only some of the potential benefits of sport and each one can be expanded in detail. For example regarding health, sport can prevent and cure diseases, while offering economic value at the same time. In the United States, every dollar spent on sport and physical activity results in an estimated US\$3.20 saving in health costs (Pratt et al, 2000). In developing countries such as South Africa that have a high incidence of health problems, the figures are likely to be even higher, meaning sport has even greater potential in such places.

However, these wide-ranging, almost universal claims made by the United Nations and the sport for development movement must be treated with caution. Firstly, while sport can have positive micro-impact on individuals this does not necessarily lead to greater outcomes in the community (meso) and society (macro). Coalter (2010) contends that social capital or local

co-operation cannot nullify greater macro issues, such as lack of resources, political support and the socio-economic situation. It is short-sighted, naive and dangerous to claim that sport can change these overall structures since the effects of sport are not as concrete as the rhetoric suggests. Coalter (2010: 1) concludes that a major weakness of these sports programmes is that they are “*seeking to solve broad gauge problems via limited focus interventions*”.

There is no doubt that sport can play a major role in development efforts. The potential benefits of sport are many and wide-ranging, and this has resulted in sport being integrated into many development initiatives. However, sport does not automatically produce positive results, as many sport-for-development organisations would have us believe. It needs to overcome certain challenges and be implemented in certain ways to be truly effective.

2.3.2 Sport – the Bad News

While sport can be an efficient, cost-effective and wide-reaching vehicle for development it can have negative effects and may even work against development goals if not implemented correctly. The competitive nature of sport may encourage each individual to do his best but it can lead to aggression, cheating and a 'win-at-all-costs' attitude. Sport may promote violence through the activity (e.g. rugby or boxing) or among spectators (e.g. soccer hooliganism). As George Orwell (George Orwell Quotes, 2009) famously said: “*Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence. In other words it is war minus the shooting.*” Many critics agree with Orwell and see little benefit in professional sport which has become another distorted institution of capitalist society, serving the needs of big business and elite groups.

On a more fundamental level, conflict theory sees sport as reproducing inequalities and class systems, thus serving the needs of the capitalist economy. Like religion, sport is regarded as the opiate of the masses, designed to lull them into a false sense of security, entrenching the power and privilege of an elite few (Coakley, 1994: 32). A quick glance at the recent World Cup and the way it served the needs of big business, advertising and hospitality, rather than your average South African, merely shows how organised sports events do not help the poor.

One could argue conflict theory is too deterministic and accords little power to individuals by overemphasising the power of macro structures and the way in which they influence our lives. But there can be no doubt that it does raise important points since most interventions take a functional view of sport and exaggerate its positive impact. Feminist sources offer a different critique of sport, adopting a gender-bound approach and arguing that women have been systematically devalued, exploited and oppressed through sport (Coakley, 1994). Thus while sport can transform social relations, development practitioners should recognise its possible detrimental effects. As Bates argues:

"The mantra of 'first do no harm' should be observed. For example if large groups of people are travelling for days by foot to an event or festival then the safety of the women and children and possibility of the spread of disease needs to be considered. While training young females as sports leaders in the community might tick a lot of inclusion boxes for a development agency, thought needs to be given to how their new job will be perceived by their husbands and families. When you throw a rock into a river there is a ripple effect. Sport needs to be aware of the impact, good and bad, it may have."

(International Platform on Sport and Development 2009).

Other researchers take a more radical view, positioning sports within a colonial framework. Giulianotti (2004: 358) asserts that in some instances, sport institutions have marginalised or even eradicated indigenous games and cultural practices, likening this to a form of “*cultural genocide*”. Furthermore the current practice of North-driven organisations dictating the terms of sport for development to deficient (implied) South-based communities is not only deeply paternalistic and often racist (Coalter, 2010), but a clear example of neo-colonialism which may result in new forms of dependency between the 1st and 3rd world. In this sense, many sport for development players may be entrenching the very problems they seek to overcome.

Many proponents of sport argue that it brings people together in a way that no other activity can match. But we need to pay more attention to assumptions. Does it really bring people together in a lasting manner? What happens when the games are done? There are accounts of British and German soldiers playing soccer matches during World War II only to resume hostilities the following day (Maguire, 2010). And even if sport does bring people together, is this always a good thing? The likes of war, nationalism, even racism all bring people together but certainly not in a beneficial manner. Thus in any analysis of sport, it is important to recall that like any other institution, sport is merely an empty box which only functions in a specific context with specific people and with specific results. It is neither automatically positive nor negative in itself; it needs to be implemented with utmost care to ensure benefit and not harm.

2.3.3 Sport The Medium or the Message?

This brings us to an intense debate that exists within the field of Sport and Development.

Many experts claim sport has considerable intrinsic value (e.g. health benefits, teaching life

skills such as fair play, co-operation etc) and that the activity itself should be the main focus. Additional life skills classes or other such initiatives are useful but they must not come at the expense of the activity itself. To create a quality sporting experience, proper structures and capacity need to be developed first and only after this can other elements be incorporated.

On the other hand, many argue that merely participating in sport is not enough. Activities must be combined with education or health initiatives (to name a few) to genuinely realise development goals. In this approach the extrinsic value of sport is seen as its most important function. Sport is regarded mainly as a vehicle through which social change can occur.

Coalter (2007) most eloquently describes this debate by identifying three approaches of sport for development. Traditionally this centred on the provision of facilities and opportunities for sport which presume that sport in itself can be beneficial to participants. Other programmes modify the sports activity or combine it with other development initiatives to create social change – this is known as **Sport plus**. And in the most recent approach sport is seen merely as a means to an end, a vehicle to attract youth to development initiatives (e.g. in health and education) with the promise to play as well as learn important values and skills – **plus Sport**.

This dilemma sparked heated debate on the International Platform for Sport and Development (2009: 10), where a panel of experts were asked for their opinions on the role of sport.

Kirbey: *"Do not overestimate the power of the sport activity - the settings are more important. Third challenge: ensure the educational/learning aspects are the top priority - not the sport activity itself."*

Bates: *"Making it a quality sport experience is a challenge. If the sport experience is not valued by the target audience then it is unlikely to have power to create social change. A quality experience usually means that the sport activities need to fun, exciting, inclusive, well organised and challenging."*

Of course, these two approaches are not unrelated. By running a sports programme with life skills classes as a secondary goal, youth may be able to enjoy the sport and learn valuable lessons. By making these classes the primary goal, youth may still be able to reap the rewards of playing sport. It is essentially a question of balance – is sport the medium or the message?

An expert consultation in the Netherlands set about answering this dilemma by investigating whether the development of sport constitutes a development goal in itself. After much debate, it was decided that sports capacity needs to exist if the sport is to result in development goals. Thus even if sport is only regarded as a medium, the infrastructure for delivering this sport must be present. From this one can infer that specialist sports knowledge is necessary for organisations seeking to use sport for development - general development agencies will not be successful on their own and should thus partner appropriately. (Van Kempen, 2009: 9).

Just as sport experts and agencies need to be involved in sport-for-development initiatives so experts in development must be involved too. Sports practitioners may be great at delivering sports programmes but their knowledge of health issues may be poor – and vice-versa. Due to the multi-disciplinary nature of such work, the different disciplines need to be integrated.

Again the experts on the Platform for Sport and Development (2009: 13) make their point:

Preti: *“Another challenge is expertise in sport and development. Practitioner delivering sessions on the ground often have a background as a sports coach and sometimes lack expertise in other thematic fields. It's thus advisable to collaborate with organisations with specific expertise in these topics in order to capitalise.”*

Versteeg: *“The main challenge of the implementing of S&D programmes is that you need experts from two sides: one, an expert in sport and sport development for the interest of sport itself and two: an expert who is a social or health scientist who fully understands the problems related to health issues & how to create awareness of it. Where do you find this expertise in one person or in one organisation?”*

Thus organisations need to realise there is no generic formula for development to take place. Merely delivering sport or offering life skills classes, or combining the two, is not enough. The right conditions and approaches must be in place and even then, nothing is guaranteed.

2.4 Sport as a medium of development

Sport has only really entered the mainstream development arena in recent years. In the past (and still in some quarters today), it was viewed exclusively as a form of play or recreation, a light-hearted affair which was fun but could not genuinely contribute to greater, more urgent issues such as health, education, child welfare etc. Even professional sport, with its massive, worldwide appeal was held up as a spectacle, a popular form of entertainment but just entertainment nonetheless, seeming somewhat trivial in the light of the world's problems.

Despite being recognised as an entitlement, it has often been referred to as “*the forgotten right*” (United Nations, 2003) and has traditionally functioned on the margins of society.

Sport operated, and in many ways still operates, in a paradox. Increasingly popular as both an activity and a form of entertainment for the spectator, it is still often perceived as somewhat separate from the other institutions of society, operating in its own ‘on the field’ vacuum. As Frey and Nixon (1996: 1) argue: “*People speak or write nostalgically about the joys of past sports conquests, yet their eyes often seem to glaze over when sport is mentioned in the same breath as economics, politics, poverty, pollution, racial and gender discrimination, crime or the quality of education.*” Sport is regarded as an escape from everyday reality, and while this is often the case, sport is an institution of society and a real, important part of people’s lives.

But in the last 20 years the perception of sport has changed dramatically. Sport is no longer seen as the domain of a select few, reserved for exercise freaks, participants and spectators. It is broadly recognised as an effective, low-cost and dynamic means to attain an array of development goals. How did such a rapid transformation occur and what does it mean?

The understanding of sport as something that transcends the activity itself is anything but new. It may have risen in prominence in recent times but its roots stretch some distance. As far back as the mid-19th Century, the bourgeoisie in the United Kingdom saw sport as having value beyond the playing field. It was anticipated that sport could improve the character and behaviour of participants, promoting the idea of the Protestant work ethic and discipline. As such sport became an important part of the thriving education system (IWGSDP, 2007: 9).

- **Sport as an Entitlement: The Right to Play**

In the past, sport was not really regarded as a right or protected by any legal basis. Finally in 1959, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 1959) emphasised the importance of sport as a universal human right in the following: “*the child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education.*” UNESCO (1978), the Educational, Scientific and Cultural arm of the United Nations, took this further in 1978, issuing the International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, raising the profile of physical exercise. It stated “*every human being has a fundamental right of access to physical education and sport, which are essential for the full development of his personality.*” In 1990, the Convention on the Rights of the Child declared “*the practice of physical education and sport is a fundamental right for all*” (United Nations, 1990).

Further affirmation came from the Olympic Charter, adopted by the IOC, which sets forth the guidelines for the Olympic Games and states unequivocally that “*The practice of sport is a human right*” (Olympic Review, 1998). Even the Geneva Conventions (1949), which were adopted over 60 years ago and cover the rights of war victims, make special mention of sport, stating that prisoners of war are entitled to “*physical exercise, sports and games*”. While these developments are not new, they were groundbreaking at the time as they laid the legal foundations for sport and physical exercise to be considered fundamental human rights.

- **Sport as a Necessity: The Need to Play**

In addition to a right-based perspective, the case for sport can emanate from a need-based perspective – in other words sport is considered necessary for human development, especially

among children and youth. There are many rights enshrined in constitutions around the world, yet violations of these rights occur on a regular basis. For example in South Africa everyone is meant to have the right to water but this is not fulfilled in certain areas. It is vital people not only see sport as a right but they see the real and urgent need for sports to exist.

Most policies and programmes relate to the way in which sport can stimulate development of communities and help them meet their basic needs. In 1997, the European Commission elevated the potential role of sport during the Amsterdam Conference, noting the "*social significance of sport, in particular its role in forging identity and bringing people together*" (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2009). Just two years later, the first World Summit on Physical Education was held in Berlin in an effort to revive the flagging physical education system in schools, of which sport obviously remains an integral component.

In 2001, the UN stepped up their efforts by appointing the first Special Adviser on Sport for Development and Peace to maintain and expand relations between the UN and other sport for development partners. In 2002, the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan established the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace, a high-profile structure that promotes sport within the UN system (United Nations, 2003). This task force has developed a blueprint detailing how sport can be used to achieve each of the Millennium Development Goals, thus bringing sport into the realm of development goals. And the UN passed Resolution 58/5 entitled "Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace" in 2003 (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2009).

The First International Conference on Sport & Development in Magglingen, Switzerland in 2003 was a landmark event bringing together governments, UN agencies, NGOs, sports participants, business and all relevant stakeholders under one umbrella. The conference was a resounding success as international agencies and states signed a declaration affirming their commitment to sport and development (Van Eekeren, 2006). The First Next Step conference followed suit shortly afterwards, bringing together sports practitioners to discuss the way forward for grassroots development. The 2004 Olympic Games in Athens played host to the Roundtable forum: Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2009). This conference allowed political leaders and experts to align goals and formulate a uniform sport-for-development policy.

The rising profile of sport did not stop as 2005 was proclaimed the International Year of Sport and Physical Education by the UN General Assembly (Van Eekeren, 2006: 4). Furthermore, a multidisciplinary team, The Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDPIWG) was formed, with government ministers, UN directors and NGOs coming together to plot the way forward for sport and development. The Second Magglingen Conference continued where the first left off, also resulting in an Action Agenda being compiled for Ministers working in Physical Education and Sport. The European Commission deepened its commitment to the game in 2007 with the publication of a White Paper on Sport, affirming its desire to use sport within its international development policy. The IOC and the UN then made consensus on a policy framework by which sport can reach the goals of the United Nations and partners (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2009). Closer to home, UWC hosted an International Sport and Development Conference after the World Cup, looking closely at the challenges, opportunities and outcomes of the FIFA event.

While the milestones listed above are some of the most important in the history of sports development, the list is not exhaustive and there are many more such events and indicators that have raised, and continue to raise, the profile of sport in society. The 2010 World Cup, the first on African soil is one such example, and this will be discussed in more detail later.

2.4.1 Development of Sport or Development through Sport?

Sports development can refer to the actual development of the sport – this could involve creating academies and striving to improve the quality of participation. This is especially relevant in South Africa, where there is a concerted attempt to improve the national sports teams, especially the struggling soccer team, as well as an attempt to make these teams more representative in terms of race. While such an approach is worthwhile, it would seem that trying to build the next generation of professional sports players will only benefit a select few. Participation will be limited to those with expertise in a sport and only a handful of these will be able to make a living from the game. It is more important, in the researcher's mind, to make sport more widely available to as many participants as possible. While there is a place for this elitist approach, it should not form the main focus of sports activities – rather sport should be accessible to all and should be maximised for both its intrinsic and extrinsic value.

This research examines the use of sport for development, rather than the development of sport itself, though the two are related. Neither EMEP nor Grassroot Soccer are searching for the next sport superstars, but are using sport as a way to educate youth and benefit the community at large, while the participants can still enjoy a quality and guided sports activity.

As John Perlman, founder of Dreamfields (2009), a newly established South African NGO that provides football fields and equipment to impoverished youth, so succinctly put it:

“We get asked if the Dreamfields Project aims to produce great footballers. Not really - our aim is to help produce great lawyers and good carpenters, fine doctors and skilled plumbers. We believe that a school with a lively sporting life is a better place for learning, and so the dreams which soccer inspires could produce another Teko Modise (South African soccer star) – but also the next Dikgang Moseneke (Deputy Chief Justice) or Mamphela Ramphele (anti-apartheid activist).”

In conclusion, to maximize the development potential of sport, it needs to be aligned with current development efforts. But at the same time, these development efforts need to work within existing sports structures and organisations. Sport alone is unlikely to succeed but neither are programmes that use sport as a medium without sports expertise or infrastructure.

2.4.2 Challenges facing Sports Development Initiatives

As expressed earlier, much of the research in sport and development is myopic and proclaims the merits of sport without critically interrogating its use and impact. This is a common challenge, especially in the non-profit sector world with organisations very much dependent on funders. Unfortunately monitoring and evaluation is rarely rigorous and it is often used merely to appease donors and not to genuinely improve outcomes. Van Kempen (2009: 16) shares this sentiment and claims mistakes are generally regarded as taboo in the field of sport and development. And without admitting mistakes or bad practices, organisations are not learning and improving their programmes. Even good practices are often not shared.

Coalter (2010) exemplifies this critical approach by interrogating the manner in which sport for development organisations conduct research. He mentions the example of Koss, former President of Right to Play, who admitted at the first Next Step conference in 2003 that “*we do not evaluate enough and so we invite people to do research into things like sport and development, sport and peace. We need to prove what we say that we do.*” While encouraging more research is important due to the lack of widespread and comprehensive data in the field, the nature of this research is perhaps even more important. Merely using research to prove outcomes and generate further support and funding is morally wrong and highly problematic.

Furthermore, the sport for development movement, if one can indeed call it a movement, tends to assume that sport occurs in a neutral space where all participants meet on an equal footing. But as the title of this research suggests, there is no guaranteed level playing field. Like any other activity, sport is infused with social, cultural, economic, ethnic and other dynamics that will directly affect the outcomes of the activity itself. To regard sport as an “*unambiguously wholesome and healthy activity in both a physical and moral sense*” (Smith & Waddington, 2004: 281) is to disregard the specific context under which it takes place.

There needs to be a detailed investigation into when sport is the most suitable development tool rather than an idealistic approach which promotes sport as a solution, irrespective of the circumstances. Including sport in development initiatives may be at the expense of other important goals. Sport often conflicts with competing priorities such as classroom time, learning languages or computer skills. This research seeks to critically examine the use of sport within the education system, rather than assuming its mere presence is beneficial.

Often sport is not the most appropriate intervention, and often the projects targeted are not the most urgent or important. For example there are countless sports projects designed to increase HIV/AIDS awareness, because this is what donors want to fund. HIV/AIDS is not always the most pressing issue nor is sport always the best way to promote awareness, but organisations tend to jump on the bandwagon and run with projects that can best access funding. This is especially relevant to organisations such as Grassroot Soccer, which use soccer as a tool to promote HIV/AIDS awareness. This study shall explore the relevance of their interventions.

It is clear that development agencies and organisations are often overly dependent on donors and as such they may form a distorted approach to development, paying more attention to the mandate of their funders than the real needs of the communities they are meant to be serving. Furthermore, organisations may change their objectives based on funders' wishes or a change in funding, impacting on their projects and making sustainable change unlikely (Keim, 2009).

The question of funding within the development arena raises deeper questions about the nature of sports interventions. Coalter (2010) would argue that the shift from the conventional sports development approach of providing infrastructure and opportunities to the broader goal of utilising sport to stimulate development (sport plus) and as a development tool (plus sport) cannot be separated from the institutional reality of the aid arena. To put it simply, much sport-for-development funding emanates from non-sporting sources (Kidd, 2008). While on the one hand these external aid agencies may not understand the sporting agenda, so sport for development organisations may not have a comprehensive understanding of the development issues they seek to tackle. As a result sport for development initiatives are often excluded

from longer standing and more comprehensive mainstream development efforts – and this self-enforced isolation undermines the understanding and effectiveness of sports projects.

2.4.3 Organisations delivering sport for development initiatives

As explained earlier there is a wide spectrum of actors involved in the sport for development industry, ranging from aid agencies, to multinational NGOs and small community-based organisations, not to mention governments and their respective organs. The role of the state, especially in South Africa, will be analysed in detail later but it is necessary to first examine the status of civil society organisations and the role they can play in sport for development.

- NGOs, NPOs and Civil Society Organisations in South Africa

As this research involves a case study of two prominent NGOs working in South Africa, it is important to define what exactly constitutes a non-governmental organisation. How about non-profit organisations? Where can we classify them? And how do we locate civil society?

Civil Society essentially refers to the realm between the state and the individual, but within this there exists a multitude of interests from business to labour, to community organisations, agencies and so on. There are many differing definitions of civil society. For example the economy is often included as part of civil society, while others see the economy as separate. It is also debatable whether political parties are part of civil society or whether they form a separate public sphere (Atkinson, 1996: 288). It is not essential to narrowly define civil society, but it is clear that both NGOs and NPOs are regarded as a vital part of civil society.

In the South African context, the term non-profit organisation (NPO) has been chosen to describe a range of civil society organisations. This would encompass NGOs such as EMEP and Grassroot Soccer, as well as community-based organisations (CBOs), aid agencies, service organisations (e.g. Salvation Army) and many more. In their comprehensive study on *'The Size and Scope of the Non-Profit Sector in South Africa'*, Swilling and Russell (2002) have identified different, important definitions of a non-profit organisation in South Africa.

In a published paper on 'The definition and typology of NGOs', The Development Resources Centre (1993) came to the following definition: "*NGOs are private, self-governing, voluntary, non-profit distributing organisations operating, not for commercial purposes but in the public interest, for the promotion of social welfare and development, religion, charity, education and research.*" This definition clearly excludes business and professional unions as these organisations must operate "in the public interest".

Another influential definition was formed by the Centre for Policy Studies in Johannesburg. Civil society was defined as a sphere of organisations and associations that are "*independent of the state, engage with it but do not seek to take it over*" (Chazan, 1993). This definition may be true for Western style democracies, but it holds less relevance for countries such as South Africa. During apartheid, many civil society organisations were indeed opposed to the state and did seek to overthrow the regime. Furthermore, it is worth noting that civil society has indeed weakened since the advent of democracy, with many organisations being co-opted into government or losing their oppositional role, focus and funding (Atkinson, 1996: 295).

A broader and more open-ended definition comes from the South African NGO Coalition (SANGOCO), the leading body for NGOs in the country. Civil society organisations are defined as: "*Those organisations and groups or formations of people operating in the space between family and the state, which are independent, voluntary, and established to protect or enhance the interests and values of their members/founders.*" (SANGOCO, 1999) It makes less mention to specific goals such as social welfare and NPOs are seen as serving specific groups rather than the general public interest.

The issue of public interest is a contentious one and has generated much debate, so much so that the Department of Welfare and Population Development sought legal advice when compiling the Non Profit Organisations Act of 1997 (SANGOCO, 1999). The act defines an NPO as: "*A trust, company or other association of persons established for a public purpose and the income and property of which are not distributable to its members or office-bearers except as reasonable compensation for services rendered.*" While this definition is largely apolitical, it does cover the vast spectrum of NPOs and will suit the needs of this study.

- Challenges facing NPOs in South Africa

Before conducting case studies of the challenges facing Grassroot Soccer and EMEP it will be useful to examine the general obstacles facing NPOs in South Africa. In a comprehensive study by the University of Natal on the Non-Profit Sector in South Africa (Swilling & Russell 2002: 87), Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs) listed a lack of government financial support, a lack of government support in general, and a lack of contributions from the public as their

biggest challenges. As such it will be interesting to review the interaction and attitudes between NGOs and the government, when it comes to using sport in the education system.

Many NPOs believe they are better suited to serving the public than the state. Thus besides fulfilling a watchdog role and holding government to task, many organisations claim to be filling the gap, essentially replacing government when it comes to delivery. Swilling and Russell (2002: 90) noted these statements elicited most agreement among NPOs surveyed:

- NPOs' main role is to service the needs of people rather than profit margins
- NPOs are located much closer to the needs of the people than government
- The needy would be ignored if not catered for by NPOs
- NPOs can create a sense of community and belonging that government agencies cannot
- NPOs serve those in greatest need

Furthermore, NPOs do not tend to respond well to criticism and this presents a problem. Just as sport development organisations may only proclaim the virtues of sport and their work, convincing themselves and donors of their impact, and avoiding any real critical analysis, so other NPOs tend to see their work as sacrosanct and unblemished. The lack of meaningful monitoring and evaluation, and a rose-tinted approach to development, can ironically result in harmful consequences being ignored and thus persisting. Thus when presented with the following statements NPOs showed high levels of disagreement (Swilling & Russell, 2002):

- NPOs are as bureaucratic and unresponsive as government
- The general public tends to view NPOs with suspicion
- The government tends to view NPOs with suspicion

NPOs would be far more effective if they viewed their activities with more suspicion. It is all very well being critical of the state but merely because they operate for non-profit does not mean NPOs automatically make a difference. No matter how honourable their intentions, they still need to deliver and this can only be truly measured with in-depth analysis.

It will be interesting to compare how government views NPOs and what their role should be. According to the former Minister of Social Development (Barnard & Terreblanche, 2001):

"The basic twin expectations of government are that NGOs will firstly, continue to act as monitors of the public good and safeguard the interests of the disadvantaged sections of society. This performance of this social watch role requires both transparency and accountability on the part of NGOs. The government's second expectation is that NGOs will assist in expanding access to social and economic services that create jobs and eradicate poverty among the poorest of the poor. This requires cost effective and sustainable service delivery."

Thus even government envisages that NPOs will play an important role in service delivery as well as serving as a kind of 'Social watch'. Under the Non Profit Organisations Act, the state has created a framework under which these organisations can operate. The state also promises to support these organisations; somewhat ironic given one of their main complaints is a lack of government support. The act states that "*within the limits prescribed by law, every organ of state must determine and co-ordinate the implementation of its policies and measures in a manner designed to promote, support and enhance the capacity of NPOs to perform their functions.*" (Swilling & Russell, 2002: 77)

It is valuable that NPOs are being integrated into the public space and their role is being defined. This is very much the opposite of apartheid when civil society was largely separate from the state - in this case it is expected to assist the various organs of government with their work. But this also carries danger. Firstly, it should not be up to the state to decide on the role of NPOs and by including them in public processes there is little room for these organisations to operate outside the public sphere. Space for opposition must still exist and there is real danger of NPOs being co-opted into government, or an arena outside the public domain, where many NPOs do operate, being compromised. This is relevant to sports organisations.

- NGOs vs CBOs: Is Local Lekker?

In fact, there is an argument that these donor-driven, international NGOs from the North are actually undermining local development initiatives. As sport has become integrated into the mainstream development agenda it has entered the realm of international aid agencies and organisations. These international actors tend to channel support and funding through large NGOs, who respond to their mandates and meet their requirements (Mills, 2009).

While these NGOs may have honourable intentions, they are often actually diverting funds away from Community Based Organisations (CBOs), which are located in the communities they serve and thus closer to the needs of the people. This is especially pertinent in South Africa with the 2010 showpiece, which has resulted in a great deal of resources being made available for sports development. High-profile and prestigious NGOs such as Grassroot Soccer, are better suited to serving the needs of donors and are more adept at securing support, but this does not mean they are better at serving the needs of local communities.

Lucy Mills (2009: 12), a sports practitioner working for Coaching for Hope, has made a clear distinction between these two types of organisations engaged in sport for development:

- Sport for Development NGO - usually funded by external donors, often founded, owned and driven from the North (i.e. the 1st world, mainly Europe and the USA), operates either nationally or internationally, and reaches a relatively large number of programme recipients. Grassroot Soccer, SCORE, Amandla Ku Lutsha and Right to Play are prominent examples.

- Community-based organisation or sports club – much smaller and localised in nature. They are generally funded internally, with little connection to international agencies or external bodies, and usually locally-owned with a relatively small number of programme participants. Examples include: Cape Flats Soccer Development, Khayelitsha Sports Council.

There is a tendency for large international NGOs to feel the need to “take ownership” and start their own programmes, rather than working within existing structures. This territorial approach leads to competition and often a duplication of activities. SCORE director Stefan Howells (2008) acknowledges that this ‘recognition’ imperative often prevents organisations from working together as they feel the need to launch new projects and programmes, again bringing us back to the problem of ownership. Even more problematic is the fact that many of the relationships between North-South organisations are unequal and exploitative, with the more powerful and financially sound North-based NGO setting the terms of any partnership.

Local structures and organisations are underfunded and severely lacking in capacity, yet they are usually overlooked by government and aid agencies. And to make matters worse, the more savvy international NGOs divert funding and attention away from the community based initiatives. This approach to development smacks of cultural imperialism (Giulianotti, 2004) whereby organisations founded in the North decide what is best for the people of the South, and implement their plans, rather than actually supporting existing projects in communities.

2.4.4 Government Policy and Procedures

While this research centres on NGOs and the work of civil society, this cannot be separated from the work of government. Many NGOs look to the state for funding and support, with both EMEP and GRS building partnerships with the Department of Education. Furthermore, the work of such NGOs and other civil society organisations is very much influenced by the role of the state. The state's effectiveness (or lack of) in delivering sport for development projects will obviously impact on the opportunities and challenges facing these organisations. Thus it is necessary to examine the South African government's role in sports development.

The Department of Sport and Recreation (SRSA) seeks to enhance the delivery and development of sport in South Africa. Its mission statement is: *“To improve the quality of life of all South Africans, foster social cohesion and enhance nation building by maximizing access, development and excellence at all levels of participation in sport and recreation.”* (SRSA, 2008). However, when it comes to school sport, the Department of Education is primarily responsible, though the two departments do work together, having signed a Framework of Collaboration in 2005 and setting up a National Coordination Committee.

The DoE is responsible for (SRSA, 2009):

- Intra-curricular activities, including physical education in schools;
- Intra-school activities, including afterschool sports activities;
- Inter-school activities and competitions below regional level;
- Regional and intra-provincial activities and competitions, in collaboration with provincial sports and education authorities.

SRSA is responsible for (SRSA, 2009):

- Inter-provincial, national activities and competitions in collaboration with DOE & SASCO
- International competitions, in collaboration with SASCO.

This is important to note because often civil society organisations are not sure which organ of the state to work with. This is especially pertinent in the realm of sports development which is relevant to the departments of Health, Social Development, Sport and Recreation and Education among others. Furthermore there are the three levels of government: national, provincial and local, and organisations need to decide which sphere of government they wish to partner with. In addition, the different departments may not work well together and the same problem can be traced to the various levels of government within the same department.

The DoE is clearly responsible for school sport, both during and after school hours. During the school day, physical education (PE) is meant to be delivered within the life orientation curriculum, which in fact replaced the previous stand-alone PE classes (Draper et al, 2010). However, this is not always the case as teachers are not qualified, or motivated, to deliver

physical education classes. As such schools tend to partner with organisations such as GRS and EMEP to assist with the training and delivery of physical activity and sports sessions.

2.5 Sport and Education

Education is necessary for the realisation of all of the MDGs and sport has the potential to play an important role in the education system. On a formal level, physical education is vital to overall education and youth development, as it helps promote exercise among youth - it is vital these habits are learned early since physical activity usually decreases from adolescence. In a wide ranging sports participation survey in South Africa, participants admitted that their involvement in sports was largely due to exposure at school during their youth (SRSA, 2009).

But sport also plays an invaluable role beyond the classroom, teaching values such as fair play, teamwork, problem-solving, tolerance, discipline etc. It provides youth with alternatives to drugs, crime and other juvenile pursuits that are possible outside the school environment. And it can improve academic performance, dispelling the myth that sport is a distraction from school work. In fact research shows that youth who spent five hours doing exercise per week performed better academically than those who were active for less than an hour (United Nations, 2003: 10) as they could retain information better. Of course overdoing sport can be detrimental to academic performance – this is especially relevant in higher-level sports, where athletes are encouraged to push themselves to the limit, often at the expense of their studies. While such an approach needs to be discouraged there is no doubt that a balance between work and play is ideal - some exercise is certainly better than little or no exercise!

Sport allows girls to enhance their access to quality education, since they are traditionally undermined in schools. It helps to break down gender barriers and ensure parity between the sexes. Sport is especially valuable for marginalised groups, such as refugees and the disabled, contributing to their education and giving them a chance to compete with others. Not only has access to and participation in sports been shown to reduce aggression and violence, but it also improves attendance and provides youth with greater motivation (Bailey, 2006: 398).

The potential value of sport explains the recent attempts to reintroduce and raise the profile of physical education in schools since it has been marginalised in recent times, seen as a luxury due to its non-academic nature. This is illustrated by a far-reaching analysis of 126 countries which showed that the status of physical education has dropped in almost all states surveyed (Hardman & Marshall, 1999) leading to a lack of sports activity and increase in health risks.

This is nowhere more relevant than in South Africa where PE was replaced as a stand-alone subject in 2004 by Life Orientation (LO) within South Africa's National Curriculum (Draper et al, 2010: 2). Physical development and movement is listed as one of the four learning outcomes of LO, along with health promotion, social development and personal development. According to the Department of Education (2008) Life Orientation is about managing one's life in a well-informed and responsible manner. Officially the four learning outcomes are: **Personal well-being** (Outcome 1), **Citizenship** (2), **Physical Education** (3) and **Careers** (4). The different outcomes are not weighted evenly meaning learners are expected to spend more time on PE for example than on Careers. However as LO is the only subject in the National Curriculum that is not externally assessed or examined, teachers do not have to adhere strictly to the curriculum guidelines and this often results in physical education taking a backseat.

In the PE component, learners are expected to develop motor skills and participate in physical activities. It is assumed that learners exposed to physical activity on a weekly basis will directly experience the benefits of such participation and be better placed to make decisions about pursuing a physically active lifestyle. During movement activities teachers are expected to address the development of other skills such as relationship skills, problem solving skills and the enhancement of self-esteem. A fixed hour long period is meant to be set aside every week and labelled PE in the timetable (DoE, 2008) but in practice this has not been realised.

In addition the majority of teachers are not equipped to deliver PE and are not trained in sports science and lack basic skills such as 1st Aid. The current LO training only provides one teaching hour on physical development and movement per week, hardly enough to equip teachers for the challenges they face in schools (Draper et al: 2010). In the past, PE teachers were usually Sports Science graduates who could offer specialised sporting exercise for youth but now this responsibility falls on teachers who are not adequately prepared, or motivated.

Thus while LO classes are meant to involve physical activity there is no doubt that PE has been relegated to a back seat in schools. This has had demonstrable effects with a drop in sports participation leading to an increase in obesity and ill-health among learners, not to mention the role sport plays in teaching life skills and keeping children active and engaged. Furthermore removing PE from the curriculum and replacing physical activity time with time for academic concerns has not led to an improvement in results – the Matric (school-leaving)

pass rate has decreased from 73.3% in 2003 to 60.6% in 2009 (Thomson, 2010). Is this just a coincidence or has the lack of structured physical activity hindered academic performance?

The South African government has recognised that physical education and sport need to be revived in schools, hence the introduction of sports assistants. These assistants have been trained in providing physical education and are meant to operate during the LO sessions and extra-murally, ensuring that youth remain active and healthy during the school day. The role of these assistants will be described in detail later on when it comes to the challenges facing schools. Furthermore the government seems to have realised the error of its ways and plans to (belatedly) reintroduce PE as a separate period at schools from 2011 (Sanders, 2010). This is not the first time such a promise has been made so time will tell whether it becomes reality.

With the current crises in education and health and the sad state of sport in schools, it is not surprising that government and civil society are trying to raise the profile of school sport with many NGOs looking to fill the sporting void. How do these NGOs operate in the education system and what challenges do they face? It is anticipated that the findings will highlight any common trends, assisting civil society and the state, while making future recommendations.

2.6 Sports Participation in South Africa

There seems to be little doubt that with the right conditions in place, opportunities for sports participation can greatly benefit society. But why do people participate in sports? What are the enabling and restricting factors? And what are sports participation trends in South Africa?

Levels of sports participation differ greatly among developed and developing countries. Unsurprisingly, 1st world countries have superior facilities and opportunities for participation. For example, 20-25% of Europeans are affiliated to sports federations whereas in the Third World this figure is likely to be between 0.01-1% (SRSA, 2009: 34). Reasons for this are manifold, including a lack of scheduled sport and physical education activities in schools, the very issue that this research seeks to tackle. In most developing countries, there are not enough PE teachers, with 40-100 students for every qualified teacher (SRSA, 2009). To compound this, there is no additional training for sports teachers at secondary schools so older learners tend to receive the same training as those in primary schools. Of course, many people partake in sport without being affiliated to a specific federation but the figures certainly illustrate the great divide in sports participation between the 1st and 3rd world.

In a study of sports participation, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) found that 25% of South Africans play sport. 'Exposure to Sport at School' was cited as the biggest reason among respondents (33%) for becoming involved in sport. This merely confirms the importance of this research which seeks to examine the challenges facing sport in schools. Reasons for non-participation included 'No interest' (24%) and 'Lack of Facilities and Opportunities' (SRSA, 2009) – again a major theme of this research. Having access to a sports club or equipment was not generally regarded as an obstacle, though access to good coaches, competitive sport and physical education at schools was regarded as vital, again showing that the education system remains an invaluable site for sport and physical activity.

In order to show the distorted levels of sports participation in South Africa, a BMI Sport Info Survey (2007) discovered that 66% of adult Whites play sport, as compared to 35% of Blacks, 33% of Coloureds and 47% of Asians. While the same figures are not available for youth, it is expected that the same discrepancy exists since white South Africans have traditionally had better access to sports facilities and opportunities than their non-white counterparts. While the number of youth participating outside of school has increased, largely due to the growth of sports such as horse riding and cycling which are not usually available at school, the majority of youth (51%) still play sport at school. While one could investigate such figures more deeply, they merely confirm the importance of providing a sporting chance for school youth and illustrate the great sporting divide that continues to plague South Africa.

2.7 Sport in South Africa and the World Cup

The importance of sport as a means of development becomes even more pertinent given that a recent UN report (2007: 14) notes that at the midway point sub-Saharan Africa is not on track to reaching any of the MDGs in 2015. This reflects a sad state of affairs and the role of both sport and education are pivotal in striving towards the attainment of these basic goals.

South Africa is the richest and most powerful economy on the continent yet it too is lagging behind in the fight against poverty and its quest to achieve the MDGs. In formulating an appropriate role for sport it proves useful to examine the critical role it played in the fight against apartheid. Sports clubs and associations, community networks and schools all came together to utilise sport as a means of fighting the unjust system. Sport was politicised and functioned as an arena of protest as civil society mobilised around sports events and issues.

“In few countries could institutions of civil society (such as sport) outflank and manipulate what appears to be a powerful state in this manner; in no other country, perhaps, could sporting institutions have played so large a part in forming the direction that the state would take.” (Allison, 2000: 69)

One of the reasons sport was so successful in its mobilisation during apartheid was due to the strength of civil society. There was much self-mobilisation and communities banded together impressively. The context, however, has changed and while the government is now actively engaged in sports development, much of civil society has appeared to relinquish its role. This phenomenon is not only peculiar to sport and has resulted in less grassroots activity across the board (Atkinson, 1996). While the state needs to assume a more prominent role and improve its efforts this does not mean that civil society organisations need depend on government – they too have a role to play and can be instrumental in once again using sport for community benefit. Of course, the lack of a clear enemy or cause (e.g. the struggle against the apartheid regime) makes it more difficult for organisations to co-operate. However, many issues remain the same as during apartheid, such as unequal access to sports facilities and opportunities. Civil society actors must realise the struggle for a level playing field is not yet over and they need to mobilise with the urgency and unity shown in the past (Howells, 2008).

Sport did assume the limelight with the 2010 World Cup, but it remains unclear whether the world’s largest sporting event did genuinely stimulate long-term development. While a third of the population expected to benefit personally from the World Cup, Pillay, Tomlinson and Bass (2009: 4) argue the event may not contribute to development with costs underestimated and benefits exaggerated. Even more worrying, despite the media hype, the World Cup may have increased inequality, between urban and rural regions and within host cities (Tomlinson,

2009: 109) as development occurred around the centre of cities, and not in the townships, where this is most needed. As for the rural areas, they seemed to have been largely neglected.

The provision of sports facilities in underprivileged areas, as part of the Football for Hope Programme, will aid the development of the game. Football for Hope is a joint initiative between FIFA and Streetfootballworld which aims to leave a social legacy through football (FIFA, 2010). The campaign for 2010 was to build 20 Football for Hope centres across Africa, with only 6 having been opened to date! In fact Grassroot Soccer, one of the organisations selected for this case study, opened the first Football for Hope centre in Cape Town in December 2009, in partnership with FIFA. This centre is comprised of an artificial football pitch as well as classrooms to conduct health and life skills activities for youth from the community (Grassroot Soccer, 2010). There are many such initiatives either started or spurred on by the World Cup, and they did help to improve sports infrastructure in South Africa. However, it remains to be seen how sustainable such initiatives are especially once funding and world attention has shifted away from Africa.

Pillay and Bass (2009: 77) argue that mega-events such as the World Cup do not necessarily contribute to poverty reduction. While it did create jobs, especially in construction, most of these opportunities were short-term or temporary and did not involve great numbers of people. It is unlikely the World Cup made a dent in South Africa's shocking unemployment statistics. Furthermore, there are many costs associated with hosting the tournament, not least the building of state-of-the-art stadiums. In short the World Cup did not really help the poor.

Thus while the tangible benefits of the tournament are unclear or even debatable, it may be an intangible legacy, like improving South Africa's image, that is most important. After Germany hosted the same tournament in 2006, their reputation around the world soared as they were no longer seen as merely dour and efficient Europeans – they had thrown a great World Cup and Germany was suddenly seen as a fun place. For South Africa in particular, and Africa in general, this is even more important given the decades of colonialism and negative press from the developed world. This is a chance to reduce Afro-pessimism, to show the world Africa can compete on a global scale, that the much-maligned Heart of Darkness can be a place of light. As Czegledy states (Tomlinson & Bass, 2009): *“The 2010 World Cup is thus about a new Africa to Africans, and about Africa of the world rather than just in it.”*

From a research perspective, the World Cup necessitates its own investigations and many of these are currently underway. While the current study does not examine this mega-event in detail, it is worth noting the context of the World Cup did affect the research process. Firstly, since the tournament did spur on many sport for development activities, especially those involving soccer, there was an artificially inflated number of organisations involved in this arena (Pillay et al, 2009). Due to the massive publicity generated by the World Cup, many organisations jumped on the bandwagon resulting in countless initiatives across the country. Thus an examination of sport for development activities around this time is probably not representative of the status quo. There is no doubt that NGOs were under great pressure from donors to optimise their activities during a World Cup year, and while this may have led to increased activity it may have resulted in a less thorough approach with a skewed focus only on outcomes (e.g. how many children attended interventions) rather than the actual efficacy of any programmes. Furthermore, schools were closed for 5 weeks during the tournament

making it impossible to conduct any site visits or participant observation. While many organisations, including GRS, ran holiday camps at schools, many of these were once-off events which may have generated a feel-good atmosphere (Donald, 2010) but are certainly not a sustainable approach to development, such as the presence of regular sport in schools.

2.8 Summary

One needs to interrogate the policy rhetoric which assumes that sport automatically produces positive results, for as Coalter (2010) argues; sport is a necessary but not sufficient condition for social change. However, there is no doubt that sport and physical activity can stimulate development – whether sport is used as a means of development or as the message itself. This chapter has charted the history and rationale behind sport’s recent foray into development circles, paying particular attention to the way in sport can promote education. In South Africa this is especially relevant, due to the academic crisis in our schools which is exacerbated by the fact that most learners do not have adequate opportunities to play sport or be active.

NGOs can play a role in this regard, but one needs to examine how they operate in relation to the state and what each party expects of the other. In Chapters 4 & 5, the schools will profess their expectations of both the NGOs and government, as they interact in this 3-way process of (sports) development. But before we do that, one needs to provide some background on the organisations involved in this research and the methodology used to achieve these findings.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter shall trace the methodological approaches used in the research. The setting for the study will be described with an overview of the two organisations selected as case studies. As this study involves primarily qualitative research, an explanation of the case study design will be provided, as well as the population and sample group. Different data collection methods were used, including in-depth interviews, participant observation and document review and the data was analysed in such a way as to ensure trustworthiness, meeting the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. Ethical considerations were taken into account and this study has been approved by the Senate Higher Degrees and Research Grants and Study Leave Committees at UWC. The delimitation of the study area is acknowledged, as well as the limitations of the research itself, as like any study, this paper has its limits and weaknesses.

3.2 Research Setting

The research involves a case study of Grassroot Soccer (GRS) and the Extra-Mural Education Project (EMEP), two NGOs based in Cape Town that use sport as a means of development, but in markedly different ways. While there are many NGOs working in this field, these two have been chosen for the work they do and the different approaches that they have adopted. Grassroot Soccer runs its Skillz curriculum during school hours, with its classes forming part of the LO sessions which all learners are obliged to attend. It thus has to conform closely to school times and procedures. EMEP uses sport as an extra-mural, an optional activity for learners, and this allows schools to become community hubs where youth can fulfil their right

to play. However, EMEP has also had great success in training sports assistants, many of whom were unable to effectively co-ordinate physical activities during the LO classes.

3.2.1 Grassroot Soccer (GRS)

GRS is a well-known, high-profile international NGO founded in 2002 that uses its Skillz Curriculum to educate youth about HIV/AIDS through the power of soccer. Headquartered in Cape Town, GRS operates across Africa as it has formed strategic partnerships with local organisations, optimizing their ability to reach African youth. GRS is a member of the Street Football World Network and works closely with FIFA, having been selected to operate the first Football for Hope Centre in Khayelitsha, Cape Town (Grassroot Soccer, 2010). GRS plans to expand in South Africa and across the continent, by working with states and partners. The mission of GRS is to "*Use the power of soccer in the fight against AIDS by providing African youth with the skills and support to live HIV free.*" (Grassroot Soccer: 2007).

GRS operates in three core countries, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, where they have offices and a dedicated team of staff to deliver their Skillz curriculum to youth in schools. GRS also boasts an office in the United States though it does not conduct operations or classes in the USA. However, GRS has broadened its sphere of influence by working with partner organizations in Africa and Latin America. Countries reached include Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, Malawi, Ethiopia, Sudan, Cote d'Ivoire, Burkino Faso, Liberia, Kenya, Tanzania as well as Guatemala and the Dominican Republic. These implementing partners receive training and technical support from GRS, and are equipped with the tools to deliver the Skillz curriculum. This Partnership approach means GRS can operate more widely and reach more people than by going it alone. By the end of 2007, GRS had communicated its

message to over 1 million Africans and graduated over 230,000 kids from the programme - by going it alone, they would have reached only 20,000 kids (Grassroot Soccer: 2007).

With an annual budget of \$4.2 million, 61 employees and over 300 volunteers in South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe and the United States, GRS delivers its Skillz interventions to youth between the ages of 12-18. GRS operates in two ways: global activities and in-country activities. Globally, GRS focuses on curriculum development, measurement and evaluations, strategic development and financial management. In-country, GRS delivers its partner funded programs and outside its three core countries, the global team provides technical assistance to implementing partners who deliver Skillz interventions (Grassroot Soccer, 2010).

GRS works at a number of schools in Cape Town, and also runs the Football For Hope (FFH) Centre in Khayelitsha. Many of the schools are located in Khayelitsha and coaches usually meet at the FFH Centre before heading off to their schools. Meetings and training also take place at the FFH Centre and this is where the Site and Community Co-ordinators are based.

The number of schools has decreased since 2009, when GRS worked with about 20 schools in Cape Town. The reasons are two-fold. Firstly, many coaches left the GRS programme, with 35 coaches in 2009 becoming 18 coaches in May 2010 (Cawley, 2009). Previously GRS allocated 2 coaches to each school as they are meant to work in pairs, but they now allocate 3 or 4 coaches to each school, in case of sickness or absenteeism. However, while this research was being conducted 20 more coaches were employed by GRS in June 2010, expanding their

operations with the number of schools in Cape Town increasing to over 20. Unfortunately exact figures on the number of schools in the programme were not available from the staff.

3.2.2 Extra-Mural Education Project (EMEP)

EMEP is a smaller organisation founded in 1997 and acts as an intermediary between schools and government, facilitating the provision of extra-mural activities to disadvantaged schools. Its goal is “*to help South African schools develop into hubs of lifelong learning, recreation and support, for both their school-going and surrounding communities.*” (EMEP: 2009). The organisation seeks to achieve this in three ways. Firstly, by offering extra-mural programmes for children, youth, and community members that are engaging, relevant, holistic, varied, creative, well-managed, and safe. Secondly by taking a holistic approach to the school’s continuous organisational and curricular development as a vibrant, child-, family-, and teacher friendly institution and thirdly providing community development and support for local organisations and individuals to both deal with their underlying needs and issues as well as organise themselves effectively to use the school maximally as a community resource.

EMEP is also based in Cape Town but only operates in the Western Cape, though it plans to expand nationally. EMEP runs seminars with staff from schools, training them to provide extra-murals, ranging from sport to arts and crafts, extra lessons, music etc. EMEP does not run the extra-murals but provides training, co-ordination and evaluation. Furthermore, it is not focused exclusively on sport, unlike GRS which is limited to soccer, but takes a holistic approach, with a range of activities for learners as well as parents and community members.

EMEP has formulated a partnership with the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) and the subsequent funding has allowed them to broaden their school network considerably. While this partnership will be explored in more detail, it is important to note that the extra-mural programme is a joint initiative between EMEP and the WCED, not merely an EMEP initiative that has been approved by the state. The programme is thus ‘owned’ by both parties. However, the funding is due to expire in April 2011 and will not be renewed, causing EMEP to rethink their operations – this point will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 6.

EMEP envisages three separate areas in which schools can offer extra-murals and become a community hub. **Programmes and Activities** are the most common, including sports, games and play, arts and crafts, clubs, technology and IT, environmental and entrepreneurial training, study support, life skills, social service learning, internships and holiday programmes and camps. Beyond EMEP encourages schools to provide **Support Services** such as special education, counselling, health and social services. Ultimately EMEP wants all schools to become **Community Hubs** offering facility usage, community services, adult education, early childhood development, community clubs and fora, neighbourhood watch as well as setting up a Development Desk at schools to bring together community actors.

3.3 Research Design

A case study design has been chosen since it will offer real insight, showing how specific sports programmes work in specific contexts (Cronbach, 1975: 123). By focusing on a case, one can “*uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon*”

(Merriam, 1998: 29). Two NGOs, Grassroot Soccer and EMEP, constitute the cases, with an in-depth exploration of their work and the challenges they face. This will be more useful than a general overview of organisations working in this field, since this will add new knowledge.

Data from a case study is more concrete and holistic in nature, informed by the researcher and important individuals, thus adding diverging viewpoints which are healthy for research. However there are limits to this design, such as the tendency to over-simplify situations and make sweeping generalisations based on specific case studies (Guba & Lincoln, 1981: 377).

This case study is trustworthy, meeting certain criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). In terms of credibility, research will be an accurate reflection of the real experiences of the participants. The findings should prove relevant for a broader field and the procedures used should ensure that this study can be replicated for organisations of a similar nature, thus ensuring transferability. Changes in the context and design need to be recognised by the researcher contributing to dependability and a flexible approach. And having allowed other individuals to verify the research (e.g. a second opinion on the transcriptions), this case study should be confirmable.

3.4 Population and sample

The study population includes employees of GRS, EMEP, target groups of the organisations and officials in the Department of Education. Key informants, including the head of research,

managing directors, coaching/training staff at each organisation, officials in the Department of Education and community leaders were purposively selected to participate in the study.

EMEP currently works with 45 schools and GRS works with about 20 schools in the Western Cape, from the townships surrounding Cape Town to impoverished rural areas. To ensure that the sample is representative, four urban schools and two rural schools were selected to participate in the study, including three high schools and three primary schools. School principals and teachers will be selected based on information from GRS and EMEP regarding those involved in their programmes at schools and communities they serve.

3.5 Data collection methods and Procedure

3.5.1 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with the head of research, managing directors, coaching and training staff at each organisation, principals and teachers of selected schools and community leaders. Marshal and Rossman (1995) state that in-depth interviews can be described as conversations with a purpose rather than formal events with predetermined formal response categories. Interviews were done at a time convenient to the participants and in an informal, relaxed manner. An interview guide was used to ensure that the questions and themes generated were relevant to participants, and the research itself. With the permission of the participants, interviews were audio-taped and then transcribed later, so they could be examined in greater detail.

At GRS, the Head of Research and Programs Manager were interviewed, and an Assistant Site Co-ordinator, Community Project Co-ordinator and a Programs Intern. A focus group of coaches was also conducted separately, while a number of coaches were interviewed individually. At EMEP, a senior researcher provided useful information and a number of development practitioners were also interviewed. At each school, the Head of Sport and/or Life Orientation Co-ordinator was interviewed and if possible, the principal was interviewed.

3.5.2 Document review

Marshal and Rossman (1995) argue that the review of documents is an unobtrusive method rich in portraying the values and beliefs of participants in a setting as the researcher gathers and analyses documents produced during every day events. Both GRS and EMEP were approached for, and provided, documents which assisted in the research. These documents included letters, minutes of meetings, evaluations and external reports of these organisations.

However, these documents were produced internally, mainly for monitoring and evaluation purposes, and while they were useful, they have their limitations. They are often introspective and do not provide a broader perspective on the challenges these organisations face. Of course the emphasis and focus of such documents are different and they need to be examined only in so far as they are relevant to the proposed research. Their findings needed to be analysed by the researcher to uncover any greater issues, common trends and challenges.

3.5.3 Observation

Visits were made to schools and communities, to experience first-hand how these sports projects operate within the education system. These observations provided insight into the participants' experience of the programmes. A number of observation sessions occurred at each site, so the common practices were recorded, as opposed to a once-off viewing. Field notes were taken to account what the researcher heard, saw and experienced during observation. This includes notes on the interaction between participants, coaches, learners and community members. Observation was accompanied by reports from the schools and NGOs involved, so the reality observed can be contrasted with the written theory.

During participant observation, the researcher attempted to maintain some distance between himself and the learners, so as not to become too involved in the sporting event. Furthermore, the researcher was often accompanied by a staff member from GRS and EMEP, giving him the opportunity to discuss the activity with someone possessing a deeper knowledge of the intended aims and processes of the activity itself. This also allowed for follow-up questions. At GRS, the coaches observed, were also observed and rated by the relevant site co-ordinator who is required to fill out a Coach Support Visit Form (see Appendices). The information noted by the co-ordinator was then contrasted with the findings of the researcher. Similarly when working with EMEP, the researcher visited schools accompanied by the Head of Research, allowing for both parties to exchange information and share views on their findings. In this way, the research is confirmable and does not operate in a vacuum.

3.6 Data analysis

Analysis did accompany data collection, as the two processes tend to occur simultaneously in qualitative research. As information is gathered, so the researcher decides what is relevant and elicits meaning “*in a systematic, comprehensive and rigorous manner*” (Alasuutari, 1995: 7). It was no different during this research, where data was analysed in a non-linear and fluid pattern, with no clear distinction between the collection and analysis of information.

The analysis of the interviews started with the transcription of information from audio-tape recordings. Data was transcribed verbatim to ensure that it is conveyed as genuinely as possible by the researcher, with no attempt to modify the findings or set a certain agenda. Independent perspectives were obtained by asking more senior researchers for their views. This process ensured a clear correlation between the reality experienced by the participants and the information presented. Analysis was done by reading through the transcripts several times, making as many headings necessary to describe all aspects of the contents.

Additionally, grouping of the themes into broader categories helped to reduce the number of themes - for example similar headings were conflated to come up with one. Both pre-determined and emerging themes were noted, making a concerted effort to ensure that respondents do not merely answer questions off a list but provide their own perspective on challenges. After a number of interviews, the same themes were raised time and time again, showing that the research had reached the point of saturation.

3.6.1 Trustworthiness

There are different methods for analysing the quality of research and for ensuring that the research design is trustworthy. In quantitative studies, research is meant to conform to the concepts of construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability (Yin, 2003).

Trustworthiness of qualitative data is measured by credibility, which is determined by the match between constructed realities of the participants and the reality presented by the researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1995). Several steps were used to build credibility:

- Prolonged engagement and persistent observation.
- Member checks: all transcribed data was given back to participants to comment on the accuracy of the recordings.
- Responses were transcribed verbatim.
- After derivation of themes, an independent researcher was asked to read through the transcripts and generate themes.

Transferability is equally important, meaning the extent to which research findings can be relevant in other contexts. By detailing the research process, context and limitations, other researchers can then decide whether or not to transfer the data from this selected research.

Trustworthiness is also measured by dependability, reflecting the need for research to be able to adapt to changing external contexts as well as adapting the research methodology itself.

The design used in this research can be modified for different settings and is not limited to a

certain case study (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). In fact, when preliminary findings were shared with GRS, the Programs Manager requested that the researcher conduct similar investigations in a new site established by the organisation in Soweto, or share the methodology used so that a GRS employee could conduct similar research.

Conformability is the final criterion used for trustworthiness. The results of this data can be confirmed by the research participants, as well as staff at both organisations selected as case studies. Thus this research is not merely the perspective of an individual but can be validated. This research was shared with both NGOs and researchers at each organisation agreed unanimously with the findings and professed that the research was viable and relevant.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Permission has been obtained from the Senate Higher Degrees Committee and the Senate Research Grants and Study Leave Committee at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). Further permission was obtained from Grassroot Soccer and EMEP, the two NGOs selected as case studies, as well as from principals and teachers of the participating schools. The guidelines of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee were followed, especially with the study of human subjects. A Participant Information Sheet (see Appendices) was provided, describing the aims of the study, requesting participation and giving assurances of confidentiality, and Consent Forms were given to willing participants (see Appendices). Participation was voluntary and respondents were given the opportunity to withdraw at any time. They could choose not to answer certain questions or discuss certain issues, with no repercussions for either party. Neither the interviewer nor interviewee were

paid, or received any material benefits, for this research. However, the study has provided value by contributing knowledge and helping these organisations optimise their programmes, bringing benefit to the participants. The results of the study with recommendations have been made available to the organisations concerned as well as a number of interested researchers.

3.8 Delimitation of Study Area

This research examines the use of sport for development, rather than the development of sport itself, though the two are related. Sport can be used to promote development in many ways and I shall focus on NGOs that use sport in the education system, thus paying attention to this sector of government. The case studies will involve two organisations, GRS and EMEP, rather than all NGOs carrying out such work. While this is clearly not an exhaustive sample, these organisations can be considered representative of similar players in the sport and development industry. For example, there are many organisations like GRS which use sport as a means to combat HIV/AIDS while many NGOs follow EMEP's 'train the trainer' approach in improving capacity in schools. It is thus hoped some findings are transferable.

I will explore the sports projects of GRS and EMEP in South Africa, conducting my empirical research in the Western Cape. The research will focus on poor South Africans in townships and rural areas, mainly youth, examining sport projects in schools as opposed to other community networks. The findings will be available to participants, the organisations, Western Cape Department of Education and University of the Western Cape, among others.

3.9 Limitations of Research

While the study area itself is clearly limited, there were also a number of difficulties in the research process. Access to information was not always easy or forthcoming. While both GRS and EMEP did lend assistance, trying to meet with staff at either organisation was an onerous task and many questions or requests went unanswered. Even more pronounced was the lack of response from government officials. While the research centres on the challenges facing NGOs in schools, the role of the state is crucial in this interaction. As such an attempt was made to interview state officials, especially those in the WCED, but with little success.

As mentioned earlier, the World Cup led to a lengthened school holiday – together with the more recent teachers' strike this made it difficult to conduct interviews and participant observation at schools during certain periods. Even after these incidents, school staff were usually overloaded with trying to catch up and prepare their learners for exams. Not surprisingly sport took a back seat once again and sport researchers did not even get a seat.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS - EMEP

4.1 Introduction

Having examined the debates in the literature and explained the research methodology, it is now time to summarise the results of the study. Through in-depth interviews, participant observation and document review, the challenges facing EMEP and GRS in Western Cape schools were investigated. While certain challenges are common to both organisations, others are unique. The challenges have been grouped under the following themes: Conceptual Challenges, Organisational Challenges and Technical Challenges. While these themes are not entirely separate, they provide a distinction between the kinds of obstacles encountered. For clarity and ease of comparison, the two NGOs shall be dealt with separately. Firstly, the challenges facing EMEP shall be explored in this chapter before moving on to the case of GRS in Chapter 5. The results will be compared and debated in the discussion in Chapter 6.

4.2 EMEP

While EMEP works with 45 schools in the Western Cape, only selected schools were included in the study. In Cape Town, research was conducted at primary schools in the Cape Flats and Khayelitsha, as well as secondary schools in Wallacedene and Khayelitsha. Rural research was conducted in the Robertson region at both a primary and secondary school.

Even though all the schools surveyed acknowledged the positive impact of EMEP, there is no doubt that the organisation encounters a variety of challenges in its approach of empowering

school staff to manage and provide extra-murals. There are problems linked to expectations, as well as obstacles within the school system as the sports co-ordinators and coaches face many difficulties. The challenges are grouped into Conceptual, Organisational and Technical.

4.3 Conceptual Challenges

These challenges are perhaps the most important and relate to the way in which the differing parties (EMEP, schools and the state) understand each other. It is essential to include government in this analysis because the EMEP programme involves a partnership between the organisation and the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), while all the schools surveyed are public schools and have to fulfil certain requirements stipulated by the WCED.

4.3.1 EMEP, Schools and the State

EMEP has a partnership with government and jointly they are meant to promote extra-murals and help turn schools into community hubs. However, there are certain difficulties between EMEP and the state and it is important to examine this relationship in detail. Furthermore, it is vital to interrogate the relationship between the schools themselves and state departments.

- EMEP and the State

EMEP was initially independent of the state but now works with government departments as its extra-mural project (Continued Development Programme) has been approved by the WCED. The extra-mural programme is essentially a partnership between EMEP and the

WCED, though it is the NGO that is most often (and incorrectly) seen as the owner or lead partner. While this partnership has allowed EMEP to expand and gain access into the education system, it does mean that the organisation is somewhat dependent on government. For example, EMEP must show that its interventions do resonate with the WCED's 9 key focus areas of whole school development. Furthermore, EMEP receives around 50% of its funding from the WCED and this allowed for a second intake of schools in 2007 as the organisation expanded its operations (Brown & Cooper, 2010). However, this funding ends in March 2011 and will not be renewed, leaving the organisation in a precarious position. This has caused EMEP to rethink its strategic objectives and training output (Thaw, 2010).

In this regard, it is important to note that the political landscape affected EMEP's relationship with the state. The Democratic Alliance (DA) replaced the African National Congress (ANC) as the ruling party in the Western Cape after the 2009 elections, leading to many proponents of EMEP being replaced by more sceptical politicians. This drastic shift led to concerns that the existing agreement between EMEP and the state would not be honoured. While these fears were unfounded, the organisation realised it would be futile to apply for more funding. These sentiments are illustrated by the quote below:

"The DA replaced the ANC last year (2009) and the new education department does not like NGOs. Our big supporters like Naledi Pandor (former Minister of Education) are gone. We knew there was no point in trying to renew the contract because we work with district officials and they told us. So we need new funding. Maybe in 2 years time, the ANC will be back in power and we will start again. Who knows?" (EMEP Staff, 2010)

The appointment of a new Superintendent-General (SG) has resulted in a few policy changes that have adversely affected the EMEP programme. For example, the new SG insists that all teachers are present in class during all lesson times, whereas in the past EMEP conducted the majority of their training programmes during school hours (Thaw, 2010: 4). Not only is it more difficult to deliver training outside classroom hours, teachers are also more reluctant to give up their free time. Furthermore, district officials and educators alike have noted an increased focus on literacy and numeracy and improving Grade 12 results, which have declined over the years (Thaw, 2010: 5). As a result, extra-mural activities, especially sport, have taken a backseat yet again, with academic criteria assuming pole position in education. This “back to basics” and “time to task” approach mirrors a dramatic shift in the WCED with EMEP suddenly finding themselves somewhat out of favour with the new regime.

EMEP’s response has been to modify its intervention to suit government, illustrating the problem of becoming dependent upon, or dictated to by, the state. All training now occurs after hours and there is a concerted attempt to link the intervention with the department’s 9 key focus areas of whole school development. Within the intervention, extra-murals that promote reading and mathematics for example are being promoted above the likes of sports. The organisation has also encouraged schools to include the provision of extra-murals in its School Improvement Plan (SIP), thus strengthening the case for extra-curricular activities. In short, EMEP “*have put their money where their mouth is*” (Thaw, 2010: 5) – this shows their flexibility as an organisation but also demonstrates their dependence upon government.

According to an external survey, another problem underpinning EMEP’s partnership with the WCED is the limited and informal nature of the relationship. It appears that EMEP’s founder

has good relations with many state officials, including the former Minister of Education but the same cannot be said for the rest of the organisation's staff. According to the external evaluation (Thaw, 2010), EMEP's founder tends to keep these contacts close to his chest, micro-managing many aspects of the relationship rather than giving his managers and the development practitioners (who work directly with the schools) the authority to build and manage these relationships. This had led to a level of dysfunctionality within the organisational structure of EMEP and has hindered the practitioners in their grassroots work.

Furthermore, there is need to formalise the partnership with government. While EMEP have received multimillion Rand support from the WCED, there are no monthly (or quarterly) scheduled meetings at which the organisation can produce reports, show the impact of their work and generate debate with the very people who are funding and supporting them! According to the external evaluation of EMEP, only financial reports are presented with no real monitoring and evaluation being communicated to the WCED. There is a lack of transparency from EMEP and this does not reflect well on the organisation or contribute to a meaningful partnership. To this end the Director of the Metro South Education District admits feedback from the organisation is often limited and informally communicated, as illustrated by the quote below.

"I speak to Jonny, but it takes the form of breakfast updates. You know if we don't go to meetings with our funders, then it is a big problem! But we are funding EMEP and they do not meet us regularly or properly." (Director, Education District, Western Cape)

According to the external evaluation, the informal and humorous approach adopted by the founder of EMEP only trivialises and undermines the partnership. There is thus a real need to formalise the partnership and ensure a greater range of the organisation's staff can interact with a greater range of state officials. While there is an MOU between EMEP and each Education District (see Appendices for example), it contains no reporting lines and does not provide enough of an obligation for EMEP to provide evaluation of its impact.

Furthermore the evaluation showed that not all government officials were critical of EMEP. For example, the Director of the Overberg Education District saw no conflict of interests between the two parties and had nothing but praise for the organisation. However, this may be partly because the programme is far easier to implement in the Overberg's small community-driven schools than in urban schools or larger districts.

Because EMEP has not been pressured enough by the WCED and always had things its own way, it appears to have adopted an opaque and stubborn approach. Furthermore by always assuming a lead role, and branding the programme as EMEP's (e.g. EMEP schools, EMEP Development Practitioners, etc.) the organisation almost ignored, or negated, the role of the state. In reality, the schools belong to the WCED and the programme is a partnership not EMEP owned with government support. As a result, it became clear to most government officials (whether or not they supported EMEP) that the partnership was not really working. It thus seems that both sides must shoulder part of the blame and this malaise could have contributed to the end of state funding.

- Schools and the State

While EMEP has its own particular relationship with the state, public schools also have their own challenges and opportunities when it comes to working with government. All the schools that participated in the research are state schools and the responsibility for school sport falls under the Department of Education, not the Department of Sport and Recreation. Generally schools were not complimentary to the WCED and felt that the state did not provide enough support with their sporting activities, despite empty promises to raise the profile of extra-murals and physical activity in schools. This is again illustrated by the quote below:

“They came here preaching about extra-murals and how valuable they are. Where are they now? Since Naledi Pandor (former Minister of Education) left there has been no information on extra-murals, just school work and administration. We also need PE teachers. As for the Department of Sport something is totally wrong there.” (Teacher, Primary School, Cape Town)

It seems that the Western Cape Department of Cultural, Arts and Sports (DECAS) is mainly involved in organising events and tournaments, rather than contributing to long-term change in schools. Furthermore, with the World Cup occurring on home soil, sports co-ordinators at schools thought they would finally gain support from government. Their disillusionment with the system only increased as the state did not offer any training or assistance, or make any real effort to improve sport at school during 2010. This is illustrated by the quote below:

“The government missed a big chance to use the spirit of the World Cup to get sport going at schools.”
(Sports Co-ordinator, High School, Cape Town)

In the rural areas, it seems sports clusters used to operate effectively. For example, the Langeberg Sports Cluster was working well a few years ago, according to teachers at schools in Robertson, by providing transport and covering costs for equipment at schools. But it has fallen apart in recent times and school staff has not heard about this cluster for over a year.

“Does government help us? They will argue yes, but the answer is no! The last time I heard from them was a year ago about some sort of cluster but now they are quiet again. If I have a problem with EMEP, I can speak to Lindeka (EMEP practitioner) but who do I contact in the department? If I phone, I just keep getting referred.” (Sports Co-ordinator, High School, Cape Town)

While EMEP focuses on extra-murals, much school sport is meant to be delivered during Life Orientation (LO). However, schools complained that the state does not provide adequate training for teachers to deliver PE within the LO classes. Since PE is no longer an independent period, schools no longer hire a teacher specifically for this subject. However, it still forms part of the LO curriculum, and most teachers are not equipped to teach physical education. The quote below highlights this problem:

“Teachers do not know what to do in LO. Many of them have never done any physical exercise themselves and don’t know how to coach. Many teachers are older and female and they are not interested in sports.”
(Anonymous Teacher, Primary School, Robertson)

- Sports Assistants

As a result of the problem in the LO period, and the lack of sporting opportunities for youth both during and after school, DECAS tried to provide disadvantaged schools with sports assistants, young sportsmen and women who would lighten the load on teachers and sports coaches and provide expertise in physical education and sports. This government programme was initiated in 2006 and ran for four years until it was discontinued in 2010 (Brown & Cooper, 2010). While it has proved impossible to access state information on this policy, a former PE teacher and EMEP practitioner claims schools were meant to apply to DECAS for funding for a sports assistant post. However, many schools were unaware of this process and the programme was discontinued since DECAS actually stopped paying these assistants.

While the initiative was a noble one, it was clearly fraught with problems. To illustrate this, at one primary school a sports assistant was provided but this person “*simply disappeared*” according to the principal. However, there was a sports assistant across the road at the high school. How does one explain this discrepancy? Is it simply a random process? Furthermore, a number of sports coaches who were involved with the sports assistants claimed they were not properly trained, had no idea how to discipline the children and could only do basic exercises. And since the assistants always had to work with a teacher present, it didn’t really lighten the workload on the school staff. One teacher even attended the training for sports assistants and felt it was not applicable to schools, and did not focus on priority sports.

It is worth mentioning that EMEP ran a course for sports assistants, motivated by schools who claimed these assistants were not competent. The course was a resounding success and resulted in schools asking government to extend the contracts of assistants (Cooper, 2010).

4.3.2 Other Stakeholders and NGOs

There are often other NGOs working at the schools where EMEP operates, leading to a possible duplication of activities and competition. At one school, the New World Foundation, a non-profit organisation, and the JAG Sports and Education Foundation, an NGO set up by former Olympic athlete Elana Meyer, are providing training in sports and athletics training. According to EMEP and school staff, there is no real duplication of activities or fighting between the relevant organisations. However, they do not work together and perhaps could consider partnering and combining resources in certain initiatives.

At another high school, the scenario is similar. There are about 16 organisations working at the school including Love Life and Equal Education, according to the EMEP practitioner, but she could not name them all, an indication that they are not working in unison. However, EMEP is in the process of setting up a development desk in the community which will function as a forum for the different NGOs, teachers, school governing bodies and other representatives. In this way, the different parties can pool resources, integrate their projects and achieve more together. Unfortunately though the desk is not running properly and is dependent on EMEP to a large extent. The other organisations are committed in principle, but offer little assistance and are unwilling to take responsibility within this forum.

4.3.3 Conflicting and Unrealistic Expectations

A major challenge facing EMEP appears to be a lack of understanding between the organisation and the schools in which it works. While there is clearly intention to work together from both parties, this lack of understanding undermines any co-operation.

On the one hand, certain schools felt that EMEP had unrealistic expectations of what they could achieve within certain time frames. Perhaps the organisation could not understand their situation and the challenges they faced, making it necessary for them to adapt the model to their local context. Educators complained that EMEP did not understand that their main focus was on successfully completing the curriculum, not modifying the school environment to create space and support for extra-murals. They felt that EMEP did not grasp their priorities, as illustrated by the quote below:

“And remember this, this is the kind of model we have come up with given our circumstances. If you ask me why, I would say EMEP has played a role in selling the idea and convincing the staff that there are advantages to this model. We are a community model but not doing things conscious enough so that our activities inside and outside are speaking to one another. The degree that EMEP wants, we are far but still far from there. It is happening but not on that speed that EMEP want it to happen. We have a relationship with EMEP. It’s a good one. But we have tried also to evolve, to suit our own environment, because if we don’t evolve, in terms of the sport, then EMEP will be useless.” (Teacher)

In this regard, it is worth acknowledging that EMEP have noted these concerns from schools and are in the process of changing their approach to ensure greater support and dialogue between both parties. These changes will be described in more detail in the discussion.

On the other hand, schools also have extremely high and unrealistic expectations of EMEP, and expect the organisation to provide equipment as well as training. Some schools even wanted EMEP to approach the Education Department for greater support on their behalf. It has become a problem whereby teachers envisage EMEP as a super-rich NGO with money to burn and they expect the organisation to deliver on all fronts, when EMEP is limited in its capacity. Furthermore, schools expect EMEP to deliver when this is the role of government. This is highlighted by the following quote:

“We need equipment. You know other organisations provide us with equipment and funding but EMEP are just talk. How can we do sports without a proper field, without the proper kit?”

(Teacher, High School, Robertson)

Related to this is the way schools view EMEP. None of the schools participating in this study seemed to realise that the extra-mural programme and training was a partnership between EMEP and the WCED. Instead, educators drew clear distinctions between the two parties, claiming for example that they preferred to work with the NGO than the state, when in fact by working with EMEP they were working with the state, whether they liked it or not. This misunderstanding could also be partly blamed on EMEP for not being transparent enough or informing schools about the true nature of the partnership. EMEP has taken the lead role in the partnership and most programmes are branded with the EMEP name (Thaw, 2010).

4.4 Organisational Challenges

In addition to conceptual difficulties and misunderstandings, EMEP experienced a number of organisational challenges when working with schools. These include support (or a lack of), management issues and the difficulties of working within school structures, to name a few.

4.4.1 Lack of Support for Schools

School staff complained that there was not enough support and evaluation from EMEP for the monitoring, evaluation and improvement of extra-murals. At one primary school, a teacher complained that EMEP have virtually disappeared and claims that he cannot remember the last meeting with EMEP, hardly a good sign. This is illustrated by the following quote:

“We hardly see them anymore. Our last meeting was planned for last year, but it was cancelled. It is like they came here and promised to help us and we got excited about it. But then they just left again and it is the same.” (Teacher, Primary School, Cape Town)

After the initial enthusiasm generated by EMEP, teachers seem disillusioned with the programme and want greater assistance. For example at one school, EMEP interns assisted staff with sports, but there has not been an intern at this particular school since 2008. As a result volleyball coaching has collapsed completely. This is not an isolated occurrence or sentiment among school staff, as illustrated by the following quote:

“To provide first of all an official, a person that is an official. Or a rep that is going to monitor the extra murals. Not just like for example you come and interview us or me. I’m telling you these things

but there is supposed to be someone that is working here, that you also hear from that person, you see. Secondly, they are supposed to provide equipment, everything that will be used so that extra-mural activity can run well.” (Anonymous)

Another teacher argued that EMEP should conduct follow-up sessions with teachers. While actual practical training on how to deliver sport was not required, it would be beneficial for the organisation to show staff how to write up business plans and proposals. As he explains:

“We need to know how to approach government and private businesses, how to put our requests in writing. The richer schools get all the help because they know how to do this. EMEP must put us in contact with right people; show us how to involve stakeholders.” (Teacher, High School, Cape Town)

However, an EMEP Researcher and Development Practitioner disagree with this statement. Both contend that the organisation has offered a module in Grant Proposal Writing, delivered by an expert in the field, to all schools in the network. Furthermore, the practitioners at each school can send a draft of their proposal to EMEP for assistance and feedback. According to Cooper, not a single proposal has been sent to the organisation yet. It is clear that teachers are quick to complain but slow to make the effort when it comes to improving the state of sport, and extra-murals in their schools. It also shows that the EMDPs at each school, those persons trained by EMEP, are not sharing the skills they have learnt (i.e. explaining to other teachers how to put together a proposal). This is a major theme throughout; the select few teachers trained by EMEP are not helping their peers and this had led to a real sense of exclusion.

4.4.2 Site Visits

In line with a lack of monitoring and evaluation, teachers indicated that more site visits were necessary to motivate learners and teachers, and also explain the concept and importance of extra-murals. Often parents do not understand or see the value in anything beyond school work and EMEP had to communicate this message to school staff, pupils and their parents.

This is illustrated by the following quote:

“It’s not working. So, you need someone from EMEP to come and talk to the kids with their parents, so that they do understand, and buy the idea that their kids will be one hour late, on these days.”

(Teacher, Cape Town)

4.4.3 Exclusion from EMEP Training

Many teachers feel excluded from the EMEP programme as they did not receive training and are largely uninvolved in the programme. EMEP does not have the capacity to train every teacher and while certain teachers do not wish to be involved, others feel bitter about being ‘left out’. In theory the EMEP Development Practitioners (EMDPs) are meant to pass on their skills and knowledge to other teachers, but this rarely happens according to most school staff.

“Most of us did not get the training you know. We would have liked that. The other guys just went because they got nice food. We don’t feel part of EMEP, you know. Who are they? They equip some teachers and these teachers must equip us, but we don’t get anything.”

(Excluded Teacher, High School, Robertson)

This has created a divide at a number of schools between teachers who received the training and those who did not. Not only do these petty differences prevent co-operation, but they can undermine the state of sport at schools. From this it is hardly surprising there are differences of opinion about the effectiveness of EMEP within each school. The EMDPs generally claim the organisation has helped improve sport at their school and empowered staff, while other teachers are scathing about EMEP. In a focus group at one school, there was definite conflict of opinions about the impact of EMEP. Is it helping or hindering the school, one may ask? The statements below show the clear conflict among various staff members regarding EMEP.

“They are doing nothing practical. They are not here. There is no monitoring & evaluation.”(Teacher)

“You say this but you could have done the training. They asked for 7 people - we only got 6.” (EMDP)

Staff also felt that EMEP did not understand their true concerns. While the organisation claims it is empowering staff through training and skills development, many teachers insist money would be better spent on improving infrastructure at the school and broadening the number of teachers trained rather than selecting a chosen few at the expense of others. This is clearly linked to a lack of understanding, listed as one of the conceptual challenges earlier.

This is illustrated by the following quote:

“They take teachers to these fancy hotels and spend all this money training them. Why? We need money for equipment. We only have 3 soccer balls. They should give us this money for equipment for the school. Or they can train all of us instead and then we can all work together. Cos at the moment it is not working” (Teacher, High School, Robertson)

4.4.4 High Turnover of Practitioners

A major problem for EMEP and the schools they support is the high turnover of practitioners. EMEP invests time and money in training these teachers to manage sport and extra-murals at schools and it appears that many of them have left, making the programme unsustainable. At one school, 6 teachers were trained and became EMDPs but only 3 of them still work at the school. Furthermore, many of the trainees drop out of the programme for a variety of reasons. There is clearly a problem with the retention of trainees and the development practitioners.

A classic case of this is an individual who worked for years as a PE teacher at a High School in Cape Town, received the EMEP training (becoming an EMDP) and used this to revitalise sport at his school. But he left the school a few years later to take up a permanent post with EMEP. Hardly surprisingly, sport has declined at the school since his departure. This is a common problem in ensuring the programme is sustainable, as shown by the quote below.

“This is something we need to look at. Often the EMDPs have been empowered by the training and leave to take a better job. Or they stay teachers but change schools. They need to stay in these schools to make it sustainable.” (EMEP trainee and practitioner)

4.4.5 Curriculum Pressure

EMEP and teachers alike both noted that there were many obstacles to delivering sport within the currently configured school system. For example school staff insisted they did not have enough time to implement the EMEP model properly within the current curriculum. Teachers

already feel overloaded with work and struggle to commit to extra-mural activities. Furthermore, extra-murals are seen as secondary to the (academic) curriculum, thus being relegated to a back seat, much like has happened with physical education in schools. The timetable would need to be changed to ensure teachers had sufficient time and opportunities to lead, support and manage sport and other extra-murals. EMEP too recognised this problem, which is illustrated by the following quote:

“EMEP is a good idea, but it needs commitment, lots of commitment, you must create the time to be part of the project. With the new curriculum it’s difficult to create the time. I think we will always see EMEP as secondary because the curriculum takes priority.” (Teacher, Primary School, Cape Town)

At an urban primary school in the poverty-stricken Cape Flats, the head of School Sport claims that all teachers are overloaded, even without any extra-curricular activities. In fact, with the added burden of co-ordinating sports activities every day, he has admitted to being totally exhausted and fed up, to the point of looking for jobs with an NGO such as EMEP. This teacher appears to be fighting a lone battle and while he would welcome support from other teachers, he understands they have commitments of their own, as illustrated below.

“You know, the department said they are reducing the amount of admin for teachers. But it has only got worse. With all this admin and assessments, we hardly have time to teach. You cannot blame teachers for not having the time for sports, and you cannot blame the schools for not having these things. We are too busy – and it is killing me.” (Head of Sport, Primary School, Cape Town)

4.4.6 Extra-Murals and the School timetable

Unfortunately many schools are reluctant to extend their day beyond regular classroom hours. Instead of working overtime, teachers simply replace Life Orientation (LO) with extra-murals or a Physical Education class. Again, seeing as the activities take place after school hours, only a minority of learners are involved in extra-murals as it is on a volunteer basis.

Furthermore, both teachers and learners have after-school responsibilities and cannot commit to extra-murals, even if they so wished. These obligations include picking up and looking after younger children, cooking, cleaning, doing (and marking) homework and so forth. Many learners and to a lesser extent teachers, live too far away from school to stay for extra-murals.

4.4.7 Not Enough Support from Other Teachers

Just as teachers claimed they did not get enough support from EMEP, Sports Co-ordinators at schools generally felt they did not get enough support from other teachers. Many felt 'let down' by their colleagues, especially when they failed to deliver on their promises to help. They were also upset with management (e.g. principals and deputies) for a lack of attendance at sporting events – not seeing and understanding what actually happens at grassroots level.

“Not everybody is into sport, I understand that. But some teachers say they support us, but they don't physically come – they are here today, gone tomorrow, you know? No one helps regularly, attendance is poor. The principal listens and says he supports us but he never comes. The higher powers don't see

the problems for themselves so how can they understand?” (Co-ordinator, High School, Cape Town)

At the high school mentioned above both the sports co-ordinator and the EMEP practitioner who work there have admitted that the teachers, rather than the learners, are the problem. Most learners are generally enthusiastic but only 15 out of the 46 teachers are involved in extra-murals. And even out of these 15 teachers, few are committed and show initiative to lead and manage extra-murals, from sport to arts and crafts, music and academic classes. As a result, sport coaches often have to rely on community members and other outsiders to help. While their contribution is commendable, these people often do not know how to work with children and are unreliable as they have other commitments and are not obliged to help out.

“Teachers don’t like to stay after school. At 3pm they want to be done. And they definitely don’t want to do sports on the weekends either. So most staff see EMEP as a burden, which takes up their time and sometimes even their money.” (EMEP Practitioner)

4.5 Technical Challenges

A number of challenges faced by EMEP and the schools are logistical in nature, often due to a lack of resources. But challenges also include environmental conditions, especially the difference between the urban and rural areas, as well as sport for girls and parental attitudes.

4.5.1 Lack of Equipment and Facilities

Most schools do not have adequate facilities for sport. Playing fields are non-existent or in poor condition, meaning learners have to go elsewhere – this in turn raises transport and

safety issues. To make matters worse, these schools often have to pay to use the fields and facilities of other schools or clubs, incurring more costs. A lack of equipment is another issue, with all schools surveyed desperate for more and better quality kit for all their sporting codes.

“We can have all the training in the world but you cannot coach sports with anybody if you do not have the right equipment. We need balls, shirts, boots and we don’t even have our own field.”

(Sports Co-ordinator, High School, Robertson)

4.5.2 Crime and safety

As a school opens up and becomes a community hub, allowing other youth to partake in its extra-murals, so it becomes exposed to problems of crime and vandalism. Already limited resources are plundered and learners are more vulnerable to the danger of crime, later in the day and when there are fewer staff present. At one primary school in Lavender Hill, this is a major problem. Upon my visit, there was a gun shot in the field across the road from the school and all learners were ushered quickly into class. This is not an uncommon occurrence at this school with four rival gangs operating in the area. In 2002, a learner was caught in crossfire, prompting the principal to meet with all the gang leaders and argue for her learners’ safety. Normally, the gangs give the school prior warning of shootings but it often happens unexpectedly, as in this case, not only endangering learners and teachers but also disrupting classes, especially sport, since this takes place outdoors in the more exposed areas.

“This is no way to run a school you know. We are used to this but look at the learners, they are just kids and this is not good for them. Now they are scared. What can we say to them? We cannot do sports, and even classes, on days like this.” (Principal, Primary School, Cape Town)

Theft is also a hindrance at many of these schools. One establishment was broken into 22 times in one term in 2009. Even the basketball hoops and soccer goalposts were stolen! As such the school is reluctant to spend their valuable and limited funds on replacing these, and without the right infrastructure this clearly makes for a lower quality sporting experience. With no safe storage facilities, many schools are hesitant to invest in any new equipment.

4.5.3 Transport and Money Issues

Transport after extra-murals is a problem as by this time it is often not safe for learners to walk home alone. Again if schools operate as a community hub, it is not always easy for everyone to get to and from the relevant school. Transport for teams to and from games is an obstacle, with teachers having to use their own cars and often do multiple trips. Often schools cannot compete in tournaments or at other venues as they simply don't have enough vehicles.

“When I dismiss the learners here, that the learners walk in a group home, with the other children. So, those children who wants to, uh, uh, um, take part in the extra-murals in the afternoon, they are actually high risk kids, that walks alone home.” (Anonymous)

Often teachers have to pay out of their own pocket for taxi fares for learners, or for petrol to transport learners to and from games. With most teachers struggling financially themselves, EMEP is often seen as a financial burden, with staff unwilling to commit to the programme. This is particularly relevant in the rural areas, where there are often not enough competing schools in the one town, meaning schools have to travel far and wide for regular competition. Unfortunately, most schools do not have sufficient funds to cover such high transport costs.

4.5.4 Parental involvement

Most of the EMEP schools tend to have a dysfunctional relationship with their parent bodies. Most parents take little interest in schools' activities, and show little support. As a result parents do not get involved in the extra-murals and are often unaware of or reluctant to let their children take part. For example, one high school has approximately 1300 learners but according to the EMEP Practitioner, there are never more than 300 parents at any meeting. In the rural areas, school staff claim parents are too busy working during the day to lend a hand.

“Uh, the biggest problems that they face, is that they don't really get any parental support, or motivation...I think traditionally they aren't aware of the fact that you have to do something, to play a role in your child's education.” (Teacher, Primary School, Cape Town)

4.5.5 Rural Challenges

There are certain challenges which are unique to, or heightened for, schools in rural areas. In certain towns there are a limited number of schools. For example in Robertson, 2 hours from

Cape Town, there are only 4 public Primary Schools and 2 High Schools. This means schools have to travel further afield to compete in a proper league, raising the issue of transport and financial resources. Time spent travelling is also a factor for both teachers and learners alike. Furthermore many learners live on farms which are quite a distance away, and with a limited number of buses a day, they are unable to remain after school for sport and extra-murals. Thus many learners cannot participate in sport and those that do have little chance to excel as there is limited competition in their town and schools cannot regularly travel long distances.

In addition, accessing support from businesses, NGOs and private entities is far more difficult in rural areas, where there are fewer stakeholders present. While certain urban schools had many NGOs supporting them, most rural schools surveyed only benefitted from the help of EMEP and LoveLife, though the latter is only involved in organising once-off events.

“It’s like the world stops at Worcester (bigger town 50km away, towards Cape Town). That is where the MOT and SHARP Centres (government sport training centres) are. Here we are left on our own. And it is difficult for us to get sponsorships here since there are fewer companies.”

(Teacher, Primary School, Robertson)

Not only do rural schools have a lack of opponents for sports games, many schools have a lack of sporting codes. For example, one high school in Robertson has a baseball and volleyball team but neither team can compete, since other schools do not offer these codes. As a result learners lose motivation and are likely to stop playing this particular sport.

“There are lots of primary schools here. But there are just 2 high schools and the other high school refuses to play us – we do not know why. We wrote a letter to them and the sports council but nothing came back. So we do not have enough schools to play against. The kids do well at primary school but then they go to high school and cannot play and they drop out. We have a lot of sports drop-outs here.”

(Teacher, High School, Robertson)

While all schools surveyed were critical of the state, it seems rural schools receive less state visits than their urban counterparts. It is hardly surprising that NGOs and government staff are concentrated in cities and rarely make an effort to address rural challenges. While a lack of facilities hinders all schools, rural schools have to compete for the use of municipal fields. Thus even if schools are prepared to pay for the hire of these fields they may be unavailable.

4.5.6 Sports for Girls

While not a predetermined theme of the study, it has emerged that there are a number of challenges affecting the participation of girls in school sport. These include a lack of opportunities for girls, and even when these opportunities are present, often girls are not encouraged, or even actively discouraged, to take part in sport. For example a certain primary school surveyed boasts a very successful girls’ soccer team and they have won numerous trophies in the last few years. However, their sports co-ordinator has lamented the fact that there are few competitions for the girls, apart from their usual leagues. Not only do these tournaments encourage participation and keep learners active, they are a very practical way for the school to win equipment and funds. While there was not time to probe this issue in detail, it would be useful to examine the factors enabling and constraining girls’ school sport.

4.5.7 Problems with EMEP Training

EMEP trains certain teachers to become extra-mural facilitators, setting up an Extra-Mural Management Team at each school. However, some teachers feel the training sessions, which can last over a week, are too long and can thus conflict with family and other responsibilities. Workshops are also often held during vacation, which means schools do not lose the services of their staff but this means that teachers are often hesitant to give up their holiday time. As a result being an extra-mural practitioner is a sacrifice many teachers are unwilling to make.

The EMEP staff who are responsible for delivering training to teachers, also cited some challenges. Bringing together teachers from varied schools and backgrounds is difficult to manage, and raises cultural and linguistic difficulties. EMEP works in a broad range of schools from those in black townships such as Gugulethu to coloured Cape Flats communities such as Lavender Hill and rural communities in the Overberg and West Coast. These teachers have different 1st languages (Xhosa/English/Afrikaans) and face markedly different challenges. Rural schools find it much harder to access funding and are reliant on the local department of Social Development while those in urban areas are more likely to access support from NGOs and corporates, as well as the spheres of government. Groups are large and this makes life difficult. EMEP trained 46 teachers from 6 different schools in the Continued Development Programme (CDP), and practitioners admit that it is not easy to foster trust among teachers, and between teachers and practitioners.

On the other hand, another EMEP practitioner feels the opposite and believes this diversity is a strength rather than an obstacle. As someone who has both attended and delivered the

EMEP training, this individual is well equipped to comment on the effectiveness of merging diverse groups of teachers under one umbrella. This is illustrated by the following quote:

“I did the training a few years back and it was great. I used this to improve the sport at my school. We increased from 3 sporting codes to 9 codes, and we added 8 Cultural Codes too! I run the training now and I think the diversity helps. We always get teachers saying it is so nice to mix and interact with teachers from other communities – they can learn a lot from each other. I have not had any real problems delivering the training.” (EMEP Practitioner)

4.6 Impact of EMEP

It is important to remember that not everyone surveyed was critical of EMEP as most school staff admitted their sports programmes had improved under EMEP’s guidance. One principal praised the organisation for its role in enhancing sporting output and quality of coaching. The school has been particularly successful on the sporting front, even though it is not strong academically – to date there is one young cycling champion, 2 Banyana Junior girl soccer players and a boy playing for Ajax Cape Town, impressive for a school that does not even have a proper playing field! The principal noted learners were healthier overall, absenteeism had decreased and that more sports than just soccer were now being offered, such as netball, basketball and volleyball. Learners were more motivated to attend class and engage in the extra-murals after school. *“All the kids want to be here now, even the drop-outs”* she noted.

Most sports coaches shared similar sentiments and acknowledged that the EMEP training was vital. With the decline of sport and physical activity in schools, EMEP has helped resuscitate

sports and made teachers aware of how fundamental it is for children to be developed holistically. By exposing children to exercise, they have learnt the potential benefits of sport. While certain teachers felt EMEP did not provide sufficient support, others claimed that the organisation makes regular site visits and provides excellent training, allowing for dialogue.

“They do not treat me as inferior, they respect my ideas and encourage us as teachers to get involved. They visit often and we have a good relationship with them. There is no problem with communication and they allow us to have our say and give ideas” (Principal, Primary School, Cape Town)

Another Sports Co-ordinator was complimentary about the training provided by EMEP and claimed it had helped him become a better facilitator, more adept at organising and planning extra-murals and ensuring that he could meet the desired sporting outcomes. The organisation also *“helped organise the Extra-Mural Day, helping with logistics, medals and trophies.”* This teacher insisted that EMEP did respect teachers and allowed the school to introduce new sporting codes, but admitted the programme depends on willing learners and willing teachers.

On the other hand, certain staff argued that EMEP was having little or no impact at school. This group was generally comprised of teachers that did not receive EMEP training, again illustrating the divide and difference of opinion regarding the impact of the organisation.

“They have had no positive impact. They are a lot of talk but no delivery. In fact they are becoming like government, all plans but no action. The EMEP teachers say they are better than government, but they only beat government by 1 visit this year. It is the same.” (Teacher, High School, Robertson)

Certain schools receive feedback from EMEP on a quarterly basis – others made no mention of this. Teachers trained by EMEP unanimously agreed that getting an outside perspective especially that of experts in sport and education helped them see their weaknesses and optimise the way in which they organised extra-murals. EMEP is regarded as a source of hope by some teachers, since *“it shows us that we haven’t been forgotten.”* Ironically though, the teachers that have not received EMEP training often do feel that they have been forgotten.

There are divergent opinions about the impact of EMEP and this is clearly influenced by whether teachers are involved in the programme. The organisation needs to make a concerted attempt to involve all school staff in their work and this will be discussed in more detail later.

4.7 Summary

EMEP has clearly made an impact at schools and helped them to improve their management of sport and extra-murals. The organisation does certainly empower selected teachers but there is resistance from educators who are excluded from the programme. It is clear that the organisation faces a range of conceptual, technical and organisational challenges which serve to undermine its attempt to turn schools into community hubs and lifelong learning centres.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS - GRS

5.1 Introduction

GRS has been subject to a number of internal and external evaluations, as part of monitoring and evaluating its Skillz Curriculum. With 10 evaluations spread across 7 countries (GRS Proven Results, 2010), and more currently in the pipeline, the organisation is constantly seeking new ways to understand its challenges and in so doing, increase its effectiveness.

Unlike EMEP, Grassroots works across South Africa, with offices in the Western and Eastern Cape, and also works with implementing partners in other parts of Africa and Latin America. The challenges below have been listed by the Cape Town coaches and co-ordinators but are often common to the different locations. In addition, GRS works with a specific curriculum, meaning its content can be scrutinised. EMEP, on the other hand, does not provide content but rather training for teachers to be able to run a diverse range of extra-mural activities.

GRS faces a number of challenges when trying to use sport for development in schools and these will be described in detail. As GRS does not currently work in rural schools in the Western Cape, this research was conducted at primary and secondary schools in Khayelitsha, one of the biggest townships on the outskirts of Cape Town. GRS runs the Football for Hope Centre here and this is a meeting point for coaches and staff. As with EMEP, the challenges will be grouped into three broad categories: Conceptual, Organisational and Technical.

5.2 Conceptual Challenges

These conceptual challenges relate to the way in which the organisation, schools and the relevant government departments understand each other. Unlike EMEP, GRS does not have a partnership with the state though it is seeking to get its Skillz Curriculum approved by the DoE. And it is important to understand its work in relation to that of the state, especially regarding the impact (or lack thereof) that government currently has on school sport. These conceptual challenges include the way that GRS staff and the volunteer coaches understand one another, as there tend to be conflicting views and some animosity between these parties.

5.2.1 GRS, Schools and the State

Grassroot Soccer (2007) is funded mainly by international donors, such as USAID, Barclays Bank etc, and runs its programmes independently, though of course it needs to satisfy these donors. As explained earlier, it is seeking government approval and according to senior staff, its curriculum merely needs to be “*rubber stamped*” by the education department.

However GRS is understandably hesitant about working with the state. In a previous project organised by Youth Development through Football (YDF), a German technical co-operation, GRS and other organisations worked with the SRSA in the Eastern Cape. According to a head researcher, working with this state department “*was a disaster*”. It will be interesting to see whether working with another department changes the dynamic, though it is also worth bearing in mind that certain provinces, and conversely certain government departments, are better equipped than others. Despite these difficulties, GRS remains committed to working with the government and clearly believes that the benefits will outweigh the disadvantages.

When asked whether they preferred working with GRS or the state, most schools indicated it was easier and more effective partnering with the NGO. Most teachers were critical of the DoE and felt they did not provide enough support or training. The LO co-ordinators in particular felt let down by the department, as illustrated by the following quote:

“They send subject advisors to our school, to check our sessions and give advice. But I cannot say they help. They speak more than doing. We asked them to be trained in coaching sports and LO classes, and they agreed but they never come back to us.” (LO Co-ordinator, Primary School, Khayelitsha)

LO co-ordinators tended to agree that it was NGOs like GRS that “*were doing things*” but the government was just “*talk, talk, talk*”. They also complained that while there were workshops for other subjects (e.g. Maths and Science), there were no workshops for Life Orientation. Again it seems that the state does not regard LO as an equal partner in the school syllabus.

The relationship between GRS and the state is clearly evolving and they may form a partnership similar to that of EMEP and the WCED. However, despite repeated requests the researcher was unable to ascertain the exact state of the relationship between the organisation and government, as there seemed to be a great deal of secrecy in talking about this issue.

5.2.2 Other NGOs and Sports Assistants

Another factor that complicates matters for GRS is the presence of other NGOs in their areas of operation. This can lead to duplication of activities and competition between the different organisations. For example, coaches reported that YouthAIDS, an international NGO not dissimilar to GRS that “*uses media, pop culture, music, theatre and sports to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS*” (Youth Aids: Our Mission, 2010) was working at one of their partner schools. In fact the coaches reported one instance in which a communication mix-up meant that both organisations were set to use the same class period for their work. That is hardly ideal.

Furthermore, the failure of previous NGOs to deliver on their promises has hindered the likes of GRS. Often principals are reticent to allow such organisations to work in their schools, since their commitment has often been short-term and their results often debatable.

Like with EMEP, it is interesting to pose similar questions about sports assistants to the likes of GRS. However, it was clear that most of the GRS staff and coaches admitted they did not understand the role of sports assistants and very few coaches had ever encountered them at schools. Once again, there was little communication from government about these assistants with both the schools and NGOs failing to understand how they could access these people.

5.2.3 Conflict between Coaches and Co-ordinators

The coaches were quite scathing in their criticism of the site co-ordinators – and this is both a conceptual and organisational challenge. From an organisational perspective, coaches feel

they do not get enough support (this will be explored in detail below) but from a conceptual perspective they feel undervalued and disrespected. The fact that coaches asked to remain anonymous for fear of reprisal is certainly not an indicator of a healthy relationship. They unanimously argued their problems are not taken seriously and they are treated like children.

A coaches' meeting is scheduled for every Friday, but does not often occur due to conflicting priorities. While the coaches did agree that this was a valuable resource, and useful way for coaches to share ideas and help one another, they again complained it was dictated by the coordinators, who set the agenda and gave the coaches little time to raise their own issues.

“We have to speak about their agenda, not our one. And when we get to ‘Other Issues’ there is not enough time. We are shouted at and there is no respect - it is not right.” (Anonymous Coach)

5.3 Organisational Challenges

GRS is confronted with many organisational challenges, from the difficulties of working within the school structure (especially as their sessions take place in LO during classroom hours) to the numerous complaints provided by coaches. Furthermore, schools are often critical of the organisation for not providing enough genuine support and evaluation.

5.3.1 Lack of Obligation for the Schools

To work in a school, GRS requires the consent of the principal, rather than permission from the Education Department. A letter of consent is signed by the principal, but there is no

formal agreement in place. This means that schools can terminate the work of GRS at any time, which makes it difficult to achieve sustainable change. There is a need to formalise the relationship and an MOU (see Appendices) was drafted allowing GRS to make use of certain schools over the World Cup, when the organisation ran Holiday Camps to keep youth active.

However, there is still no MOU between GRS and the schools that they frequent during term time, and this remains a stumbling block. For example at one high school, GRS ran programs effectively for 6 months but this good work has been put on hold since the arrival of a new principal, who was opposed to the Skillz Curriculum. He demanded an MOU and wanted the DoE to approve the work of GRS. With no MOU in place, and without formal approval from the department yet, the coaches have had to stop working at this school (Lembethe, 2009).

Both the Assistant Site Co-ordinator and the Community Project Co-ordinator agreed that getting the curriculum approved by the DoE “*would open a lot of doors*” (Mondi, 2009). It would make working with the schools much easier, since principals are often reluctant to allow NGOs into their schools, and even when they do, this often requires a great deal of paperwork and bureaucracy. Government backing would speed up this process and make it a lot more difficult for schools to turn down the GRS interventions. When pressed on whether working with the state could compromise their work, both co-ordinators agreed the possible benefits of a partnership would outweigh any disadvantages. Thus dealing with a conceptual challenge (as noted earlier) could reduce organisational resistance from schools.

5.3.2 Monitoring and Evaluation

Most of the schools surveyed professed a desire for regular feedback from GRS. At the end of each curriculum, learners do complete a questionnaire which provides GRS with an idea of the progress they have made. However, somewhat bizarrely, these results are usually not communicated to the schools themselves. It would be useful for teachers to understand the progress students are making through the Skillz Curriculum and would also help GRS cement their position in schools if the schools themselves are aware of the benefits of the programme. The need for some sort of meaningful evaluation is illustrated by the quote below:

“Just one thing I am asking for is the assessment. We need to know the learners’ problems so we can help them. Also if Grassroots can show us proof of their performance then it will help us to continue with them next year. They must please share this information.” (Teacher, Primary School, Khayelitsha)

5.3.3 Conflict between Coaches and Teachers - Lack of Co-operation from School Staff

Teachers often feel threatened by GRS coaches and refuse them access to their classroom even though there exists an agreement between the school and GRS. Furthermore, school staff often claim that the coaches are a distraction, interrupting their learning time and getting the children excited and noisy with the promise of exercise, as shown by the quote below.

“The teachers think we will take their jobs and they see that the students like us. Sometimes they get angry with us. But we are not teachers so we cannot take their jobs.” (Anonymous Coach)

“The principal told us he doesn’t want to see us walking in the school grounds between periods, but we

often have to take the children from the class to the field. They are kids, they make noise and then the teachers get angry and say we are a bad influence” (Anonymous Coach, Football for Hope Centre)

Coaches also felt that teachers did not respect them, and they were undermined because of their age and culture. They argued *“having a white person with us will help because they are from a different culture”* (Coaches, 2010). The coaches do have certificates as proof of their training, but they could not carry this around with them everywhere. They claimed it would be better to have an ID card (maybe around their necks) showing their affiliation to GRS.

Normally teachers are not present during the LO sessions conducted by GRS. Coaches claim this is beneficial because learners are more likely to open up and speak about sensitive issues if the teacher is absent. But on the other hand, the lack of an authority figure means the kids are often unruly and ill-disciplined, showing less respect to the younger, less official coaches. Since the teachers do not generally witness the Skillz sessions, they do not understand the value of the programme and regard it as something secondary to their classes. Coaches feel they are often viewed with suspicion and there is a perceived distrust from some teachers.

5.3.4 Lack of support and training from Co-ordinators

As explained earlier, coaches feel disrespected by the more senior staff that are meant to guide them. According to an external report by IMPACT Consulting (2009: 42), the coaches in Cape Town feel undervalued and do not get enough support from the master coaches and site coordinators. The master coach is involved in training of coaches and occasional site

visits, but these are infrequent. Coaches have indicated a need for more regular feedback and emotional support, especially due to the sensitive and often personal nature of the material.

In this research, coaches expressed similar sentiments. After the initial sessions, coaches feel discarded and would like additional training (e.g. First Aid) to become better coaches. They feel the initial 9-day training is insufficient, for them to be true mentors and effective coaches. Special training on counselling was required, so that the coaches could read psychological 'signs' and understand how to get children to open up effectively. They also showed a desire for training to improve their communication – '*getting the message across*'.

“We finally did a First Aid Course, but we weren't given a first aid kit, just a mask. I mean what is the point? We complained and they ask us to write an Action Plan – what is that? And then after this, they said it will take 1 to 2 years for the changes. That is too long for the kids, we know cos we go to the schools. These things must be better quickly” (Anonymous Coach, Football for Hope Centre)

However, there are some good practices in place. The site co-ordinators do make occasional visits to the schools to monitor coaches, and are required to fill out a Coach Support Visit Form (see Appendices). Then after this visit, the relevant co-ordinator sits down with the coaches, praises them and gives feedback as to how the session could be improved. The coaches are also given a chance to rate themselves and provide their thoughts on the session. This Behaviour Based Coaching is a great catalyst for the coaches to improve their training.

In line with this, coaches complained they are always told to put their complaints in writing, and this not only takes up their time but delays the process. They claimed that their issues are never dealt with, as everything gets wrapped up in bureaucracy, as illustrated below.

“We face many problems, each and every day, working with the children. Not once has a problem been resolved, not once. They always ask us to put it in writing, in black and white, but we don’t have the time. Why can’t they just listen to us? I wrote a letter many months ago and have not heard anything. If we give something to them, we don’t get back.” (Anonymous Coach, Football for Hope Centre)

5.3.5 Finding New Schools

Coaches are meant to be responsible for locating the schools in which they work, ideally meaning they coach in the community where they live, and in finding new schools to deliver the curriculum. But they claim the co-ordinators do not support them enough in their efforts and this sentiment is illustrated in the following quote.

“We went to a Primary School in Gugulethu and they wanted us to work there. We told our co-ordinator (Gcina) but he didn’t call them, after we told him to.” (Anonymous Coach)

5.3.6 High Turnover of Coaches

While co-ordinators claim that the number of coaches declined from 35 in 2009 to 18 in 2010 due to these volunteers finding other opportunities, some current coaches claim many of them left because they were unhappy (Coaches, 2010). Again this underlines a lack of trust and transparency between the coaches and co-ordinators. Whatever the case, the high turnover of

coaches does not bode well for an organisation trying to achieve sustainable change. With GRS having provided training and invested in these coaches, and with these coaches having built relationships with schools, it is a case of ‘back to square one’ when these coaches leave. And unless they are promoted to the post of Master Coach, it is unlikely coaches will commit to GRS for the foreseeable future as all of them intimated they would leave for a ‘proper job’.

“I will stay being a coach if I have nothing to do. It gives me some direction. But if another opportunity comes, I take it. I will do anything to get a better job.” (Anonymous Coach, Football for Hope Centre)

The coaches are essentially volunteers, earning a basic stipend of R50 (half-day) and R80 (full day) with their transport costs also covered. This is not enough for them to support themselves, so it is understandable that they would leave should more lucrative opportunities emerge. As volunteers, the coaches have little obligation to remain in the programme, or even complete the 9-week curriculum in a certain school. For example, a female coach has taken time out “*to attend to matters at home*” and was thus unavailable for interviews. This creates a lack of continuity and can adversely affect the programme delivery and sustainability.

5.3.7 Conflicting functions of Cape Town Office

The Cape Town office is relatively new and less established than that of Port Elizabeth though it carries a greater range of responsibilities. Cape Town staff are responsible for more than just delivering the Skillz Curriculum in schools, as they are involved in running the Football for Hope Centre. The Cape Town office is also the global headquarters of GRS and is thus meant to oversee a range of activities such as curriculum development, measurement

and evaluations, strategic development and financial management (Grassroot Soccer, 2007). These conflicting functions compete for time and resources in the same office, leading to confusion while certain staff members clearly feel overwhelmed, as illustrated by the quote.

“We only have one site coordinator and one assistant site coordinator. Whereas if you look at other sites for instance in PE which has a site coordinator, a master coach, and two assistant site coordinators and its only Skillz in PE – there is no 11 for Health in PE, there is no Football for Hope in PE. So I would say that that was the thing.” (IMPACT, 2009: 43)

5.4 Technical Challenges

These technical challenges are more logistical in nature, ranging from time constraints within the school curriculum to environmental challenges, safety, crime and transport issues as well as coach remuneration and the linguistic difficulties of utilising an English-based curriculum.

5.4.1 Time and Schedule Issues

Unsurprisingly, time is a major issue for the coaches. The Skillz sessions are each 45 minutes long, yet some schools only have 30 minutes set aside for Life Orientation, while others dedicate an hour to this – there seems to be no reason for this discrepancy. Often teachers are behind in their work and use the LO session to catch up with the learners, making the coaches redundant. Often the sessions get interrupted with students leaving for Art class and other obligations. At one school, a combination of only 30 minutes and constant interruptions meant that coaches were still on Practice 1 in their 3rd session, as shown by the quote below.

“We only have 30 minutes – it is too short. So we asked the teachers for 5-10 minutes more time and they said yes. But then they go to the staff room and complain to others that we are stealing their period even though we agreed. I know because the principal came to me during my coaching session and complained while I was busy with the children.” (Anonymous Coach, Kwamfundo High School)

To compound the fact that the LO sessions are not standardised at each school, there are also different timetables for different schools. While some schools operate from Monday to Friday on a five-day schedule, others use a 7-day timetable which makes life confusing for coaches. Exams also complicate matters as normal classes, such as Life Orientation, fall away and schools end earlier, leaving no time for the Skillz sessions. In one instance, the researcher and coaches were due to conduct a session but were turned away by the relevant teacher, because exams were coming up on Monday and she was behind in her schedule. As such some classes are more advanced than others in the 9-week programme, despite the fact that learners are meant to graduate from the Skillz Curriculum at the same time. This is clearly problematic.

The option of continuing the sessions after school was raised, but this raises other logistical problems. Coaches agreed that learners were too busy after school (picking up younger siblings, cleaning the house, doing homework etc.), and that parents would be opposed to this initiative. Thus while extra-mural sessions could help coaches complete the programme in due time, it *“would not be good for the kids”*. Weekends were proposed as a more suitable alternative for all parties concerned, though again this is difficult to organise.

5.4.2 Suitability of the Skillz Curriculum

The Skillz curriculum is written in English, despite the fact that this is not the first language of most coaches, or most learners for that matter. Most of the Cape Town coaches believe the curriculum should be translated into other indigenous languages. However, this raises cultural issues and meaning may be lost in translation. In fact, an external survey showed that coaches in Port Elizabeth generally felt English was the best language for delivery since it allowed learners to talk about topics like sex and HIV/AIDS which would otherwise be taboo in their mother tongue (IMPACT, 2009: 43).

Upon observation of the sessions, it is clear that boys find most of the activities easier than girls, as soccer is something they are more familiar with. While there is nothing wrong with the girls playing, and becoming familiar with the sport, it might be a good idea to introduce other exercises that girls find easier (e.g. netball, handball etc.). The wearing of skirts also makes it more difficult or inappropriate for girls to do some of the exercises (e.g. push-ups).

GRS have completed their work at certain schools, finishing the 9-week curriculum for all Grade 6 and 7 classes. While schools often want GRS to continue, their curriculum currently only serves Grades 6 and 7 in primary schools (and Grades 8 and 9 in High Schools). Thus GRS cannot deliver any more interventions until the following year. Furthermore, the Grade 7 class in 2011 will have already done the curriculum in 2010, so only the new Grade 6 class will be available. The fact that GRS only has one curriculum – Skillz 1.01 – is a major problem since learners are engaged for just 9 weeks and only once during their school life.

5.4.3 Safety, Transport and Money Issues

GRS coaches are given a transport stipend, but agitated for bicycles to be provided, since this would be a cheaper and more efficient form of transport. *“Let us use the (Toyota) Avanzas!”* one of the coaches agitated, underlining their frustration at being treated like inferiors. They also felt unsafe walking to and from schools with all their equipment (balls, cones, bibs etc.).

Unsurprisingly payment was a major concern for the coaches, who argued that they *“have to debate and fight for their money every time”*. They complained about not getting paid on time (every two weeks), when they desperately need the stipend and cannot wait any longer.

5.4.4 Environmental Challenges

While the focus of the research is more on the structural challenges facing these NGOs in their sport for development initiatives, it is worth briefly noting the logistical obstacles they may face. Weather conditions can hamper the delivery of the activity, especially relevant in Cape Town where gale-force winds wreak havoc with the coaches' plans. The state of the playing field is often poor and learners often have to make do with tarmac, sand or very uneven surfaces, which hamper the session. The bloated size of classes is another major problem. By targeting underprivileged schools in Cape Town, coaches have to deal with about 50 students per class, meaning that instead of working together, coaches have to work with half a class each, hindering the quality of the training, as shown by the quote below.

“A class you find out it has about 50 kids and then each coach has been allocated to work with 20 kids, and we’ve decided to have one bag per coach. So it makes it difficult for the coaches to implement very well because so far they only have one bag and then there are two balls for activities such as ‘Find the ball’ – imagine if you’ve got only two balls in the bag and then you have 50 kids to work with. So that’s another challenge – the equipment so far it’s a challenge.” (IMPACT, 2009: 43)

The site co-ordinators acknowledged that maintaining equipment was a major concern as coaches frequently lose kit or do not look after it very well. A new agreement with the coaches means they are meant to reimburse GRS for any lost equipment but so far this has yet to be implemented. Another problem is security at the schools – usually the gate is locked to prevent learners from leaving early, especially during break times, and the coaches often have to wait for 5-10 minutes for security to let them in, losing valuable time. Furthermore after break times, students are often extremely late for class, again hindering the session.

5.5 Impact of GRS

Despite these challenges, most school staff seem generally satisfied with the contribution of GRS. One Life Orientation Co-ordinator praised the coaches for motivating and educating learners, and for helping them to understand health issues. At this school, the principal and relevant teachers were briefed by the site co-ordinators on the Skillz Curriculum and thus were aware of the GRS concept before the first session started. None have complained so far.

“The kids like GRS. You can see they have fun in the classes. But it also helps them to open up. I can see they have a lot more knowledge about HIV and the coaches can clarify things. With no PE teacher, this helps the children stay healthy and active” (LO Co-ordinator, Primary School, Cape Town)

However, it is possible that school staff are happy with GRS because by delivering the LO session, the GRS coaches are effectively letting teachers off the hook. It is important that schools do not become dependent on this organisation and are able to effectively deliver their own LO and physical activity sessions. This point will be explored in detail in the discussion.

5.6 Summary

It is clear that GRS are assisting schools with the provision of physical activity and sport (and HIV/AIDS education) during classroom hours. However, this approach may be problematic and faces many challenges, which need to be investigated in detail if the organisation is to genuinely contribute to development and education within the South African school system.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

It is clear that GRS and EMEP face a broad range of challenges when it comes to using sport for development in schools. Certain challenges are common to both organisations while others are not. Even more importantly, while the findings are based on a case study of just two non-profit organisations and one cannot generalise widely, there may be an element of truth in these findings for organisations of a similar nature. Even government would do well to heed the results when it comes to reviewing its policy on sport in schools. Thus while the two NGOs are markedly different as illustrated by the table below this should be seen as a strength of research, as the findings may then surely be relevant for a greater range of actors.

Table 6.1 Differences between GRS and EMEP

GRASSROOT SOCCER	EXTRA-MURAL EDUCATION PROJECT
Large, international organisation	Small, locally based organisation
Works across Africa and Latin America	Works only in the Western Cape
Only urban schools in Cape Town area	Urban and Rural schools in Western Cape
Use sport for development in schools	Use extra-murals for development in schools
Only soccer and HIV/AIDS education	Extra-murals include a range of sports & activities
Developed a specific Skillz Curriculum	Developed a range of training sessions
Delivers curriculum to learners	Delivers training to teachers/educators
Works only with Grades 6-9 (teenagers)	Seeks to benefit all levels of school youth
Only works during LO – classroom hours	Promotes extra-murals – usually after hours
Delivers the curriculum itself through coaches	Does not deliver – trains teachers to deliver
Pays coaches for delivering the curriculum	Does not pay teachers, but offers skills training
Independent of govt, funded by external donors	Partnership with govt, Western Cape Education Dept

In this discussion, common trends and challenges will be analysed in the backdrop of the relevant debates in the literature, for it is important to compare the empirical data with the broader theoretical underpinnings as well as evidence from other countries and contexts. Naturally, it will prove useful to make some recommendations for the organisations surveyed as well as more general recommendations on how to improve the state of sport in schools, from both a government perspective as well as the perspective of the education sector itself.

6.2 Sport for Development in Schools

Sport no longer seems to be “*the forgotten right*” (United Nations, 2003) as governments, aid agencies and sporting institutions worldwide proclaim the right of every individual to take part in sport and physical activity. Not only do numerous documents, emanating from high-profile sources such as the United Nations and the International Olympic Committee, declare that sport is a fundamental human right, it is also seen as necessary for the development of youth and indeed all members of modern society. It seems that sport has been brought in from the touchline to occupy a more prominent stage in development circles, with the potential benefits of sports participation being extolled and often over-exaggerated. There are many such as Coalter (2010) who question this “*evangelical rhetoric*” which seems to unite the diverse range of sport for development actors. It is important to recognise that sport is not inherently positive, or negative, but can have either impact depending on the context and manner in which it is implemented. It is this more critical approach that has resulted in the growing debate – Sport Plus vs Plus Sport – as to whether sport is a medium or a message.

It is imperative that one does not generalise about the sport for development movement as it involves a range of governmental and non-governmental actors from different sectors with different approaches to a wide variety of problems. Kidd (2008: 376) argues that this loose coalition or movement is “*still in its infancy, woefully underfunded, completely unregulated, poorly planned and co-ordinated and largely isolated from mainstream development efforts*”. This uncoordinated approach undermines the latest attempts to enter the development arena.

However, even the most cynical observer would admit that sport CAN play a positive role within the education system, not only promoting health but instilling morals and core values. The marginalisation of Physical Education in schools worldwide can be linked to increasing levels of non-activity (Hardman and Marshall, 1999) and this is especially relevant in South Africa – since PE was replaced as a stand-alone subject in 2004, obesity and ill-health have increased notably among learners (Draper et al, 2010) while academic performance has in fact worsened over the same period (Thomson, 2010)! In South Africa this is exacerbated by the sad reality that most youth have inadequate opportunities to play sport, making the availability of school sport even more crucial. However, many schools lack the necessary resources and are therefore struggling to provide sporting opportunities for their learners.

There is no doubt that the South African government realises the enormity of this task and is fully committed, in principle at least, to improving the state of sport in schools. This research would suggest that the state has largely failed to deliver on its promises making the role of non-profit organisations even more important. But as this case study has shown, NGOs and other civil society actors must work in such a way as to compliment government, rather than

replace or neutralise the state apparatus. It is more advisable for NGOs to hold government accountable and ensure improved policy making than trying to beat them at their own game.

- **Understanding Development? Using Experts from other Disciplines**

While sport has recently entered the development arena, it is still somewhat isolated from more established and mainstream efforts. For sport to genuinely effect social change, it needs to be evaluated relative to other engines of development (Levermore, 2008: 189). Sports experts need to be complimented by experts in education, health, peace building, gender, HIV/Aids and so on, if their work is to truly result in the achievement of development goals.

Grassroot Soccer has excelled in this respect by consulting HIV/Aids experts and ensuring their research is up to date and culturally relevant. Each coach is trained in the Skillz Curriculum and educated about HIV/Aids as well as how best to communicate these messages to youth. GRS consults HIV prevention experts such as Martha Brady, Douglas Kirby, Thomas Coates, and Helen Epstein. For example, Epstein, author of *The Invisible Cure: Africa, The West, and the Fight Against AIDS*, comments that "*Grassroot Soccer reaches large numbers of young people with HIV education, and bases its programs on the best available evidence.*" (Grassroot Soccer, 2007) And where GRS really stands out is that they use experts on behaviour change, such as Albert Bandura. This is crucial because it is all very well raising awareness about social issues, but it means little without a tangible impact.

Furthermore the GRS Skillz curriculum was formulated in conjunction with the US Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, the Zimbabwean Ministry of Education, and a range of

medical and public health experts. The programme also conforms to the standards set by the World Health Organisation regarding school-based interventions and remains the preferred method of delivery for many partners (e.g. Mercy Corps) doing their own projects in Africa.

EMEP has followed suit by employing sports practitioners to deliver this part of their extra-curricular training, and they also work in conjunction with the government-sponsored sports assistants who have been placed in schools. EMEP does not focus on a single issue such as HIV/AIDS so they do not consult health experts but their staff boasts years of experience working within the South African education system, making them well placed to work in schools. Their education experts will inform and structure the programmes they co-ordinate.

However, one could argue that both organisations, which are relatively new, are actually sabotaging their very goals by diverting funds away from local development (Mills, 2009). There is no doubt that GRS have done excellent work in southern Africa, but has this come at the expense of community-based organisations? GRS has been selected by FIFA to operate the first Football for Hope Centre in Khayelitsha, a new construction commissioned by football's leading body. But would it not have been more appropriate for FIFA to partner with a community organisation and get their input before erecting this multi-purpose facility?

GRS is funded primarily by PEPFAR (part of USAID) and other international donors.

Furthermore, it may be headquartered in Cape Town, but the organisation is very much American in character with its founding offices in the USA, and 3 of its 4 managing directors

coming from the States. Many of the senior staff hail from the USA and this is problematic, since they are far removed from African communities - an unequal North-South divide.

EMEP is an interesting case for it does not fit neatly into either category. It is certainly not an international NGO since it operates only in the Western Cape, nor is it a community-based organisation. However, EMEP does work closely with schools and a range of community actors, setting up Development Desks in the relevant areas. While EMEP has received state support, it does empower schools to secure their own funding. It also partners with the sports assistants sponsored by government, and its partnership approach makes it well suited to both understanding and meeting the needs of these schools and communities (Cooper, 2010).

6.3 NGOs Working with the State

Is it important to note that while GRS and EMEP, and other similar organisations, are doing a fantastic job in helping schools provide and manage their sporting activities in the light of a lack of sporting support from the state, they must not assume the same role as government. As hard as they try, these organisations do not have the same capacity as the state and are often dependent on government in some form or another (e.g. EMEP). While NGOs may be more flexible and responsive and have shown an ability to deliver in situations where the state has struggled, they cannot, and must not, take over government's service delivery role. As Kidd (2008: 378) explains "*While there will always be a role for NGOs, governments must take the lead*" in sport-for-development. Unfortunately this advice is not often heeded.

As explained earlier, in South Africa the responsibility for school sport falls squarely upon the shoulders of the Education Department, though Sport and Recreation are expected to lead the way when it comes to organising inter-provincial, national and international competitions. Therefore NGOs, and other civil society actors, should not expect, or be expected, to plug the gap left behind by dysfunctional departments, as this simply lets state officials off the hook. Not only do these NGOs not have the means to do this it is also not sustainable. Most of these organisations depend on external funding and cannot guarantee that their projects will run ad infinitum, while the state can make a longer-term commitment to providing sport in schools.

The likes of GRS must not get carried away with training and providing their own coaches in schools - this gives the state free rein to leave them to their own devices. GRS, and other such organisations, must engage government in a support and advocacy role (SDPIWG, 2007). NGOs need to make parents and the public aware of the challenges facing sport in schools to press for greater government support and involvement. This new envisaged role for NGOs will depend not only on state support but on these organisations' willingness to take a step back and engage the state and other stakeholders, rather than taking a territorial approach and holding fiercely onto 'ownership' of their respective projects. Partnerships are thus crucial.

Government needs to play a role in this regard by raising the profile of sport. According to teachers, the amount of administration has increased despite promises to the contrary, and this is centred on academic performance. The state runs all sort of workshops designed to improve the level of teaching and achieve better academic results, especially an improved Matric pass rate. However, in this narrow-minded perspective sport takes a backseat and the

holistic development of the learner is ignored in preference of a results-driven approach, when in fact sport and physical activity can enhance academic performance (Bailey, 2006).

Partnering with government is a catch-22 situation for many civil society organisations as it may empower them with funding and resources but it may limit their independence and lead to bureaucracy and even conflict (Swilling & Russell, 2002). While GRS and EMEP have differing relationships with government, both organisations do realise the need to work with the state organs in order to access sustainable funding and broaden the scope of their work. Perhaps it is because they recognise, as Coalter (2010) states: “*they are not simple substitutes for the state, and can only really thrive to the extent that the state actively encourages them.*”

Government officials who contributed to this research did generally welcome the efforts of these NGOs, though there were divided views on their respective impacts. One of the key challenges facing both parties is the need to maintain constant communication, since petty politics and hidden agendas as well as misconceptions, may often undermine the relationship. From a policy perspective, the government appears to welcome partnerships with NGOS, stating that it does expect NGOs to assist them in “*expanding access to social and economic services that create jobs and eradicate poverty*” (Barnard & Terreblanche, 2001). Thus it would appear that the state extends a welcoming arm to non-profit organisations, but in truth the reality of working with government can also lead to a danger of such organisations being co-opted and losing their original focus. This is clearly a fine line to tread for both parties.

6.4 Raising the Profile of Sport

As intimated above, the state, sport for development organisations and educators themselves must ensure that sport and physical exercise are taken seriously at schools and assume an equal footing to other classes, whether they take place during Life Orientation or as extra-murals. Sports activities during school hours are often replaced with extra classes, especially when teachers are behind schedule. And when it comes to extra-murals, sport often takes a backseat to homework classes as academic achievement is privileged above physical activity.

The state needs to realise that the current focus on academic achievement, and literacy and numeracy above all else, does not allow for the holistic development of learners. Children must be given the opportunity to play sport, both during and after school, and government must ensure sports co-ordinators and coaches are provided with the necessary support. As indicated earlier, exposure to sport at school does increase the likelihood of involvement in later life (SRSA, 2009). Bailey (2006) indicates that physical education and sport contribute to the physical development and movement skills of youth, which are necessary attributes for participation in later lifestyle and sport or physical activities. Beyond the playing field itself, participation can develop social skills, boost self-esteem, engender more favourable attitudes to school attitudes and contribute to academic and cognitive development (Bailey, 2006: 397), despite the assumption that sport undermines academic achievement. Thus sport can result in both short and long term benefits given the right settings and proper implementation.

Educators likewise must recognise their responsibility in providing sport opportunities for learners. Many of them are not good role models, not physically healthy or active, not trained

in sport (Edas, 2010) and not even able to exercise. While youth are the first priority, there is a need to promote sport and activity among teachers and parents too! It is essential that educators realise the benefits of physical activity and understand that playing sport at school is not merely a light-hearted game, an escape from the classroom, but can improve learners' health, well-being and academic performance, not only in their youth but throughout life.

6.5 Scope of Sport in Schools

Most schools in South Africa tends to concentrate their resources and time into the most popular sports – such as cricket, rugby, soccer, netball, tennis, hockey and athletics (BMI Sport Info, 2007). While this is understandable, there is a need for schools, the state and NGOs (who have taken a lead in this respect) to include a greater range of activities and be more innovative in the way these sports are presented, rather than always adhering to the traditional coaching model. Youth need to be given the opportunity to engage in sports that have traditionally been marginalised (e.g. indigenous games) and combining sport with life skills (as NGOs like GRS seek to do) can ensure an exercise of participation and learning.

EMEP takes a much broader approach than GRS to activities in schools. Not only do they encourage a range of extra-murals, including sports, arts and crafts, drama and music, they also encourage a variety of sports, including soccer, volleyball, handball, cricket, rugby etc. Grassroot Soccer, on the other hand, is focused exclusively on football and HIV/AIDS and could do well to widen its scope, as these are not always the most important issues. Van Eekeren (2006: 9) poses the question that others would rather not: "*In which circumstances is HIV/AIDS education important, in which circumstances is it appropriate to use sport as a*

tool and in which circumstances would other tools better serve the purpose? For the time being, it seems not to be in the actors' interests to pose and answer such critical questions."

In another example of good practice, EMEP has made a concerted attempt to link extra-murals with classroom subjects (e.g. getting the Science teacher to tell students about extra-murals at the Science Centre or introducing photography classes in arts and culture) so that there is some cohesion between what happens during, and after, normal school hours. Much research does indicate that sports participation can have the greatest influence on youth and physical activity "*when programs combine classroom study with activity*" (Dale et al, 1998).

6.6 NGOs Working in Schools

It is clear that there are many areas of conflict between the schools and the organisations that are trying to help them optimise their sports activities. Many of these are due to a lack of understanding and unrealistic expectations on the part of both parties. This is not uncommon as NPOs often tend to exaggerate their impact, maybe successfully convincing donors but less convincing to the very people they are meant to serve. NPOs claim they "*serve those in greatest need*" (Swilling & Russell, 2002: 90) but surely a service delivery role is beyond many such organisations. In fact, many NGOs claim to be mistakenly seen as providers while simultaneously making these grandiose claims, leaving the beneficiaries somewhat confused.

In this study, virtually all schools surveyed indicated a need for greater support from the two NGOs, especially in terms of providing resources. However, the primary mandate of these

organisations is to provide training (EMEP) and education (GRS), not simply to hand over equipment or build new fields. The schools misunderstand the role and capacity of the NGOs, when it is the state that should provide the requisite infrastructure and resources for sport. The South African government does call on every organ of the state “*to promote, support and enhance the capacity of NPOs to perform their functions*” (Swilling & Russell, 2002: 77), merely illustrating that these organisations can work most effectively in conjunction with the state. The sooner schools, NGOs and government realise their interdependence, the better.

In this regard, it is important to note that EMEP are currently in the process of changing the focus of their programme. Due to the imminent withdrawal of funding by the WCED, as explained earlier, as well as an external evaluation, EMEP have decided to concentrate more on supporting schools than training teachers (Thaw, 2010). Since training forms a large part of EMEP’s expenses, this shift is necessary due to the end of the government contract. In the long run, EMEP does intend to continue training teachers and proceed with a 3rd intake of schools. But even if the organisation were to get further funding, they might have to fulfil a different mandate than that given to them by the Education Department. EMEP, like many other NGOs, is dependent not only on funding but on the mandate of funders themselves.

However, according to EMEP staff the shift in approach is even more motivated by the fact that schools indicated a need for greater and more varied support than simply receiving training and occasional monitoring and evaluation from EMEP. The organisation will therefore focus on making sure this training is actually implemented in schools over the next two years. EMEP will hence only work with schools that have already joined the programme, especially trying to uplift the project in schools which have struggled thus far. This is largely

because an external evaluation showed that while the select teachers benefitted greatly from the training, these benefits were not passed down to other educators and the school as a whole, thereby undermining EMEP's objective of transforming the school structure. Thus the organisation will start a period of consolidation, working with current schools to ensure all teachers feel part of the programme and that it is implemented as effectively as possible (Brown & Cooper, 2010). This is important because it shows that EMEP does recognise its weaknesses and is willing to transform its programme to meet social realities of the schools.

Sadly in this whole analysis, we find that sport is being marginalised yet again. With the increased focus on literacy and numeracy, EMEP has had little option but to offer greater academic support during school hours and in addition, ensure that its extra-mural activities are more academic in nature. Hence reading and homework classes replace sport sessions.

Here the Education Department and EMEP would do well to recognise that sport can have a positive effect on academic achievement. An evaluation in French schools in the early 1950s replaced 26% of 'academic' curriculum time with 'sport and physical education' time but academic results remained constant. Furthermore, discipline problems, absenteeism and inattentiveness all notably decreased. More recent research has demonstrated that academic performance is often improved, and at the very least maintained, when more time is set aside for sport at the expense of traditional classroom time (Bailey, 2006, 399).

6.6.1 Relationship between NGOs and the Schools

In the newly emerging field of sport for development, it appears many actors fail to provide a clear framework for collaboration with the intended beneficiaries (Kidd, 2008). While their intentions may be honourable and both parties may agree to an intervention in principle, there is a need to move away from an informal and seemingly charitable relationship to one which is not only sustainable but can be implemented, regulated and evaluated in an official sense.

In this study, central to the lack of understanding between NGOs and the schools they work in is the fact that there is not often a formal agreement between the parties involved. A signed MOU between the organisations and schools is essential. Not only will it formalise the relationship and create less problems for coaches, it will also mean that changes in staff (especially principal) will not impact the programmes. In addition, an MOU will ensure the schools are more invested in the relevant projects, giving them an obligation to ensure things run smoothly. It can also ensure the NGO maintains an exclusive relationship with the school, preventing other organisations from duplicating their work or competing for the same time.

In this regard, GRS would do well to follow the lead of EMEP who sign a Commitment Form with each school. This form (see Appendices) involves a joint commitment for both parties. The school agrees to allow EMEP to deliver training to its selected teachers and gives EMEP staff permission to visit the school and monitor extra-murals. EMEP on the other hand is obliged to provide training to the school and support the school for the next two years. Furthermore the EMDPs trained by EMEP are obliged to stay at the school for two years to ensure the project is sustainable and they can pass their skills onto the other teachers.

With regard to GRS, it is important that coaches feel some obligation to finish the 9-week programme, as it can be disrupting for learners if a coach leaves since they form personal relationships. Perhaps delaying payment till the programme is over or offering a bonus upon completion of all sessions would be good measures to keep them motivated and involved.

6.6.2 During School or After School?

Whether to deliver sports during classroom hours or in the afternoon has stimulated heated debate within the sporting and school systems. It is generally accepted that sport and physical education at schools remain "*the main societal institution for the development of physical skills and the provision of physical activity in children and young people*" (Bailey, 2006: 398). There is simply no other way to target the same number of children in a structured, supportive and safe environment as through the institutionalised school system. Schools are also subject to fewer external pressures than sport clubs or federations, more inclusive and, as explained earlier, can improve their impact by linking activities with the school curriculum.

By working during school hours, GRS is able to convey its message to the majority of school children, unlike EMEP which reaches a select few through its extra-mural programme. EMEP should consider introducing some of its extra-mural activities into the Life Orientation period while GRS could also consider providing Skillz interventions on the weekends and after hours, but only after notifying parents since they may not be aware of these initiatives.

Likewise, EMEP should certainly not transfer its entire extra-mural curriculum into the Life Orientation period as this would undermine the organisations' attempt to turn schools into community hubs. While fewer learners attend extra-murals than compulsory classes, this does not mean they should be scrapped. It is vital that learners do not merely finish school in the early afternoon and have nothing to do, as this increases the likelihood of deviant behaviour from alcohol and drug abuse to crime and adds to a lack of motivation (SDPIWG, 2007). By running extra-murals, schools can become community hubs, allowing their learners and community members to access their resources (e.g. playing fields) and activities (e.g. soccer practice). In this sense, GRS does not succeed since its curriculum is limited to school hours.

One EMEP school surveyed has successfully managed to combine the school timetable with an extra-mural activity. By lengthening the regular day by just half an hour each Monday and Wednesday, the school has set aside an Extra-Mural Hour scheduled for every Wednesday. This hour is compulsory for all learners and has had a massive positive impact on students, according to the Head of Sport (Arendse, 2010). Not only does it mean that children who are unable to remain after hours can enjoy sport and other extra-murals, it also allows learners to broaden their horizons by sampling other activities. For example, teachers encourage learners who normally play soccer to try their hand at volleyball, or even arts and crafts. This is one of the creative ways in which schools can adjust their timetable to involve learners in sport.

Creative timetabling is encouraged by EMEP as a way for schools to meet both academic and extra-mural targets. Provided schools meet certain minimum requirements of the Department of Education (e.g. number of contact hours) they can structure their timetable as they wish.

As Cooper (2010) explained: "*If it was up to EMEP, the school day would start at 6am with a*

Breakfast Club where learners are taught about nutrition, followed by jogging and certain life skills. Lessons would then start, with an extra-mural hour sandwiched in between. After school, learners can engage in sport, art and crafts. When the parents arrive, they can be involved in continuing education while their children do extra homework classes.” While this utopia places too much demand on teachers and the school system, it is an articulation of the way EMEP envisages schools as community hubs which cater for a range of learners’ needs.

It is clear that working during and after school both have their respective merits. However, most studies seem to agree that while after-school programmes may be more innovative, they generally report high drop-out rates and show a far less significant improvement in physical activity among youth than school-based curricular programmes (Jago & Baranowski, 2004).

6.6.3 Training, Support and Site Visits

As sport for development is a new, emerging and relatively uncoordinated field (Kidd, 2008), many initiatives are being conducted in the field which not only take a positivist view of sport but also fail to properly monitor and evaluate the impact of their work. Merely providing figures and proving results are not sufficient as they assume a clear bias towards the stated objectives (Coalter, 2010). Furthermore, organisations need to provide clear and regular support to the communities in question – it is no different with these NGOs and their schools.

EMEP provides training to educators, empowering them to manage and deliver extra-murals but such investments need to occur more regularly, as most schools had not received further

training for a number of years. Furthermore, the need to compress training means teachers cannot attend all the workshops – either conduct these training sessions more regularly or ensure that all teachers can attend all workshops. Teachers often complained that EMEP was all theory and they needed more practical skills. Broadening the training, or better still partnering with government, to include courses such as 1st Aid, refereeing, basic physical education (seeing as most teachers are not trained to deliver PE) would be a good practice. Of course, EMEP has now decided to shift its focus from training to support, in order to ensure the benefits of training are enjoyed by all school staff and ultimately transferred to learners.

EMEP uses the ‘train a trainer’ approach, which is much more sustainable than simply handing out sports kit. However, it is all very well training the trainer but even the best trainer cannot coach sport without a playing field and proper equipment. GRS are even more limited in scope since they use their own coaches and equipment without providing any expertise to the school. Thus, these schools do not have adequate resources for sport and while this is not the responsibility of NGOs, it may be advisable for these organisations to help the schools lobby government and business for the necessary resources. As one sports teacher (2010) so eloquently put it: “*We need more resources to make EMEP really work.*”

This top-down approach, whereby an organisation such as EMEP, decides on and provides a training programme for a school, certainly smacks of cultural imperialism and does not give educators a chance to give their input. Perhaps even more prescriptive is GRS who deliver their intervention in schools without giving educators the chance to be involved themselves. The likes of Giulianotti (2004) would argue that this neo-colonial approach to sport is deeply problematic and undermines real development, instead turning local people into dependents.

6.6.4 Inclusion or Exclusion? Involving all School Staff

Social inclusion is often proclaimed as a benefit of sports participation, as the exercise allows people to bridge divides and connect on the field, despite racial, ethnic, class, gender and other differences. In this light, sport can help build community networks thus functioning as a form of social capital (Coalter, 2010). However, we cannot discount the opposite effect – sport can, and does, systematically exclude certain people, such as women, the elderly and those with physical disabilities. Sport often does reflect, and even contributes to the exclusion of these marginalised groups (Bailey, 2006) – this is something all actors must keep in mind. As Keim (2006: 5) points out: "*Sport programmes can take us forward as a nation, but if not properly conceived and managed, can reinforce old prejudices, stereotypes and divisions.*"

While GRS and EMEP seek to provide sports opportunities to marginalised school youth they have excluded a large number of educators in the process. As such, they both face resistance from teachers and one way to overcome this would be to involve all school staff in their programmes. Both NGOs would do well to organise an introductory session (maybe during break time) for all school staff to attend, before they begin any interventions or partnerships. Then teachers can understand the rationale for any programmes and can decide whether to participate. By keeping staff in the loop, these NGOs are more likely to have their support.

GRS actually delivers in schools through their coaches, thus it would be useful for these coaches to be introduced to all staff members. It would also be useful for GRS to provide schools with a copy of their Skillz manual, so teachers can understand their sessions and

perhaps even integrate the lessons learnt into their classes. This would prevent Skillz sessions from functioning as a stand-alone class, as teachers would be able to follow up with learners.

Developing more curriculums would be useful for GRS and their schools – perhaps a separate curriculum for each year – so learners can stay engaged in the programme and build on the knowledge that they have acquired. Also, including Grade 5 classes at Primary Schools and Grade 10 classes at High Schools would be a good way of expanding the Skillz programme.

While there is no doubt that children enjoy the Skillz sessions and they do encourage physical activity and HIV/AIDS awareness, there is a need to ensure that the learners understand the seriousness of the issues discussed. While presenting HIV/AIDS in an informal and inclusive way is commendable, combining it with games can, at worst, trivialise these important issues. Finishing the curriculum with a test would be a good way to measure the learners' progress and show them the Skillz Sessions are not just 'fun and games'. According to co-ordinator Ayanda Lembethe, GRS does run pre and post-tests on learners at about 10% of the selected schools, but this should be done across the board to ensure that learners retain information.

And even then, organisations need to make a concerted effort to better understand and measure behaviour change. As Van Eekeren explains on the International Platform for Sport and Development (2009): *"Sport is a great entry point for making youngsters aware, for instance about HIV/AIDS. But in many countries awareness about HIV/AIDS is not the main issue. People are aware, but there are other elements that prevent them from changing*

behaviour - like gender relations, stigmatization, etc. In other words: the use of sport in these programmes is quite useless. A better notion of the theory of change is needed."

EMEP on the other hand should try making all teachers feel welcome and part of their extra-mural programme. While the organisation cannot train every teacher, they can still involve more members of staff than just those who have received training. It is imperative that the EMDPs at each school are monitored and evaluated to ensure they are sharing the skills they have learnt with other teachers and involving them in the school's extra-mural programme. As explained in more detail above, EMEP is currently shifting its focus from providing training for a few teachers to offering support and evaluation for all teachers at its schools.

6.7 Working with other NGOs

As SCORE Director Stefan Howells (2008) admits, while NGOs claim to be working directly with communities they often fail to engage with other organisations working in the same field. A lack of co-ordination and fierce ownership of programmes may ironically undermine the development goals themselves. GRS for example works more or less independently, though it uses implementing partners in regions where it has no office or staff component.

EMEP fares better in this respect through its attempt to set up a 'Development Desk' in each community, bringing together different organisations and actors in the community. This is a more interactive and co-operative approach than GRS, which tends to impose its curriculum upon schools, adopting a 'one size fits all' policy when consultation with other parties would

be beneficial, taking into account the context of each school and the community. As Bates (International Platform for Sport and Development, 2009:10) asserts: *"Although sometimes more difficult to get started, an approach that is based on trust, organisations sharing responsibility and making decisions together can lead to a stronger long term impact."*

6.8 Choosing Schools?

Ideally, schools should be selected based on their needs but there are vested interests. Donors want their support to be visible, and NGOs, like any other organisations, do need to market themselves. All too often, large, multinational NGOs such as GRS and Right to Play tend to reflect the concerns of the new global order and perhaps even a *'sports industrial complex'* (Maguire, 2006) in which outcomes are positioned at the top of the pedestal. Of course, the focus on human development (e.g. HIV/AIDS Education) is different from the attempt to secure Olympic medals in elite competition, but there is no doubt that many NGOs seek to meet their objectives without genuinely engaging with the communities they work in.

It is no coincidence that many sport for development organisations, including GRS, ran Football Camps during the World Cup, when press coverage and donor interest was at an all-time high. It is hardly surprising that many of these camps were once-off events, and even GRS (Donald, 2010) admit that their future versions will be scaled down considerably.

While the state has an obligation to provide sporting support to all public schools, both GRS and EMEP have hand-picked certain schools across the country, with EMEP operating only

in the Western Cape. But it is worth investigating how these NGOs select their schools. GRS for example only works with urban schools in and around Cape Town and operates the FFH centre in Khayelitsha. This ensures great publicity and visibility for the organisation although there are many rural schools in need of their assistance. In the past, coaches have suggested schools to their managers at GRS and the managers have followed up and approached these schools – a somewhat uncoordinated, ad hoc process. Despite repeated attempts to contact GRS, especially the Programs Manager, there was no response as to how they select schools.

EMEP on the other hand, works in both urban and rural schools but as it is funded primarily by the WCED, it selects schools at their behest. Basically, the department nominates certain schools and then the organisation conducts an eligibility study to determine if the schools are suitable. According to researcher Adam Cooper (2010), the first batch was comprised mainly of disadvantaged and struggling schools that had been earmarked by the department as most in need of support. By the time the second selection process was due, certain schools had heard about the work of EMEP and put their names forward to the department – while these schools were disadvantaged, they were not all necessarily struggling. They had made a conscious decision to become involved so as to improve their extra-mural curriculum. It is important to remember that no school had an obligation to accept the involvement of EMEP and each principal and staff member chose of their own accord to work with the organisation.

Of course, government is meant to support all state schools but some benefit more than others (e.g. some had sports assistants, others did not) – does the extent of state support affect which schools receive NGO support? The presence of other NGOs is important in this regard too although at many schools this didn't deter either organisation, with multiple NGOs present. It

is clear that while NGOs make sweeping and somewhat generic claims about giving children the chance to play sport or learn about HIV/AIDS, they have made strategic choices to work in certain communities and we cannot discount the way in which this context has affected their work. Even more worryingly, radical researchers would argue that organisations give communities little choice to formulate their own programmes, reinforcing a neo-colonial imposition of “*international development as the benevolent deliverance of aid, goods and expertise from the northern, First World to the southern, Third World*” (Darnell, 2007: 561).

6.9 Summary

In conclusion, it is clear that the process of NGOs working in schools involves a complex interaction between the organisations, government and the education sector. There are many obstacles preventing the effective provision of sport and physical activity at schools, and this is especially relevant in South Africa with its dysfunctional education system, unequal distribution of resources and lack of government support for sporting activities at school.

Various NGOs, such as GRS and EMEP, are helping to bridge these divides, but they need to better engage state organs and educators within schools, as well as surrounding communities, if they are to make sustainable impacts. Likewise, the government needs to support these organisations more effectively and make a genuine contribution to uplifting the state of sport in public schools. As such, a comprehensive dialogue between schools, NGOs and the state will go a long way to ensuring that the shared dream of a level playing field can be achieved.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusion

This study is primarily concerned with the challenges facing NGOs that use sport for development in the education sector. Firstly, it has sought to examine whether sport can in fact promote development, as commonly assumed by a range of actors - given the right conditions few would argue that sport cannot play a developmental role. This role can include a contribution to education, with sport promoting healthy lifestyles and core values amongst youth – only if used in the right manner and given optimal circumstances (Coalter, 2010).

It is clear that South African youth do not have adequate opportunities to play sport and this reality is evidenced by the lack of facilities at both urban and rural schools. While the state recognises the value of sport and is committed in principle to its development potential, it does not appear to be providing enough support for schools to realise this sporting potential. As such, a range of civil society actors, including NGOs, have attempted to assist the state by working with schools to improve their sporting infrastructure and opportunities for learners. But the manner in which these organisations operate, and their relationship with both the schools and the state, need to be examined carefully to ensure all three actors compliment, rather than contradict or conflict with one another. Only a united approach can bring change.

Therefore by using a case study approach, this research has analysed the interaction between NGOs, government and the education system. The study, like any other, has its limitations

and the two NGOs chosen are clearly not representative of the entire sector, though the findings should have relevance for organisations of a similar nature, as well as government.

The case study suggests that NGOs face a variety of challenges using sport in schools. There is an urgent need for such organisations to formalise the relationship with schools which would reduce resistance from teachers and ensure programmes can run their course. There are pros and cons to working during school or after hours, and combining these two approaches would allow NGOs to reach the majority of learners and help schools act as a community hub. Providing regular training and support will keep school staff and coaches motivated and allow them to broaden their range of skills. Diversifying the range of sports available and linking these activities with academic subjects will allow the organisations to bridge the gap between the field and classroom, and use sport as a means to bolster academic performance.

Sport and physical exercise need to be taken seriously at schools and assume an equal footing to other classes, whether they take place during Life Orientation or as extra-mural activities. Government needs to play a role in this regard by raising the profile of sport and regarding it as an equal partner in the curriculum. According to teachers, the amount of administration has increased despite promises to the contrary, and this is centred on academic performance, with sport taking a back seat. With the marginalisation of Physical Education in the curriculum, it is more important than ever that youth can partake in sports and physical exercise at schools.

Partnering with government is a catch-22 situation for many civil society organisations as it may empower them with funding and resources but may limit their independence. While

GRS and EMEP have differing relationships with government, both organisations do realise the need to work with the state so as to improve their outputs. Furthermore, working in unison with other NGOs and stakeholders is likely to be more effective and sustainable.

The benefits of adequately structured sport at school are clear for all to see, contributing to the health, lifestyle, social, affective and cognitive development of youth (Bailey, 2006: 397). Sadly most South African learners are unable to access these potential benefits of sport in the education system. It is clear that NGOs are helping schools in South Africa to optimise their sporting activities in the backdrop of a stagnating education system and a lack of sporting support from the government. However, they encounter many obstacles and would perform better by listening to the concerns of schools and coaches, and engaging with the state, other civil society organisations and community stakeholders to create a level playing field for all.

7.2 Recommendations for Future Research

It is clear that school sport is in a shambolic state in South Africa, with many youth not able to partake in proper sporting structures. There is a real need to investigate the role of the state in more detail, in particular the Department of Education and what programmes (if any) they are implementing to fulfil their policies. Examining the relationship between various NGOs and the state in greater depth would prove useful to formulating ideas about best practice for collaboration between the different actors, especially seeing as government officials were unresponsive during this study – there is a need to critically examine these state structures.

Furthermore, it would be useful to examine what criteria (if any) are seen as necessary for organisations to access government funding. Do projects have to be running for a certain time or tackle certain issues? Does it differ from department to department or from national to provincial or local level? In short, why are certain civil society organisations able to secure support from the state while others are left in the lurch? Is there method to this madness?

The demise of Physical Education and the subsequent promises to reintroduce it in schools need to be covered in more detail, especially debating whether PE teachers can merely be reintroduced into the education system given that the Life Orientation training does not effectively equip them to be physical trainers. Further studying the role of sports assistants, and the impact thereof, would shed some light on the rationale behind this initiative and whether it could be implemented with more widespread success in the school system.

Further investigation could certainly be launched into development theory and into the recent rise of multinational NGOs and the so-called sports industrial complex, coined by Maguire. Are these organisations actually undermining local development and contributing to the demise of community-based organisations? More extensive research is needed in this regard. And the question of sport for girls could certainly be taken further, as girls remain less able to access sporting opportunities at school than their male counterparts, with cultural attitudes and a lack of competition conspiring against them, among other issues. These issues require deeper examination if the state of school sport is to be genuinely improved across the board.

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