Going to Scale? A critique of the role of the public sector in sport for development and peace in South Africa

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Going to Scale? A critique of the role of the public sector in sport for development and peace in South Africa

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Abstract

The Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) field has grown rapidly, but still faces certain theoretical and practical limitations. This study analyses the role of the public sector in SDP, examining how it can best work with other stakeholders and partners to ensure sport is optimised as a vehicle for social change. The study examines public sector engagement in SDP in South Africa, using a parallel mixed methods approach, including key informant interviews, surveys, document analysis and observation. Findings show that state led SDP initiatives can achieve results but improved outcomes are more likely if partnerships exist within government and with other organs of society. It is recommended the state plays a strategic and regulatory role, focusing less on service delivery while providing greater leadership and direction in coordinating efforts related to SDP. Teamwork is vital.

Introduction

Post-apartheid South Africa manifests poor social indicators and faces a triple burden of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Over 35% of the population live below the poverty line, with approximately 19.2% of adults infected with HIV/AIDS (CIA, 2017). It has been reported that 49.9% of youth aged 15-24 are unemployed with an overall unemployment rate of 25.0% (Statistics South Africa, 2015). South Africa is the world's most unequal country and boasts a Gini coefficient index that ranges from 0.66 to 0.70 (World Bank, 2016). While sport and physical activity cannot solve these problems alone, they may play a positive role (Keim, 2010: 2).

The start of the 21st century saw the incorporation of sport into the mainstream development sector. Sport was widely hailed as a means to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and has assumed a higher profile in

the development and donor landscape. The United Nations (UN) declared April 6 the 'International Day of Sport for Development and Peace' while sport has been mentioned as a tool to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): *"Sport is also an important enabler of sustainable development. We recognize the growing contribution of sport to the realization of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives"* (United Nations, 2015: 8). As such sport is now more likely to be viewed as a means of development.

However, while the SDP sector has grown significantly in the 21st century, its impact remains debatable, partly due to a lack of rigorous research, monitoring and evaluation (M&E), limited long-term results, unclear theories of change, and few strategies to tackle broader structural problems (Coakley, 2011; Giulianotti 2011; Richards et al. 2013). Certain SDP programmes do exhibit an ongoing gap between evidence and practice, often with idealistic notions of sport, referred to by Coakley (2014: p.6) as the *'Great Sport Myth'*. While developing individual capacity remains a focus of many SDP actors, there appears a lack of initiatives that challenge the structures and conditions that caused this 'underdevelopment' in the first place (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011).

Wide-ranging, almost universal claims made on behalf of the SDP movement, including by government actors who may use sport as a political tool, must therefore be treated with caution. While sport can have positive micro-impact on individuals this does not necessarily lead to greater outcomes in the community (meso) and society (macro). Many theorists including Darnell (2007), Coalter (2007), Giulianotti (2004) and Sugden (2010) contend that the development of social capital or local co-operation cannot nullify greater macro issues, such as a lack of resources, political support and socio-economic realities. Coalter (2010: 1) claims a major weakness of SDP actors is that they are *"seeking to solve broad gauge problems via limited focus interventions"*. While this is a common critique, it is worth noting the work of Schelling (2006) who identifies a tipping point at which micro motives may influence macro behaviour. A recognition of the collective power of micro actions and their possible effect may be relevant in SDP.

The Role of the State in Sport for Development and Peace

It is widely acknowledged the state has a major, if not leading, role to play in development, especially in developing countries (Chang, 2003; Huber & Stephens, 2001). Neo-liberal critics and modernists propose a limited coordinating role for government (Graaff & Le Roux, 2001: 55). Social democrats and leftists on the other hand emphasise the importance of an

interventionist and regulatory government (Piketty, 2014). The concept of a 'developmental state' has been raised in South Africa (Cloete et al., 2015) where the state allows the private sector a certain amount of freedom to flourish but retains the right to lead, intervene and even regulate development where necessary (Moleketi, 2003).

Harvard scholars Grindle and Thomas (1991) have distinguished between a state-centred and society-centred approach to governance. In a *state-centred approach*, the nature and role of the state is predominant while in a *society-centred approach*, the nature and role of civil society is predominant (Cloete & De Coning, 2011: 66-70). Many scholars (FitzGerald, 1995; McLennan & FitzGerald, 1992; Meyer, 2000; Monteiro, 2003) have noted different and emerging public sector management approaches, which have implications both globally and locally (De Coning & Rabie, 2015). There are clearly a range of approaches to goverance.

With regard to SDP, limited attention has been paid to governance in the sector, even though this is crucial to achieving development outcomes. Many states have grand visions for sport and development yet the degree of commitment to SDP differs considerably among governments (Keim & De Coning, 2014), including those in the developing world that host most of the globe's SDP work. There is limited explicit evidence of state-led SDP work, and programming is often delivered by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other organs of civil society (Richards & Foster, 2014). However, with increasing recognition of the role of sport in development, including the SDGs, this may soon change.

The South African Government and Sport for Development and Peace

Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA), in consultation with stakeholders including civil society and academia, has developed a National Sport and Recreation Plan (NSRP) based on three pillars: (1) active nation; (2) winning nation and (3) enabling environment (SRSA, 2012). This plan itself reflects a commitment to SDP, whether intentional or not. Objective one 'an active nation' is centred on mass participation or 'sport for all', a central tenet of the SDP movement. While objective two is more focused on high performance, it recognises that a 'winning nation' is only possible with mass participation. There is clearly overlap between the development of sport and sport for development, though they boast different goals. The last objective an 'enabling environment' is central to the state's role, with the NSRP (SRSA 2012: 34) identifying 14 strategic objectives required to enable an active, winning nation.

In terms of governance, the NSRP (2012: 64) states that, "*there should be only two macro drivers of sport and recreation in the country, namely Government (all 3 spheres) and one NGO (SASCOC).*" The NSRP sees the state as

responsible for policy, legislation and infrastructure; creating an enabling environment for all South Africans to participate in sport and recreation; and promoting and developing the sports economy and industry in all its facets. SASCOC is responsible for leading civil society in "translating policy into action"; and acting as an umbrella body for the sport sector.

The state has a vital role to play in SDP but little research has examined the optimal role for the state within developing countries such as South Africa. This study investigates the state's role in South Africa by evaluating the effectiveness and feasibility of a state-led SDP programme and soliciting broader input from key experts on the role for the state. The study seeks to identify key recommendations for the role of the state in supporting SDP policies, plans and programmes.

Programmatic outcomes (if any) provide an indication of whether the state can effectively deliver SDP. The study further explores what mechanisms are best suited to scale SDP initiatives. As SDP has been implemented in many developing countries such as South Africa, and tends to be driven by civil society with limited mainstreaming, a review of the institutional arrangements is overdue. A cooperative or interactive governance approach may help provide clarity on the optimal role of the state in relation to other actors.

Methodology

This study utilises a parallel mixed methods approach, characterized by the collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell et al., 2003). The research uses surveys, in-depth interviews, direct observation and existing data and document review. With this type of design the qualitative and quantitative strands are planned and implemented to answer related aspects of the same overarching research question (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011).

Research setting

The study was conducted in South Africa and focuses on the role of the public sector in SDP with an evaluation of the Mass participation, Opportunity and access, Development and Growth (MOD) Programme started by the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS). The MOD Programme was initiated in 2010 as a structured, after-school programme, to provide sport and recreation opportunities for at-risk youth in disadvantaged communities (Sanders, 2012; Sanders et al., 2013; De Coning, 2014; Christiaans, 2014). The MOD Programme expanded significantly since 2010 and as of 2016 there were 181 MOD Centres, located in all eight Western Cape Education Department (WCED) districts. The programme study was complimented with a situational analysis of the SDP landscape in South Africa, including a review of policy and

legislation, including the NSRP, and consultation with key experts in SDP and governance.

Study population and sample

The study population included schools, communities and persons involved in the MOD Programme, including participating learners, implementing coaches and school officials. The researcher used a purposive sampling strategy with different approaches for the urban and rural areas, due to resource constraints. In the Cape Metropole all primary and secondary school MOD Centres were surveyed (n = 80). A randomised approach was used to identify MOD Centres located in the four rural districts of the Western Cape (n = 16). The randomised approach involved selecting four MOD centres per rural district (2 PS, 1 HS, 1 Farm/Community Centre), though only 13 of the 16 centres were available for scheduled visits. Two coaches, one principal, two learner participants (one male and one female) at each school answered quantitative surveys. They were selected based on availability and their participation within the MOD programme. The total sample included 465 participants. The sample is biased towards the urban setting, and contains a greater number of primary schools, as this is indicative of the ratio of primary and secondary schools across the province. In addition, five participants at eight schools were selected for qualitative research (n=40). Participants and schools were purposively selected. Two high schools and two primary schools in urban (n=4) and rural areas (n=4) were randomly selected. Interviewees included two learners, two coaches and an educator, based on their involvement in the programme.

Table 1: MOD centres surveyed as part of the study

PRIMARY SCHOOLS SURVEYED	SECONDARY SCHOOLS SURVEYED
METRO SOUTH - 15 schools	METRO SOUTH - 7 schools
METRO NORTH - 14 schools	METRO NORTH - 8 schools
METRO EAST - 12 schools	METRO EAST - 7 schools
METRO CENTRAL - 11 schools	METRO CENTRAL - 6 schools
EDEN & KAROO - 1 school	EDEN & KAROO - 1 school
OVERBERG - 2 schools	OVERBERG - 1 school
WINELANDS - 2 schools	WINELANDS - 1 school
WEST COAST - 1 school	WEST COAST - 0 schools
Total Primary Schools In Survey: 58	**Total High Schools In Survey: 31**
TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS IN SURVEY: 89 SCHOOLS	

4 Farm/Community Centres were surveyed bringing the total of MOD Centres to 93

The study population also included key informants in provincial and national government (n=5), including those involved with the MOD Programme. Key

SDP experts in South Africa (n=5) were identified based on their understanding of the SDP sector globally and nationally, their research outputs and academic profile, as well as their knowledge of the South African government and policy frameworks relating to sport and development. In-depth individual interviews (n=10) were conducted with all the key informants and experts.

Data collection methods

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. A comprehensive document and online review was conducted of the state of SDP globally and in South Africa, including reviewing the evidence base of the MOD Programme. This included reviewing letters, meeting minutes, evaluations and reports. Site visits were made to schools and communities to witness the MOD Programme first hand, including various direct observation sessions.

Quantitative data was collected through attendance registers and survey questionnaires in paper-pen format. Participants were given the space to provide additional information on challenges, successes and opportunities within the questionnaire. The questionnaire was developed internally by the implementing department (DCAS) and validated against identified outcomes of the programme by the Knowledge and Information Management Unit. Data was analysed manually though Excel to articulate outcomes (if any) and observations related to the MOD Programme. Any outcomes were explored further in qualitative work.

Qualitative data collection involved in-depth individual interviews conducted in person or where necessary telephonically. Open-ended questions with a purpose rather than formal events with predetermined responses (Marshal & Rossman, 1994) were used to investigate specific outcomes, based on the approach of Taplin, et al. (2013). An interview guide was designed to complement the survey questionnaire and validated internally by DCAS. Qualitative data was analysed using Creswell's procedures (Creswell et al., 2007), making sure to note pre-determined and emerging research themes.

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, 1985). Several steps were used to build credibility, including prolonged engagement and persistent observation as well as member checks (all transcribed data was given back to participants to comment on the accuracy of the recordings). Furthermore, all responses were transcribed verbatim. After the deviation of themes, an independent researcher was asked to peruse the transcripts and generate themes

thus increasing the credibility (validity) and dependability (reliability) of the categorizing. Lists of the researcher and independent researcher were compared for rigor and accuracy.

Results

The research raises crucial questions regarding the role of the public sector in SDP. These include whether the state should direct or deliver SDP, whether SDP can be effectively delivered at scale and if so how, the challenges surrounding partnerships, and the importance of M&E in SDP. Certain findings are programmatic in nature but they generate greater debate about the appropriate institutional arrangements for SDP initiatives to function most effectively.

Outcomes at the Programme Level

The achievements of the programme are impressive since inception in 2010. A document review shows that 181 MOD centres have been established in underprivileged communities and over 30,000 learners partake in activities regularly (Sanders et al., 2013). Quantitative data demonstrated positive reflections from principals regarding benefits from the programme that extended beyond the playing field, as reflected in Figure 1 below.
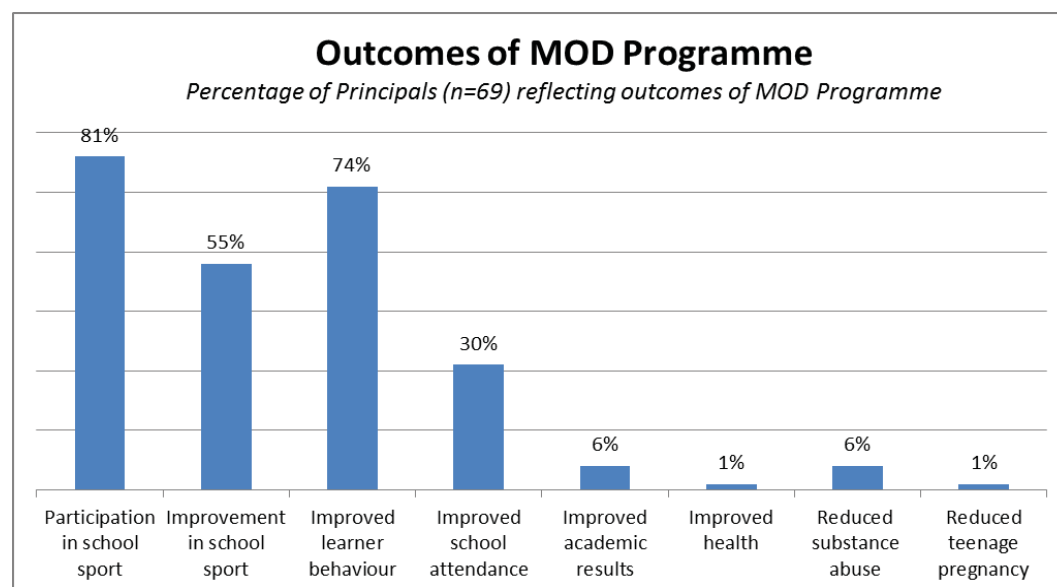

Figure 1: Outcomes of MOD Programme

These positive reflections were further validated in interviews with principals and a study from the University of Vanderbilt (USA) which found that 'learners and teachers (and coaches) believe that extra murals are increasing learners'

attendance and interest in school in addition to providing a safe and productive space for youth.' (Craven et al., 2012: 42).

Reflecting on the MOD Programme, a school principal stated as follows: *"Now the learners are interested in being in class, they are interested in being successful. More learners are moving onto the next grade, not staying in the same grade for two or three years."*

There is no doubt that many learners are afforded a chance to play and be active when there were no previous opportunities available. Many participants emphasised their enjoyment of the programme. This was obvious both through direct observation and participant interviews:

Recounting his experience, one learner stated as follows: *"It's fun. It keeps us off the streets…It keeps you fit. It keeps you healthy"*

Positive outcomes were also observed on youth leadership and employability. Document review and analysis revealed that over 450 community members (Coaches) are employed in the programme, contributing to job creation and economic development. Coaches receive an income and are capacitated through skills development and training, increasing employability. One of the coaches stated as follows:

Reflecting on the reason for joining the programme, a Coach stated as follows: *"I joined the MOD Centre cos school sport was dying… And I felt that if I could give sport back to the kids and the community so they could have the same memories as me."*

The Role of the State and Partnerships

However, while the programmatic outcomes are impressive there has been little analysis of whether it remains most effective or efficient for the state to deliver such a programme. Certain critics feel the state should be primarily concerned with policy, planning, funding and regulatory frameworks, while supporting others to provide services directly, including community based and non-profit organisations that are often more responsive and flexible to community needs.

As a leading SDP academic stated: "*If government goes and delivers, then who is thinking strategically and evaluating? Government should not always be implementing but rather making sure it gets implemented.*"

It is acknowledged that sport is important for the state in terms of international relations and development cooperation. In addition to work with multilateral agencies, the South African government has played a role in investing in, and

promoting, SDP in other African countries. Furthermore, SDP is not a stand-alone theme within sport in South Africa and the state prioritises SDP alongside its other sporting commitments, including high performance sport.

Scale and effectiveness

While civil society may be more responsive to community needs, it is clear that most civil society actors are not able to operate with the same scope or at the same scale as the state. Therefore, it may be argued that only government can coordinate efforts in SDP (and more broadly development) on behalf of the entire country (Singh, 2016). As an official from the Western Cape Government stated: "*These NGOs – they only work in one area. We have to serve all the districts of the province.*"

It can be argued that in a developmental state where needs are great and resources limited that the government can not only coordinate but does at times need to intervene directly to ensure equitable development, whether in SDP or other areas. Singh (2016) makes the case that one cannot take a single provider approach to SDP in a developmental state such as South Africa, stating as follows: "*We realise that there is not sufficient information, research or programmes (in SDP). We need to come to the party and while it may not directly be our mandate to roll out programmes, we feel we have a responsibility to do, otherwise the pace of change will be slow.*"

The danger of delivering huge initiatives at such scale is application of centralised policies and plans which do not necessarily reflect community needs. Gang troubled communities may require the use of sport for conflict resolution, while those with a significant burden of disease may require the use of sport for improving public health. Of course, these issues are interrelated and sport can drive to multiple outcomes but it is equally important to ensure a focused and targeted approach to SDP, in which different sectors play to their strengths. It is clear that government is well placed to coordinate SDP efforts across the land, but the nature of this coordination, and the relationship with civil society and other actors is crucial.

The Development of Sport or Development through Sport?

As the NSRP articulates the role of SASCOC as driving sport and recreation on behalf of civil society, there is an inherent danger that SASCOC may not be able to represent the multiple and varied stakeholders in the sport sector beyond federations, including NGOs, the academic sector, faith-based organisations, student organisations, political parties and more. Furthermore, SASCOC has primarily focused on the output of sporting federations, especially national teams, meaning it has a skewed focus on elite sport. The NSRP acknowledges

that the scope of SASCOC needs to change while SASCOC has recently indicated it will provide greater support for training and education (Hendricks, 2017).

Reflecting on the need to ensure sport for all, a government official stated as follows: *"Less than 5% of the population take part in elite sport. We need to work for outcomes among the majority. It makes sense for sport for development and it makes market sense for elite sport."*

The focus on the development of sport may undermine the way in which sport can be utilised by other actors. Unfortunately, sport is often only taken seriously when the sport itself is serious (i.e. elite and competitive). However, were Departments of Sport and other actors to envisage, and invest in, a broader role for sport and engage others more deliberately on the ways sport can contribute to outcomes beyond the playing field, it could be that sport, and specifically SDP, is mainstreamed as a tool for social change. On the contrary, mainstreaming of sport plans, policies and programmes that focus disproportionately on the development of sport may ironically and unintentionally work against the mainstreaming of SDP. As a government official stated: *"Most federations spend the bulk of their resources on performance sport. They need to wake up to the fact that they serve a wider population"*

It seems obvious that, while elite sport serves only an elite few, mass participation serves the majority and that broadening the participation base is only likely to improve elite sport. This is increased justification for prioritising resources to mass participation, including SDP.

Intersectoral Collaboration

Intersectoral collaboration presents both challenges and opportunities. In the programme evaluated, the lead department does engage with other state departments and stakeholders. A vital role player in this regard is the National Department of Basic Education (DBE) as all public schools fall under their jurisdiction. Schools remain the main societal institution for young people and the majority of first, and continued, sporting experiences take place in the school system (SRSA, 2009). However, sport is not always a major priority for education officials. This is evident in the programme studied, with clear tensions between those promoting sport opportunities at schools and those calling for a focus on academics.

Document analysis showed considerable interaction between state departments regarding the MOD Programme. Despite this, there is still a tendency for departments to be territorial and protect vested interests, both within and between departments. Furthermore, there has been limited interaction with civil

society actors, outside of the sport federations who have been engaged to provide training and curriculum support. With SASCOC occupying a centralised role as the custodian of sport and acting as the representative of a diverse and complex network of civil society organisations, many interests and viewpoints may be excluded. There has been a deliberate attempt to involve more civil society actors but this occurred mainly after the MOD programme was established and had been operational for a number of years.

There does appear to exist a level of mistrust between government and civil society actors. As a Western Cape Government official stated: "*They (NGOs) are always just out for money. They don't understand the work we are doing.*" On the other hand, the Director of a sport based NGO bemoaned the difficulty of working with the state, stating as follows: "*We have tried really hard to engage with government. We sometimes have great high-level meetings, like with the deputy minister of the national sport department. And we are excited but then it goes nowhere.*"

Monitoring and Evaluation

A common problem with development programmes is that they meet output targets, rather than achieve development outcomes. Often, targets become more important than the actual impact itself, otherwise funding will cease. The MOD Programme is no exception. For example, the Annual Performance Plan Indicators speak to the number of Centres established, rather than what outcomes are achieved at these centres. There is limited emphasis on outcomes with mainly outputs collected and limited qualitative research. The focus on reporting rather than genuine evaluation results in a lack of understanding as to what works and what doesn't and how and why change (if any) occurs. This represents an area where many donor-driven civil society organisations have more experience in designing, developing and maintaining results-based M&E systems. As the Director of a sport based NGO stated: "*It is surprising that an NGO boasts an advanced M&E system while a provincial government department with a far larger budget struggles to collect even basic output data.*"

Discussion

Despite ideological differences over the state's disposition, most would agree it has a vital role to play in SDP. As Bruce Kidd (2008: 378) stated: "*While there will always be a role for NGOs, governments must take the lead.*" But what does taking the lead entail? At a global level, certain critics (Keim & De Coning, 2014; Hayhurst, 2009) argue that while national governments have engaged with SDP, especially at a multilateral level, there is huge distinction and diversity within their frameworks for sport, for development, and SDP.

In South Africa it is clear that the government appreciates the importance of sport in the post-apartheid context. The state has developed a number of plans and policies, and passed various laws, that proclaim and uphold the values of sport. As stated in the NSRP (2012: 59): "*There is an increasing acknowledgement that sport and recreation has the potential to promote social inclusion, prevent conflict, and to enhance peace within and among nations*."

SDP in a Developmental State

In a developing country such as South Africa the government often faces a thankless task. It needs to tackle the inequities of the past, while providing regulatory and policy frameworks. It needs to work with other partners and deliver directly where needed, with significantly less resources at its disposal than the more developed countries of the 'North'. This does not excuse the state from a lack of service delivery or poor regulatory frameworks but the many competing tensions must be noted. Thus it is vital that the state identifies both strategic and delivery partners to help provide resources and deliver outcomes related to SDP.

The state has identified various ways in which sport can promote development and provide a means to supporting the priorities of government. This is important and illustrates the role sport can play in achieving outcomes beyond the sporting field. However, the budget of SRSA remains limited, while other departments with far larger budgets (such as Health and Education) have allocated little resources to sport and physical activity, despite the benefits they may bring. This remains an important area for sport officials – to make a case for sport beyond the playing field, one that distinguishes, and at times elevates, the use of sport for development over the development of sport. The state can provide greater funding for SDP, as can civil society and the private sector. Many SDP civil society actors in South Africa have been highly effective, but receive little state support.

Distorted Focus on Elite Sport

As referenced in the NSRP, there is clearly a tendency to see mega sporting events as a panacea for social problems, when much research illustrates that mega-events tend to exacerbate inequities in developing states (Vahid, 2011). It does not appear that the state has taken this into account, with the recent staging of the 2010 Soccer World Cup and other events. As Maralack (2012: 1) argues, post-apartheid sport strategies and policies have faced a tension between elite and community sport and between global and local realities, and that such conflicting imperatives have *"deepened inequalities in post-apartheid sport rather than mitigated them."* Thus while the state appears to have developed

sound policies and plans for sport in South Africa, it is a possibility that state actions may contradict their best intentions.

Most observers agree that while the NSRP and SRSA do exhibit a developmental focus, the recognition of sport as a tool for development is implicit rather than explicit (Burnett, 2016). It is assumed the development of sport will promote other forms of development, rather than a deliberate attempt to use sport intentionally to achieve social outcomes. While the majority of the SRSA budget is allocated to school sport, one must note that elite sport, infrastructure (e.g. stadiums) and mega-events draw on other sources of public funds. It is recommended that public sector funds provided for sport be spent predominantly on SDP efforts and that the business of sport is left to the private sector and other stakeholders, as the state has more pressing social priorities.

Limited Monitoring and Evaluation

A major issue with state led programmes is that outcomes based planning and monitoring is often limited (Christiaans, 2014). The call has been made for greater investment in both process and impact evaluations. External evaluations are important but may be costly, time consuming and infrequent, reinforcing the importance of regular results based monitoring. In addition, it is important to ensure outcomes based research is accompanied by process based research as it is crucial to diagnose the how and why of whether initiatives were successful. Sport officials need to engage with academic institutions and other role players to conduct robust research that shows if (and how) sport can result in outcomes beyond the playing field.

Governance of Sport and Development

Cooperative governance is enshrined in the Constitution (1996) and policy. The government calls on every organ of the state "*to promote, support and enhance the capacity of NPOs to perform their functions*" (Swilling & Russell, 2002: 77). This is not always realised with divisions existing between the state and non-profit organisations (NPOs). Nonetheless, it is clear that NPOs and the state are interdependent and there is some desire on the part of both actors to work effectively together.

It is clear the state plays a vital governance role within SDP. It has the ability, and the mandate, to provide regulatory and policy frameworks, clearly articulate its intentions and support other actors in SDP to align their goals with the state. Other sectors are crucial and while they may be dependent on state orientation it is acknowledged that they too can influence the state. As Coalter (2010: 306) states: "*they* (non-governmental actors) *are not simple substitutes for the state, and can only really thrive to the extent that the state actively encourages them.*"

Of course, effective governance is crucial for the state to ensure SDP outcomes are met and there is a need for the state to understand the complex nature of development when supporting SDP. There are inherent ironies in many sport teams and products in South Africa being sponsored by alcohol and soft drink manufacturers when evidence clearly shows these work against 'good health' promoted by sport. If the state is to regulate, is it playing the right game?

Scaling SDP through Partners and Collaboration

The case presented herein does illustrate that government can organise SDP initiatives at scale. Access to a countrywide education system, municipal facilities and sport membership bases allow the state to extend its reach. However, such scale can come at the cost of fidelity and outcomes, as programmes may not be well implemented or closely monitored, and may not take into account contextual differences between sites. A balance needs to be maintained and it may be preferable for the state to identify organisations that are located and have a history in the communities they choose to work with, as they are likely to be more adaptable, effective and responsive. The state could then play a coordinating and regulatory role. Findings demonstrate that not only is there mistrust between the state and civil society actors, but that often both parties are unaware of, and disinterested in, each other's actions. This corresponds to the broader literature showing that there is often conflict between civil society actors and state actors in different African contexts (Sanders et al., 2014; Lindsey 2016).

The political nature of government is crucial in this regard. While political will has been instrumental to the success, and resourcing, of the MOD Programme it is indeed a double-edged sword as a change in political will may have the opposite effect. As such it seems appropriate that the state is seeking to involve civil society more clearly in this initiative, as they may be less susceptible to political changes, though they may face a less certain funding environment. Sustainability is an important consideration and this is related to the political will of those in power, as well as the global landscape. While the state makes provision for long-term strategic plans, departments are not guaranteed multi-year programmes and budgets at the same level as the previous year. This makes it difficult to make long-term plans or measure long-term outcomes.

Despite this, experts such as Burnett (2016) feel that the state needs to own or lead SDP policies or programmes since other actors (especially international agencies and NGOs) may 'come and go' as donor trends and patterns change. A state led programme may contradict elements of the NSRP, which states that SASCOC should lead programmes, though it must be noted that the MOD Programme studied herein is delivered with the support of federations.

Furthermore, it can be argued that the state has a role to play in initiating special programmes, which can be outsourced to partners at a later stage. In addition, a state led programme provides clear scope for other departments to lend their expertise to the initiative. Intersectoral collaboration may thus present great value. In this regard, it is worth noting that this study focuses on the state and its relationship with civil society, though it is acknowledged the private sector has a key role to play in development, and specifically SDP, including the efforts of business and corporate social investment.

As the state and civil society both face various constraints, including access to resources, it appears that a partnership model seems most appropriate. In this regard, Lindsey and Chapman (2017: 25-26) have identified four differing approaches to collective implementation in the field of SDP. These have been characterised as state-centred implementation; complementary implementation; structured implementation in partnerships and autonomous implementation. While there is not sufficient space to explore these in detail, this study suggests a blended approach is likely necessary in a developmental state, with each sector playing to its strengths.

However, for partnerships to succeed there needs to be a review of institutional arrangements, including financial modelling (and the possibility of Public-Private Partnerships), the policy and planning landscape for sport, as well as M&E and performance management. While government can scale initiatives such as the MOD Programme to a certain extent, it will prove far more effective if formal arrangements, with a clear articulation of roles and responsibilities, are developed with federations, non-profit organisations, the academic sector and others. Possible recommendations involve the state managing such large-scale programmes but contracting other organisations to deliver. Others may argue rather than the state holding civil society to account, that civil society should not fill the gaps in service delivery and needs to assume a watchdog role. However, civil society is diverse and can likely fulfil delivery, oversight and advocacy functions, if positioned and supported in the right manner. Partnerships not only increase the likelihood of (multiple) outcomes for SDP initiatives but also provide an opportunity to expand the current pool of resources and efforts.

Conclusion

The case study presented herein demonstrates the potential of the state to mainstream a SDP intervention. Very few civil society actors show similar capacity for scale and reach, though they may be more effective and efficient, responsive and flexible, and more adept at monitoring and evaluating their work. The state is well-positioned to drive legislation and policy, and improve regulation and oversight, while providing funding and support to civil society actors who can form partnerships with the government. While it is posited that

the state directs more than delivers, it may retain the ability to pilot and deliver special projects.

It is suggested a society centred approach should be taken to SDP, while allowing the state to provide leadership and direction, manage and regulate, and intervene when needed as per the concept of a 'developmental state'. A common critique of SDP is that projects tend to produce micro results while claiming macro outcomes. A strong and visionary state can provide opportunities for a coalition of actors to implement policies, plans and programmes at scale, enhancing the potential of SDP to achieve real and lasting change. It will require teamwork.

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