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Effective Mainstreaming of Sport in Development programmes and Policies: Coherence, Funding and Measurement

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Introduction

Neo-liberalism changed the sport and recreation policy landscape not only in Zambia but many other low-income nations. Once a platform that was mainly a preserve of state actors and affiliated voluntary sports organisations, is today an open policy space where both state and non-state actors utilise sport as a development tool. Thus, the sport policy space has undergone transformations. These transformations came about due to failures instigated through internal and external political and economic decisions. To gain a good understanding of the space that sport for development and peace (SDP) organisations occupy in Zambia, a brief background of Zambia’s state corporatism and its public and social service provision will be discussed.

Today, whilst other development sector non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have transformed into social enterprises or engage more in social entrepreneurial activities, SDP NGOs continue to lag behind. The paper questions the lack of sustainable social entrepreneurial activities among SDP organisations. It argues that this limitation has constrained the potential contributions of sport to wider development outcomes.

The genesis of indigenous SDP organisations in Zambia is deeply rooted in globalised neoliberal policies which destabilised the delivery of social service provision by the state. Today, as a host to several indigenous and foreign based SDP organisations, the sport and development sector in Zambia provides us with lessons of the negative impacts of global neoliberalism. Lessons are gained also from focusing on the lack of coherent and supportive policies developed during the implementation of neo-liberal approaches in Zambia. State corporatism in Zambia delivered social services that were beneficial to the sport sector. Hence, the paper argues that the external forces of global neo-liberalism instigated by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) needed state protectionism to minimise the social costs. Social costs include the loss of infrastructure used for the delivery of social services. Sports activities formed and played a major role towards community development under Zambia’s state corporatism.

The second part of the paper examines policy coherence. The policy context of this discussion is shaped by: The Commonwealth Secretariat’s Enhancing the Contribution of Sport to the Sustainable Development Goals; The Commonwealth Secretariat’s Sport for Development and Peace and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

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The paper intends to make a contribution to the expert group discussion by addressing two themes: resource mobilisation for leveraging SDP; and mainstreaming of sport in development programmes and policies. In order to do that, the paper draws from the author’s previous and current research projects: examining the outcomes of neo-liberalisation processes in Zambia in relation to sport and recreation asset transfers; and enhancing policy coherence during UNESCO’S QPE policy revisions in Zambia. The focus on the asset transfers of sport and recreation facilities draws its materials from the privatisation of the national economy with particular focus on the ‘Development Agreements’ signed between the Zambian state and the new foreign investors. Such a focus will help elaborate the limitations upon SDP organisations from transforming into social enterprises. The theme of ‘effective mainstreaming of sport in development programmes and policies’ draws its evidence from UNESCO’s QPE policy revisions in Zambia. This section will attempt to extend Lindsey and Darby’s novel application of the concept of policy coherence to sport and the SDGs. These authors encourage SDP academics to further explore the extent of existing (in)coherence between specific sport-related policies and SDGs. This paper uses empirical data from the QPE revision processes to provide further application of policy coherence by examining four key policies: sport, health, youth and education.

Contextual Background – Demise of state corporatism and social service gaps

Then there is the detour I like.
It is to a place framed by memory; it reminds me of my childhood summer afternoons at the public pool, of picnics and fountains. It is the town’s public pool. Amidst everything else, I find it a truly beautiful place, an Olympic size pool and pared down Grecian-like change rooms set on the shorter sides of the pool, palm trees, fountains and more so, looking like yesterday,

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8. The Kazan Action Plan was adopted on 15 July 2017 by UNESCO’s Sixth International Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials Responsible for Physical Education and Sport, MINEPS VI.
like the Copperbelt I knew then! I have been to the pool on many mornings, the guards there allowing me to walk around it. I have not swam in it, though I have wanted to and planned to on many occasions, because I am not sure it is cleaned. It looks clean and one morning I found one person swimming in it. The thing is, I have seen the overgrown tennis courts, rat-infested recreation halls, the desolate but still beautiful golf course and wondered, can the swimming pool have escaped their fate, is there something I am missing?

(Extract from Mususa, 2014)\(^\text{12}\)

The paper starts with the extract above about life on the Copperbelt before and after economic liberalisation. Mususa demonstrates the residents’ despair after the demise of social welfare provisions under Dr Kenneth Kaunda’s state corporatism. Dr Kaunda, Zambia’s first president, having embraced socialist politics, nationalised the national economy in 1968 to support his party’s ‘cradle to grave’ social services\(^\text{13}\). This social service system was delivered mainly through state-owned corporations (SOCs), and local government\(^\text{14}\). The extract paints the negative impact of globalised neo-liberalism which triggered privatisation of state-owned corporations and the withdrawal of the state from social services from the early 90s onwards. It paints a gloomy picture of despair, of dilapidated facilities during economic decline or eras of austerity.

As the nation continued to plunge into economic decline, externally orchestrated neo-liberal structural adjustment policies (SAP) demanded that the state take measures to resuscitate its suffocating economy from state regulation of economic activities\(^\text{15}\). These external measures by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) included among other demands, public reforms calling for the downsizing of the public sector workforce, reduction of public services to reduce state expenditure and more importantly, de-nationalisation of state-owned corporations\(^\text{16}\). The shrinking of the role of the state left a gap in social service provision paving a way for SDP organisations to emerge. Before the thinning of public provisions, young people, both in mining and non-mining urban communities, were very much accustomed to accessing social services offered via community welfare halls\(^\text{17}\). Such services involved youth development schemes, social casework and girls/women’s clubs\(^\text{18}\).

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\(^{14}\) Lungu, J. and C. Mulenga (2005); Lungu, J. (2008); Banda (2010)


\(^{17}\) Ibid


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welfare halls served as ‘hanging out’ zones where youths (particularly males) accessed organised community sport and other recreational activities. Other activities consisted of boy scouts, girl guides, women’s crafts, cookery and literacy classes for adults, hosting public health workshops, reproductive sexual health talks, under-five children’s health programmes, nurseries and pre-schools, outside or open air cinemas, and children playgrounds.19

Today, social services that were delivered through community welfare halls would make the fullest possible contribution to sustainable development. For example, sporting activities would potentially contribute towards SDG 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all, and at all ages. The adult literacy classes would address education needs in communities in relation to SDG 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all. Similarly, gender based activities such as Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, women’s crafts, cookery and adult literacy resonate with both SDG 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls; and SDG 8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all. The point being stressed here is that these facilities were a key community hub for delivery of development outcomes. With the shrinking role of the state in social service provision, those who have stepped-up (e.g. SDP organisations and other civil society) have not taken over local facilities to continue the delivery of social services. Community halls were not transferred to non-state (voluntary sector/civil society) actors and earmarked for development but rather remained under the state. While much emphasis was on “hollowing out of the state”20 or the decentring of government21, the new actors did not have unrestricted access or joint-ownership of the state’s physical infrastructures for social service delivery.

SDP, Institutional Deficits and Social Entrepreneurship

Why did civil society organisations, particularly, SDP organisations, get overlooked during the transfer of sport and leisure assets? While, elsewhere, times of austerity resulted in then transfer of leisure and sport service facilities from local government to the voluntary sector22. Such practices have been termed as ‘austerity localism’ or ‘progressive localism’23 as they represent new opportunities through localism. As the 1980s global financial crisis cascaded and its detrimental effects reverberated in many less privileged communities around the world, the liberalisation of markets brought a

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halt to social services. In some communities, local groups stepped up and assumed the provision of services that would otherwise have been cut. Such groups having assumed ownership, management and delivery of leisure services, and transformed into civic enterprises. Why have SDP organisations in Zambia, despite stepping in to fill gaps left by the state, not morphed into civic enterprises? What pre-conditions or policy support did other civic organisations receive to qualify for asset transfer? What national or subnational policy environments promoted such transfers? These questions can be addressed by examining the implementation of neoliberal policies in Zambia. As long as these limitation to generate resources locally remain, the lack of local resources to support local agendas constrains the creation of new opportunities to resist neo-liberalist hegemony. Hence, the criticisms levelled against the Global South’s resource dependency on the Global North and the hegemonic influences continue to cast a shadow upon local or southern agency.

The questions above will be addressed from a socio-ecological perspective through focusing on Zambia’s economic liberalisation which lacked state protectionism. Elsewhere, for example in high-income countries, the transfer of assets considers civil societies which are deemed to possess social capital and community stability to support the delivery of services after the transfer process. However, at the time that the government via the Zambia Privatisation Agency was finalising Development Agreements encompassing also the transfer of assets, the SDP movement in Zambia was just at an infancy stage. Not only was the SDP movement lacking social capital and financial stability but more importantly, the sport policy climate was too rigid to accommodate non-state actors. Only the state and its registered federations were permitted to operate within a rigid sport policy space. Local sports federations mainly focused on sports for sport’s sake and not sport as a tool for development outcomes. It is only recently that the use of sport for development purposes has been embraced by other sports institutions other than SDP organisations. Sport policy alignment to other national development priorities has also improved as will be discussed later.

Before then, with the SDP movement yet to reach its teething stage, there was lack of acknowledgement of the role that SDP organisations could play in rescuing the sports and recreation facilities. The signing of the Development Agreements was also portrayed as void of active participation and consultation amongst institutions.

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24 Featherstone et al. (2012)
25 See also Findlay-King et al. (2018).
29 Lungu, J & Mulenga, C (2005); Simuntanyi, N (2006)
31 ibid
positioned to deliver social outcomes. Therefore, neglect and subsequently dilapidation of state-owned infrastructure occurred as a result of the one-sided Development Agreements deals. The Development Agreements which were signed between the new investors and the Zambian state exempted new investors from covering state-owned corporations’ liabilities, including pensions, and paying of taxes. With regards to sport and recreation, the Development Agreements saw the new investors take responsibility of only a few facilities but transferred the rest to local authorities within their respective areas. In some cases, the deals stipulated a cost-sharing approach towards labour and operational costs between the new investors, the local authority and users.

Policy Coherence and the Irony of Development Agreements

While the World Bank and IMF were calling for minimalist state involvement and pressuring the government to enforce cutbacks on public spending, the transfer of social service facilities to local authorities had contrary effects. Fraser and Lungu stress that:

The new investors have made little effort to pick up these responsibilities. They are clear that their ‘core business’ is mining, and that the provision of social infrastructure goes beyond this remit. According to free-market ideology, and the Development Agreements, these goods and services should now be provided either by the local authorities or by market forces.

The irony is that local authorities in mining towns were financially incapable of undertaking these responsibilities since the de-nationalisation of the mining sector brought about, for them, a loss of revenue from profits and taxes. The local authorities were revenue-strapped since collection of taxes had significantly dropped. Under a similar economic environment of global neoliberalism, high-income countries were shifting social service provisions to the voluntary sector. Such actions were termed by some as progressive localism. On the contrary, the Development Agreements between the Zambian government and foreign investors were pushing these services the opposite direction, back to the local authorities facing austerity.

Was the Zambian case an example of ‘regressive localism’ since liberalisation must be accompanied by social policies that minimise social costs? While it can be argued that local authorities are well situated to develop and implement integral social measures for their communities, Zambian local authorities were strapped of resources at the time and have continued to be cash-strapped to this day. In this case, the abandonment of social service facilities on revenue-strapped local authorities resulted in high social costs. The implementation of global development policies at the time depict incoherencies resulting in detrimental effects on social services provision. Owning assets that produce revenue is at the core of progressive localism to support local agendas. During this period of Development Agreements, incoherencies are

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33 Lungu, J (2008)
34 Fraser A and J Lungu, 2007: For Whom the Windfalls: Winners and losers in the privatisation of Zambia’s Copper Mines. Printec, Lusaka
35 ibid
36 Featherstone et al. (2012)
noted as the neo-liberal principle of minimalist government was driving development via civil society and markets whilst the Development Agreements pushed all which they termed ‘liabilities’ back to the sub-national. The Development Agreements failed to protect local community youth centres (community halls) and sport facilities. There was need for the state to have played a strong role to protect its community development programmes by challenging the conflicting development policy positions brought about via neo-liberal ideologies. This negative framing of policy incoherence shows the external pressures that influenced the decision-making and implementation of development policies and their impact on SDP development in Zambia. While the next example, the Quality Physical Education (QPE) policy revision, still has external influence, the active involvement of local agents demonstrates attention to identifying and utilising ‘synergies’ between different policies to achieve development outcomes. It also demonstrates local actors influence on contextualization of external instruments to local needs through collaborative policy design (The Zambia QPE project is not yet at implementation phase).

Policy Coherence: Education, Health and Sport

Recently, Zambia was engaged in UNESCO’s QPE policy revision. As a pilot case study from a low-income country, this example will be used to demonstrate attempts towards removing contradictions or addressing (in)coherences between policies. It demonstrates how the QPE policy revision processes were used to positively enhance policy outcomes between a set of policies under different government departments. The novel SDP-based application of policy coherence by Lindsey and Darby will be frequently referred to throughout the rest of this paper to help support a similar application of the concept. Citing Knoll (2014) and Verschaeve et al (2016), Lindsey and Darby postulate that policy coherence and development can be influenced by multiple stakeholders having different interests and power. The ongoing QPE policy revision processes in Zambia have a representation of multiple stakeholders consisting of both state and non-state actors. These include government policy makers from the departments of: Education, Sport, Youth and Health. Also involved are academics from private and public institutions, national sports federations and SDP practitioners. At government level, two key government ministries lead the QPE policy revision processes: Ministry of General Education (MoGE) and Ministry of Youth, Sport and Child Development (MYSCD).

Having their own departmental strategic plans, aimed at a similar target audience of young people, these state actors have different interests and demonstrate variations in their power of resources. For example, MoGE has infrastructure (schools) and human resources (teachers) with national geographical reach but still lagging behind, in terms of innovative pedagogical approaches to support full mainstreaming of sport as a development tool. While, SDP NGOs have demonstrated innovative ways of mainstreaming sport as a development tool, they lack of resources (mainly physical

38 See Lindsey and Darby, (2018) for novel application of the policy coherence concept in SDP
39 The QPE Policy revision has been conducted, a new policy framework drawn and currently undergoing national validation processes by concerned stakeholders. Thereafter, the two ministries involved will launch the policy.
40 See Lindsey and Darby (2018)
and finance), and are significantly limited in geographical reach. In regards to the MYSCD’s Department of Sport Development (DSD), a perennial shortage of resources (finances, community infrastructure and manpower) restricts its resource commitments to mainly elite sport as a priority. These variations and their impact upon outcomes relating to mainstreaming sport in development programmes and policies were noted during the QPE policy review of four selected government departments.

The desk review examined the alignment of each of the four department’s national policies against Zambia’s Vision 2030’s aspirations, the National Development Plans and the SDGs. The four policies were cognizant of wider development objectives and had all acknowledged the alignment of their policies to the Vision 2030 and the National Development Plans. However, this QPE policy revision focused specifically on how these four national policies (Education, Youth, Sport, and Health) had acknowledged or mainstreamed sport as a tool for development outcomes. The QPE desk review included the author of this paper, engaged initially by the QPE National Coordinator as a sport policy expert on Zambia, and later to be appointed as UNESCO QPE National Monitoring and Evaluation expert for Zambia. The thematic group mainly focused on three sub-objectives, two of which were:

a) To strengthen cooperation in policy design and implementation between three government ministries responsible for education, sport and health – (MoGE, MYSCD and MoH)

b) To strengthen linkages between the national youth policy and the PE and Sport vocational pathway.

To tackle the first sub-objective, the group conducted a desk review exercise searching for policy coherence among each of the aforementioned national policies. The analysis sought to examine the way in which sport was being utilised or mainstreamed in development policy outcomes. To begin with, the thematic group discovered that there was no consensus among the four departments regarding the definition of sport. The MoH for example, had no single mention or use of the word ‘sport’ in its national health policy. While the national youth policy had several mentions and stipulated intentions to use sport as a development tool. There was however, not a single working definition of sport adopted across the four government policies. This prompted the need to have a mutually and coherently agreed working definition of sport among the key stakeholders. This was an indication of the potential consequences likely to inhibit the achievement of policy coherence between the three ministries.

Furthermore, implications upon development policy goals by each of these ministries is likely to show ‘incoherencies’ in relation to the contributions of sport. For example, both the National Health Policy (NHP) and the National Sport Policy (NSP), are anchored in achieving development aspirations espoused in Vision 2030. Being the first comprehensive or overarching health policy, designed to respond to the current health challenges facing the nation, the fact that the policy on health does not make mention of both physical education and sport despite highlighting the need for ministerial collaboration between MoH and MoGE is problematic. The implementation

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framework within the NHP calls for an intra and inter-sectoral collaboration despite not highlighting the role of PE and Sport. Instead, its key focus is on physical activity and the role that physical activity can play in contributing to health. The prioritised development goals in the NHP instead are fixed on physical inactivity and the strong link to non-communicable diseases (SDG Target 3.4). Therefore, the QPE Revision group tasked the MoH representative to consider the inclusion of mutually agreed definitions of sport, PE and physical activity to their policies. Doing so, has the potential to bring clarity among a wide range of actors of the role that sport can play towards development as well as scale-up the contributions of sport-based contributions towards SDG 3, 4, 5, and 17. On the contrary, the National Youth Policy (NYP) unlike the national health policy, prioritizes and fully embraces the role that sport and creative arts play in the lives of young people.

The second objective presents us with more policy coherence and inclusive implementation of a wide range of institutions and organisations that can contribute to the plight of youth using sport and creative arts. The desk review of the NYP revealed that the policy is in many aspects coherent with the sports policy document. It is vital to mention that these two departments (Sport and Youth) are housed under one ministry, hence, the potential for frequent dialogue to address incoherencies. The NYP strongly links into the main SDGs identified by Commonwealth Secretariat towards which sport can make a significant contribution. The key policy priority areas under which development interventions have been crafted include employment and entrepreneurship development (SDG 8); education and skills development (SDG 4); health (SDG 3) and cultural, creative industries and sport (SDG 11). The QPE thematic group searched for coherence in these areas mapping wide institutional structures through which participants can play a role to enhance quality of life, employment chances and active citizenship among youths.

Conclusion

While the two, transfer of asset through Development Agreements and the QPE policy revision, are two very distinct policy issues, the two enlighten us about policy coherence and development outcomes. The implementation of the Development Agreements demonstrates how policy incoherencies had huge social costs, particularly towards community sport and recreation. The QPE policy revision example demonstrates how potential synergies can be identified and potentially result in collaborative planning and implementation (SDG 17). Policy coherence, the effective mainstreaming of sport in development programmes and policies, has positive implications on resource mobilisation when effective partnerships for development goals create opportunities for generating resources. Aid alone, in the form of foreign resource dependency, which is characteristic of SDP organisations, will not produce sustainable development.

However, in a socio-economic climates such as Zambia, sport civic enterprises are still remote despite other national policies (national youth policy) encouraging the

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43 See Lindsey and Darby (2018)
formalisation of entrepreneur activities into micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises (SDG Target 8.3). The current sport policy still needs to expand on non-state actors can be supported through an enabling policy environment to transform into civic enterprises. Ratten, based on her work on sport-based social enterprises, argues that entrepreneur activities by SDP organisations can be a source of both social and economic value⁴⁶. This paper has argued that a decade ago, the lack of social capital and financial stability inhibited SDP organisations to be considered for asset transfers. Today, the same SDP organisations have gained high social capital within their communities and with other development sector organisations that have thrived on micro-financing schemes. Still, the SDP sector heavily relies or shows dependency on external donors. Despite the political climate having tremendously improved for SDP organisations to operate and interact with state and other non-state actors, access to financial support from local financial institutions is still a huge barrier towards financial independence.

Perhaps more collaborative activities between private and civil society organisations which have experiences in resource mobilisation from entrepreneur activities may provide opportunities for SDP organisations to access business-like models of locally generated resources (SDG Target 17.17). With regards to policy coherence, the policy review of PE and Sport (QPE) has included in its proposed curriculum development, a theme on entrepreneurial activities for teacher trainees. This is aligned to the national youth policy which stresses social entrepreneurial activities and access to finance for young people. Ratten argues that mistrust and lack of a culture for supporting business innovations, particularly those focused on sport, impedes local resource generation through entrepreneurship.

⁴⁶ Ratten, V (2011) cited in Lindsey and Chapman