

## The potential of sport for development and peace

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### Introduction

Sport has been promoted on a broad basis for a number of decades now - everywhere from schools and recreational organisations to high-level competitive programs. In addition to development of the activity itself (sport promoting sport), sport possesses further potential for human, economic and social development, as well as for promoting peace. Thus far, little research has been devoted to this potential. Except for studies concerning the positive effects on health in general, there has been no systematic analysis of sport's potential for development co-operation and conflict prevention.

The following article examines the link between sport and social development and critically analyses sport's potential for development co-operation and the promotion of peace. The analysis focuses on active sport as an organised or spontaneous physical activity. In this initial step, the spectator and sport media levels will be excluded due to their complexity and then only partially included in the analysis. In addition, reference to other research is provided when considering sport as an economic factor.

### Definition of terms

Before turning to issues of sport and development, a few terms must be clarified. What is it that links the fields of "sport" and "development"? How can they be brought into relation with each other?

On the one hand, sport is a form of symbolic human expression, which - in contrast to dialogue - focuses on physical activity. Sport is a medium that describes a temporary process on the micro-micro level (individual types of sport) or the micro-meso level (sport associations).<sup>1</sup>

In this context it is useful to define sport in a broad sense, encompassing "all forms of physical activity which, through casual or organised participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming social relationships or obtaining results in competition at all levels."<sup>2</sup>

In contrast, the definition of "development" is very complex. In the area of development co-operation it is likely to refer to the macro level (regional - national) and the macro-macro level (international). Furthermore, the definition of "development" is contingent upon place and time and, depending on ideological orientation, can incorporate different aims (Nohlen, 2000). For the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC, 1999), "development" means, for example, poverty alleviation, safeguarding of natural resources, resolving conflict, ensuring peace, empowering the disadvantaged, providing access to information, ensuring equitable development for women and men, fostering understanding between cultures and supporting human rights, the rule of law and democracy.

The "Sport & Development" field, therefore, relates a micro dimension to a macro dimension, with the former being the explaining variable (explanans) and the latter the variable to be explained (explanandum). ?Sport? can thus have a (positive/negative) effect on the aggregate variable ?development?, a variable which can be measured to a certain degree.<sup>3</sup>

Sport, in our broad sense of the word, can thus exert a positive influence on (1) public health; (2) socialisation of children and young people, as well as of adults and seniors, including the social inclusion of disadvantaged groups; and (3) economic development of regions and even states. Furthermore, sport can also prove useful in (4) intercultural exchange for the promotion of peace, the prevention of conflict, and the treatment of trauma. Several positive and negative keywords in conjunction with the four fields of development are summarised in Figure 1.

Fig.1: Sport in various fields of development

| Field of development     | Keywords  |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Human development     | health, fitness, well-being, respect for onexs opponent, tolerance, body culture, overexertion due to high-level competitive sports, doping |
| 2. Social development    | social cohesion, civil society, teamwork, anomie, xenophobia, hooligans   |
| 3. Economic development  | promotion of development, investments due to major events, creation of jobs, exploitation, child labour                                     |
| 4. Political development | promotion of peace, rules of democracy, nationalism, political propaganda   |

### Historical background

The historical background of sport and development co-operation cannot be presented in detail here; instead a sketch of trends in development aid and the role of sport since 1948 will have to suffice.

After the successful rebuilding of Western Europe with the help of the Marshall Plan, consisting essentially of a crucial injection of financial aid, an attempt was made to apply the positive experience in Europe to countries in the South. This trend was marked by a one-sided focus on economic growth and modernisation, to be expedited by considerable fiscal backing from the donor countries. "Development" was viewed as synonymous with "economic growth" and the per-capita income set as a benchmark of development.

As the debt crisis intensified in the mid-60s, the development theories based on this one-sided focus of economic growth fell increasingly into disrepute, resulting in a phase of cultural relativism. Dependencia theories cast doubt on the "Western" model of modernisation (ethnocentrism) and contended that the dependency on a capitalistic system was responsible for the underdevelopment of many countries.

However, the phase of cultural relativism and theories concerning the disassociation from the South provided no viable alternative solutions. A series of debt rescheduling programs followed, and an intensive debate was launched on the universal nature of human rights.

Although the debate on development has not slackened in the meantime, the general consensus has formed that a solution must be found between the Scylla of cultural relativism and Charybdis of one-sided pursuit of economic growth. In the process, the search for universal values (freedom of belief and expression) and guarantors for protection of the individual (against torture, slavery, genocide, apartheid) have assumed an innately important role (Kälin, 1994).

One of these universally applicable values could be the right to physical activity and sport. UNESCO explicitly specified this right in article 1 of its international charter on physical education and sport in 1978:

"Every human being has a fundamental right of access to physical education and sport, which are essential for the full development of his personality. The freedom to develop physical, intellectual and moral powers through physical education and sport must be guaranteed both within the educational system and in other aspects of social life." <sup>4</sup>

The call for a universal right to "sport", however, has an even longer tradition. The founding father of the modern Olympic Games, the Frenchman Pierre de Coubertin, recognised the "Olympic" value of sport back in the late 19th century. The aim of the Olympics was to place sport in the service of harmonious individual development and the establishment of a peaceful society.<sup>5</sup>

It would, however, be naive to view the right to sport as a universally recognised value without considering the historical background and cultural characteristics of sport. Similar to arguments regarding other freedoms, it is often asserted that sport is based on a Western tradition of thought and does not exhibit this validity in other cultural traditions. This position derives in particular from the Basel historian Jakob Burckhardt, who in the late 19th century viewed competition (Greek: agon) as a typical feature of ancient Greek culture.

Although more recent research on ancient Egypt and the Middle East has refuted Burckhardt's thesis in an impressive manner (Decker, 1999, p. 28), the modern notion of sport remains strongly linked to the Western world, and cannot simply be transferred to other cultures.

Criticism of modern sport as seen from the Freudo-Marxist perspective is provided by French political scientist Jean-Marie Brohm, who views sport as one of the elements of capitalism used to colonise the world (Brohm,

1992).

However, criticism of modern sport in association with development has not been only asserted from a Marxist position. Fates Youcef investigated the role of sport in Third World countries, focusing particularly on the case of Algeria and the Maghreb region. He demonstrated that sport in the Third World has a primarily political function, serving national identity and national prestige (Youcef, 1994).

The relation between sport and nationalism has been examined in particular by John Hargreaves (2000). He supports Youcef's hypothesis that sport can lead to the strengthening of national identity and nationalism. Ultimately, it has to do with the display of power:

"The consensus among commentators on sport and globalisation then, seems to be that while globalised sport may stimulate national identity and nationalism in given cases, in the final analysis it is, nevertheless, overwhelmingly a manifestation of the power and universal triumph of advanced consumer capitalism that negates national identity and reduces nationalism to a spent force."<sup>6</sup>

Sociologist Richard Giulianotti's work in this field provides a distinction between the various types of sport. He writes that in the former colonies, sport brought a clear division between the colonial powers and the indigenous populations. Sports such as rugby or cricket reinforced social divisions and ethnic segregation (Giulianotti, 2000, p. 19).

"In addition, we have to recognize that historically, sports have been ideological vehicles for promoting the world-view of powerful elites. In Africa, the colonials found that teaching rugby, cricket or other sports to the black African population would be a useful way of passing their time, but of encouraging a sense of cultural dependency among locals on the Europeans, and instilling particular values regarding teamwork, obedience to one's master, self-sacrifice, and so on".

The colonial powers played a significant role in determining which sports would be played - and by whom. Not all sporting activities were a matter of colonial power. Football is a good example here, played widely in many populations and viewed as "culturally neutral".

The debate over the relation between sport and development is still unresolved today. On the one hand, there is an obvious danger of creating a sport ideology through politics and exploiting sport through business. On the other hand, cultural and social scientists are convinced that sport can serve as an ideal vehicle for conveying sport's universal values, such as fairness and respect.

It has been the traditional types of sports and games which are currently enjoying a world-wide renaissance due to the influence of NGOs and institutions, such as other. This is increasingly becoming recognised as part of the cultural heritage of a country, sometimes even of a particular region.

In the following section, different aspects of sport on the personal and social levels will be analysed. Various empirical accounts on the relation of sport and development are available today. A multitude of publications have been devoted to the effects of sport on health and personal development.<sup>7</sup> The use of sport as a means of social integration has been examined particularly in Anglo-Saxon-speaking regions.<sup>8</sup> Characteristic of the research is the fact that it is based primarily on experiences of industrial nations and that there is practically no research available which is comparative of countries (synchronic) or longitudinal (diachronic). Both are essential for a systematic analysis of sport's potential.

### **Sport as a human development factor**

Movement and sport belong to the most basic/fundamental freedoms in every culture. Equally important as the right of every individual to be able to express his emotions and opinions in words is the right to physical and playful movement. Humans are not only working and bartering beings (*homo oeconomicus*), but also playful and playing beings (*homo ludens*). Consequently, sport ? in our broad sense of the word ? is to be protected as a positive freedom.<sup>9</sup>

Many connections exist between sport and social development: sport influences the physical and mental well-being and health of a nation. However, sport also exhibits a social dimension and forms an important component of a modern civil society. Particularly in the case of children and young people, sports associations are very attractive and overshadow the traditional triad of a civil society: church-political party-trade union.

In addition to its primary function as a physical activity, sport also indirectly influences social development; it is a very influential economic factor. Sport has become a global player as well as a global payer due to international competition and the presence of the media.

Sport emerges as an important factor in the development of a society, or as Ann Hillmer and Jean Fabre write: "We are concerned about the development of sport because we are concerned about the development of our societies." (Fabre, Hillmer, 1998). UNESCO's widely supported demand to have physical education and sport included in the Human Development Index (HDI) thus comes as no surprise (UNESCO, 1999).<sup>10</sup>

## Health

The connection between sport and health has been intensively researched for several years. The positive effects which physical education and sport have on health are easy to prove. It is generally agreed that physical movement and sport positively influence the well-being and health of the human being. Regular physical activity increases life expectancy, minimises the risk of heart disease or heart attack, reduces or prevents high blood pressure, maintains weight and contributes to the healthy development of muscles and bone structure.

Regular physical movement in moderation also relieves the strain on the health care system. The WHO estimates that about 1.9 million people die because of an almost total lack of physical activity, and that physical inactivity is responsible for approximately 10-16% of all cases of breast, colon and rectal cancers and diabetes mellitus as well as 22% of ischemic heart diseases (WHO, 2002, p. 61). Similar studies regarding Switzerland are also available (Sportmedizin 2001). It was calculated in a study in the USA that a single dollar invested in sport saved 3.2 dollars in health costs. Physical exercise of at least 30 minutes per day can greatly improve a person's feeling of well-being and reduce expenditures for social services.

It is generally assumed that an increase in the frequency of training results in a decrease of the marginal profit and - after a certain degree - can even have a negative impact. The risk and possibility of injuries increases tremendously the closer the level of activity resembles "high-level competition". In addition, risk factors differ from one sport to another and depend on the motives (Lamprecht, Stamm 2002, p. 66ff.) From a health-economics perspective, an optimal level of physical fitness is considered to have been achieved when the marginal profit exceeds the marginal costs.

## Personal development

The positive effects of sport on human development and physical well-being have been known for some time: sport can enhance motor, physical, and psychological skills. Individuals learn how to deal with emotions and become acquainted with limitations, both internal (level of performance and preparedness) and external (rules, opponents, environment). Sport can make a valuable contribution to developing self-confidence, organisational skills, and respect for the body (Sonstroem, 1984). Various studies also confirm the positive effects of sport and physical education in combating state anxiety, tension, stress and depression for people of all ages and both sexes (ISSP 1992) and in promoting a healthy lifestyle (Furnham, 1990). In an interesting study Plante, LeCaptain and McLean demonstrated that psychological health is more closely related to perception of physical fitness than to actual fitness or physical activity (Plante et al., 2000)

From the theoretical perspective, it cannot in fact be clearly verified whether people who participate in sports naturally possess certain attributes such as assertiveness or self-confidence (trait theories), or whether they acquire various attributes through socialisation. However, the fact that a variety of positive character traits are associated with physical activity and perceived fitness remains undisputed. The adage that a healthy mind resides in a healthy body has been proven empirically.

## Sport and aggression

Studies on the connection between sport and aggression are particularly interesting. In this context, aggression is defined as behaviour which aims to injure or harm the opponent. There is a distinction between hostile and instrumental aggression: the former primarily aims at injuring the opponent, whereas the latter type serves in achieving a sporting goal (e.g. winning points). When the basic attitude can be described as xaggressivex without intent to injure, it is viewed as a pronounced level of assertiveness.

Different studies have demonstrated that sports activity may very well lead to a channelling of aggression and that there is a negative correlation between the amount of training and the tendency to use violence (Javis, 2002, p. 56). It is often suspected that martial art types of sport in particular increase the tendency to use violence. This is not necessarily the case, as verified by a study on the behaviour of karate athletes where a negative correlation between the amount of training and the tendency to use violence was demonstrated (Daniels and Thornton, 1990). A useful model for explaining for these conclusions is provided with a closer look at anomie.

## Sport and anomie

Sport can provide a common frame of reference: in a rapidly changing world, sport offers a simple societal framework and can make an important contribution to self-development and self-realisation. Sport serves to foster identity especially in children and young people and can counteract the problem of social disintegration (anomie). Anomie signifies a general loss of compelling norms and can lead to violence against oneself (depression, suicide) or others (aggression, homicide).

Anomie occurs when basic living conditions vary severely.<sup>11</sup> The cause of anomie can vary: rapid transitional processes such as industrialisation or globalisation (major anomie), the change from a centralised to a free-market system (transformation anomie), violent conflicts (conflict anomie), or the loss of a charismatic leader (loss of leadership anomie) can all lead to a general loss of orientation. Interest in the subject of anomie has increased, particularly in offering explanations in the field of criminology. Studies have verified that a high rate of anomie is associated with deviant or delinquent behaviour (Ortmann, 2000).

Conclusively, not only the results of physical activity i.e. physical fitness, have an impact on individual well-being, but the process of being involved in a common societal framework. Sport can minimise negative consequences of anomie, i.e. resorting to acts of violence either towards oneself or against others, due to the fact that it provides a frame of reference. Different studies demonstrate that physical activity negatively correlates with social introversion, depression and daily coping (Plante et al., 2000). The anomie approach may explain why active participation even in martial art types of sport leads to a reduced rather than increased tendency to use violence. It offers also an alternative explanation as to why perceived fitness is a better predictor of daily coping than actual physical activity.

### **Sport and social capital**

Apart from the various skills such as concentration, performance, stamina or mental strength which can be achieved through sport, there is also an added value derived from people "playing together". This capital can be seen as social wealth or social capital. Sport teaches the necessity and sense of teamwork. Communal sporting activities create trust and the feeling of belonging, and provide a specific social structure. Team sports, in particular, are valuable in the production of social capital. However, individual sports also create social capital through training groups and the social environment.

In recent years the role of sport in the battle against social exclusion has been recognised. "Sport England", in particular, initiated sports projects for disadvantaged groups or the poorer members of society (Bryant, 2001; Collins, 2003).

Collins examined the integration of disadvantaged and disabled individuals in England and determined that fringe groups were frequently excluded because sport is expensive. The participation of women, regardless of income, was also below the average. However, sport could make an important contribution to the integration of fringe groups, a fact which has been demonstrated by the allocation of so-called "leisure cards" in the cities of Leicester and Oxford.

England's experiences concerning the inclusion of disadvantaged groups through sport indicate sport's potential in development co-operation. But how can sport be appropriately implemented in countries undergoing development or transformation? Experience in this area is still missing to a large extent. However, the fact that sport can create social capital in poorer, war-torn countries as well is demonstrated by a pilot project called *droit au sport* ("the right to sport") on the Ivory Coast (Lehmann, 2003b).

### **Remarks**

Although scientific knowledge clearly demonstrates that sport exhibits great potential for development of personality and that numerous essential skills and accomplishments can be obtained through sport, it also reveals several dangers and risks that must be taken seriously.

Trait theories are based on the premise that various character traits are innate. However, innate aggression can be channelled through sport. Theories on socialisation are based on the assumption that although people who participate in sports do indeed exhibit certain character traits, the traits are only acquired through socialisation. Heads of sport and sports idols can play a major role in this. Children and young people, in particular, need active guidance if they are to learn how to make use of their bodies in a healthy manner and be able to recognise their own physical, mental, and also general, limits. Only when heads of sport and sports idols are aware of this responsibility and actively address the problems of violence, sexual exploitation and doping in sport, sport's potential for social development can be used (Lehmann, 2003a). The study of anomie reveals that sport not only directly influences personal development, but also provides guidelines in a rapidly changing world and indirectly effects self-confidence and well-being in a positive manner. In particular, anomie explains better than other theories that organised sport activity, including even martial arts types of sport, leads to a reduced (not increased) tendency of violence.

Much effort is still required before the obvious potential of sport can be used to integrate fringe groups and battle anomie. The experience of "Sport England" shows that disadvantaged groups and the poorer sections of society cannot usually be reached or do not receive adequate support. In addition, heads of sport often lack understanding and experience in the area of integration and development work (Bryant, 2001).

The main difficulty stems from the fact that much information in this area is based on experience from

developed countries and that little is known about sport's potential in developing and transforming countries.

## Sport as a mirror and agent of society

### Sport and civil society

The building of a functioning civil society has become a central aim of current development co-operation. Civil society as a third force together with state and private economy has a special function in the maintenance and success of democratic structures.

In 1835/40, in his essay on democracy in America, Alexis de Tocqueville recognised the importance of the role played by associations in maintaining democracy. In his view, associations are a type of "training camp" for active participation in the democratic political decision-making process. An association's members learn to organise themselves, to elect representatives and to become accountable and responsible for a collective body or unit (Tocqueville 1987, p. 280).

Civil structures can pursue political, cultural and even sporting aims, which can be of a formal or informal nature. Figure 2 gives an overview of possible networks.

Fig.2: formal and informal networks

|                          | Political aims                                    | Cultural aims                                       | Sports aims                       |
|--------------------------|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| <b>Formal networks</b>   | political parties, trade unions, political groups | church, cultural foundations, cultural associations | sports clubs, sports associations |
| <b>Informal networks</b> | political clubs, lobbyists                        | cultural exhibitions, arts clubs                    | sports events, xstreet football   |

Although memberships in organisations are generally decreasing in industrialised countries, sports associations have remained an exception to this tendency (Putnam, 2001, p. 667/8). Sports associations have gained ground in recent decades. There are three reasons for the attraction of sports associations:

1. Sport speaks a simple language, which simplifies intercultural understanding and is particularly attractive in today's multicultural society. Linguistic integration is also important in sport but is not as indispensable as in political or cultural associations.
2. Sport is an international trend; it diverges from the traditional triad of church-party-trade union and sets greater value on informal associations, limited responsibility and flexibility.
3. The problem of "free riders" remains more of a minor issue for sports associations than for trade unions or political parties because sports clubs are primarily of value to the members (intrinsic value), and can be closed to non-members (Olson, 1965).

Today sport has become a central component in modern civil society. Children and young people, in particular, find sports associations very attractive. In Scandinavia, for example, about 80% of the population have been members of a sports club at some time (Patriksson, 1995). The Shell study on youth in Germany provides interesting information on membership in sports associations (Shell study, 2000). The percentage of young people who indicated membership in a sport association increased from 33.2% in 1996 to 35.1% in 1999. The percentage of those who hold an office in a sport association is 16.1% (1996: 13.4%).

### Sport and violent conflicts

A brief look at the origins of sport suffices to note that its history is closely linked to the use of physical violence. Hunting with bows and arrows in early advanced cultures, the Olympic contests in Greece, and medieval jousting tournaments are all sports-like encounters representing an organised display of violence and serving to hone individual skills in battle. Alternatively, competitions also served as a forum for exchange between different peoples and for peaceful resolution of rivalry and conflict.

Conflicts are a normal phenomenon in every society. The aim is not to prevent conflicts (these are necessary for every development), but to solve conflicts without having to resort to violence. This is sport's more interesting side. Compared with all other types of dialogue, sport shows a distinctive advantage; with its playful attitude, rational arguments can be "played out". Even when conflicting parties are not prepared to sit down together, it is possible to link the conflicting parties through sport. Experience in the former Yugoslavia

and other war-torn regions has shown that sports potential has been underestimated as a confidence-builder following ethnic conflicts.

Sport benefits from being a reflection of life. Symbolic games and competitions can take the place of cultural conflict, with armies replaced by teams competing peacefully in accordance with prescribed rules. Sport follows the precepts of international politics and international law. The UN plays the role of a non-partisan body, ensuring that the rules are obeyed.

### **Sport and intercultural dialogue**

Sport speaks a simple language. It can unite different peoples, irrespective of religion, race or social background. It is also a medium for enabling and fostering international relations. Sports competitions allow individuals, groups and nations to measure themselves against one another - peacefully, constructively and with mutual benefit. Sport as a medium for intercultural dialogue is particularly attractive to children and young people. Experiences with children and young people in the Balkans in recent years have shown sports potential. Anders Levinsen's "Fun Football School" is an example that illustrates this: children, both girls and boys, are invited to a one-week training camp (Fun Football School) where the multi-ethnic combination of trainers and children is given particular emphasis. After any questions regarding organisation have been clarified, the children become involved in playing a ball game together and learn to have fun with each other (Levinsen, 2003).

The Fun Football Schools differ from other conflict management methods in that discussion of the problem is not the starting point. Levinsen writes: "This is not a conflict management tool that has the parties sit around a table discussing why they cannot live together peacefully. We create a programme where people act and play together in a constructive atmosphere, in real time, so to speak."<sup>12</sup>

In addition to grass-root projects, sport is also particularly significant in the dialogue between people of different nationalities. International sports competitions in particular represent a platform for dialogue. Dialogue between cultures through sport can be achieved more quickly and with less financial investment than through traditional cultural exchange programs. The journal *Kulturaustausch* ("Cultural Exchange" reported that "a popular football player like Jürgen Klinsmann might possibly do more in a year for short-term German-British relations and a more positive image for Germany than ten years of programs at a Goethe Institute" (*Kulturaustausch*, p. 3). Of course, the opposite can also be true as the example of Zvonimir Boban, captain of Zagreb football team, showed. Boban was immortalized as a hero of Croatian nationalism by a photograph showing him kicking a policeman (Gasser, 2002, p. 15).

Particularly interesting are the modern Olympic Games, which have been taking place since 1896. The Olympic Games are increasingly becoming a major international media event. Critical voices speaking of the potential or misuse of sport look back at the Olympic Games in Germany in 1936 and forward to the Olympic Games in China in 2008. Various studies have shown that, on the one hand, there is indeed a latent risk that the Olympic Games can be instrumentalised for political propaganda, just like other major events. On the other hand, it is clear that the Olympic Games Committee has repeatedly exerted great pressure on political leaders to abolish violent confrontations and racism and to seek compromise (Ueberhorst, 1995).

The World Cup in Japan and Korea in 2002 also illustrated the potential of major sporting events with regard to dialogue between cultures. The Japanese newspaper *Tokio Shimbun* reported an example of this: "The supporters of the Japanese and Korean teams definitely moved closer to one another during this championship. Let the young people of both countries write a new history based on this joint hospitality, and let us leave our unfortunate past in the past." (*Tokio Shimbun*, 19 June 2002, p. 6).

Despite the evident hazards of hooliganism, racism and doping, American writer Paul Auster describes sport as the "perfect alternative to war". Violent conflicts and war are replaced by competitions and games. "Countries now battle each other by means of proxy armies in short trousers on the playing field." (*Kulturaustausch*, p. 62).

Anthropologist Paul Richards (1997) underlines the role of football as an alternative to war with the example of Sierra Leone. He found that for most young people in West Africa, a raising of social status is based on traditional values. In this system of rule, further education or promotion in state or private institutions does not improve social status. Instead, individuals have to prove themselves as soldiers and join guerrilla organisations. There is, however, an alternative way of improving status at a more "playful" level: football is revealed as a perfect alternative to war.

### **Sport in a global world**

Sport has become an important component in a world which has become global. In the United States the car industry and the chemical industry achieve a turnover of about 100 billion US dollars. In contrast, sporting

activities are linked to a turnover of 152 billion US dollars (Hillmer, Fabre 1997). The analysis of several sports events clearly demonstrates that major sports events provide a considerable contribution to promoting trade, industry and business, both regionally and nationally.

Increasing media presence also brings with it the danger of instrumentalising sport for populist and nationalistic purposes. The link between sport and nationalism and separatist ambitions is frequently emphasised by critics and has also been researched scientifically (Teichler 1999; Hargreaves 2002). The Olympic Games in Barcelona were particularly noteworthy because of the political situation and the separatist ambitions of Catalonia.<sup>13</sup> As Hargreaves reported, the interaction between Catalanian and Spanish identities and interests was very important for the Games. It was a great help to the Games that Spanish and Catalanian identities were integrated in a global economic and cultural network. The Spanish state was in no way weakened by the Games and the excellent organisation strengthened national unity and Spanish prestige. Moreover, Catalonia was able to profit from the games at an economic, cultural and political level. According to Hargreaves, joint responsibility for this mutual success can be attributed to a well-developed civil society, cultural institutions and a healthy trust in indigenous cultural identity.

### **Remarks**

Even if sport is a mirror of society with all its positive and negative aspects, scientists and practitioners agree that sport involves enormous education potential, which can be implemented with the help of expert assistance from heads of sport and the example of sports idols. However, experience indicates a need for further training for heads of sport, trainers and coaches. The involvement of fringe groups, in particular, requires more information and research.

The potential which sport has as a medium for securing peace or preventing violent conflicts cannot be completely clarified. On the one hand, aggression can be reduced or channelled by sport. On the other hand, sport releases emotions that can lead to nationalism and xenophobia. The analysis of sport's potential as a medium for securing peace is particularly problematic.

The main difficulty in ascertaining the extent of sport's potential in ensuring peace lies in clearly defining what it means to ensure peace. While ensuring peace and preventing conflict are important factors politically, they are very complex and nearly impossible to define as objects of scientific study.

### **Conclusion**

As has been demonstrated above, sport holds enormous potential for development co-operation and the promotion of peace. Up until now, state aid has been limited to the development of school sports, while sports associations in developing countries have mainly promoted their own type of sport ("sport promoting sport"). Both these directions of activity are worthwhile, but sport's potential extends far beyond this.

Heads of sport and sports associations must meet the challenge of discovering this potential and increasing awareness of the use of sport as a medium for development work and the promotion of peace on an international level.

**Clear commitment:** The main challenge consists of convincing the international community that sport should be recognised and promoted as a universal value. This is not a matter of downplaying the dangers inherent in sport at the practical level. Sport offers no magic formula! However, with a clear declaration from decision-makers and backers, the seeds that have long lain hidden in the common ground of sport and development can finally begin to bear fruit.

**Partnership approach:** The utilisation of sport for development co-operation and the promotion of peace also require intensified co-operation starting at government level (top down) and at the level of practical work on the field (bottom up). Ministers, directors and others responsible for sport and development, as well as international sports associations, national committees, sports goods producers and also non-governmental organisations (NGOs), must all be won over to the partnership approach and develop a wide network.

**Evidence:** There has been no systematic analysis of this potential, nor have there been any positive indicators showing sport as an efficient and permanent form of development co-operation until the present. More research efforts are needed in order to create a clear concept for the monitoring and evaluation of sports and development projects. The necessary form that allows sport to be viewed as a human development factor in statistics on development has still to be clarified. Neither the number of gold medals at the Olympic Games nor the number of sports clubs can be used as a reliable measurement. Innovative methods will also be in demand in the future if the role of sport is to be rendered measurable as a factor in social development.

**Respect:** What is true for other universal values is also true for sport: if sport is to be recognised as a universal value, it will have to be broken down at the "neutral culture" level - together with its historical and social context - which renders culture-specific realisation possible. This aim can be achieved through the promotion



of traditional types of sport and the implementation of world festivals of traditional sports. However, introducing a world-wide list of traditional types of sport is only a start. Those responsible for the media, in particular, must accept special responsibility by respecting other cultures and their types of sport and taking these into account strategically.

It will therefore be no easy task to establish sport as a fundamental, positive right to freedom for people of different religions, races or social classes. Targeted co-operation can allow sport's potential to come to fruition for a better and more just world. However, in doing so, it must also be recognised that acquiring recognition of other universal freedoms, such as freedom of opinion or freedom of belief, has also been difficult, and that they have frequently been instrumentalised at the expense of the common good.

<sup>1</sup> The term "sport" is derived from Latin *disportare*, meaning to "divert" or "amuse" oneself. This developed into the now outdated French term *desports* and the English *disport* (Moraw, 1999, p. 68).

<sup>2</sup> See Article 2.1 of the European Sports Charter. It should also be noted that in current English usage, the term "sport" is more narrowly defined than in German, referring not only to recreational and school sport (also called physical education) but also to high-level competitive sport (*Leistungssport* in German).

<sup>3</sup> This understanding, however, should not lead to a conflation of the epistemological and institutional levels, with sport institutions subordinated to development institutions. Development practitioners and sport developers can obviously learn from one another.

<sup>4</sup> International Charter of Physical Education and Sport. Adopted by the General Conference at its twentieth session, Paris, 21 November 1978. Download at: [http://www.unesco.org/education/nfsunesco/pdf/SPORT\\_E.PDF](http://www.unesco.org/education/nfsunesco/pdf/SPORT_E.PDF)

<sup>5</sup> The Olympic Charter, Fundamental Principles, Paragraph 3.

<sup>6</sup> The consensus among commentators on sport and globalisation then, seems to be that while globalised sport may stimulate national identity and nationalism in given cases, in the final analysis it is, nevertheless, overwhelmingly a manifestation of the power and universal triumph of advanced consumer capitalism that negates national identity and reduces nationalism to a spent force.

<sup>7</sup> For example, Sondstroem (1984), Furnham (1990), ISSP (1990), CDDS (1995, p. 11-87), Plante et al. (2000), ICSSPE (2002), Sportmedizin (2001), WHO (2002, p. 61) and Lehmann (2003a).

<sup>8</sup> CDDS (1995, p. 91-133), Bryant (2001) or Collins (2003).

<sup>9</sup> The term *xhomo ludens* is also used by Dutch cultural philosopher Johan Huizinga (1994).

<sup>10</sup> In contrast, there is the difficulty of quantifying sport as a human development factor. Neither the number of Olympic gold medals nor the number of sport clubs can be interpreted as a reliable unit of measurement. Innovative methods will be needed in the future if the role of sport is to be rendered measurable as a factor of social development.

<sup>11</sup> The state of anomie (from Latin *anomos* = lawlessness) was first recognised in the 19th century by French philosopher Jean-Marie Guyeau as a fundamental characteristic and dilemma of modern society.

<sup>12</sup> This is not a conflict management tool that has the parties sit around a table discussing why they cannot live together peacefully. We create a program where people act and play together in a constructive atmosphere, in real time, so to speak. (Levinsen, 2003, p. 6)

<sup>13</sup> A comprehensive study by John Hargreaves can be found in *xFreedom for Catalonia* (2000).

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