

POLICY-MAKERS OR POLICY-TAKERS?
A COMPARISON OF CANADIAN AND SWISS SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

by

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ABSTRACT

Current sport policies in many developed countries are often dominated by neo-liberal ideologies, encompassing elite-based conceptions of sport focusing on values such as individualism and performance in lieu of participation and community development (Donnelly & Kidd, 2003; Frisby, Reid & Ponc, 2006). Sport for development (SFD) is concerned with reducing social, economic, and health disparities while focusing on a sport that is available and accessible to all (SDP IWG, 2006). Sport for development non-governmental organizations (SFD NGOs) are trying to change contemporary focuses of sport around the world to encompass these concerns, especially through sport policy influence (Right To Play, 2004b). Recent studies have indicated that influencing policy is one of the major functions of NGO activity (e.g. Betsill & Corell, 2001). This research aimed to reveal key issues pertaining to sport for development theory and policy influence using an interorganizational theory lens.

The purpose was to conduct two case studies of how Canadian and Swiss SFD NGOs attempted to place SFD on the policy agendas of their key national sport partners. The specific research questions were: i) What do Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs see as their key policy imperatives? ii) Who do they see as their key national sport partners? iii) What strategies are SFD NGOs using to promote SFD to these key national sport partners and what is the nature of these partnerships? iv) What role does the presence of the SFD NGOs in the International Platform on Sport and Development Network (IPSDN) play in their ability/inability to place SFD on the policy agendas of these key sport partners?

Qualitative research methods were used, including document analysis and interviews, as these data collection strategies were consistent with a case study research approach (Creswell, 1998). A content analysis of websites used to display information about both Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs and key documents were analysed, including annual reports, mission statements and policy documents. From each of the two SFD NGOs, 4 key staff members (one staff member twice) were interviewed.

My findings revealed there is a need for a coherent SFD policy to be developed in both Switzerland and Canada, and more concrete policy procedures are required to guide partnerships between elite-based sport organizations and SFD NGOs. Personal connections between SFD NGOs and their key national sport partners contributed to the ability of the former to influence the policy agendas of the latter. Competition and collaboration existed within the IPSDN that both enhanced and constrained the ability of SFD NGOs to influence their key national sport partners.

This study contributed to understandings of: i) how interorganizational theories are useful in drawing attention to the underlying relationships between and amongst SFD NGOs and their partners, and of ii) how these relationships are able to shape and articulate unified or disconnected policy concerns. Future research in this area might examine how partnerships and networks can work more towards enhancing the ability of citizens to influence and contribute to sport policy formation.

TABLE of CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------|
| Abstract | ii |
| Table of Contents | iii |
| List of Tables | vi |
| List of Figures | vii |
| Acknowledgements | viii |
| Chapter 1 | |
| 1.0 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.2 Background of Study | 7 |
| 1.2.1 NGOs: influencing policy by creating partnership linkages | 7 |
| 1.2.2 SFD Practices and Policies in Developed Countries | 10 |
| 1.2.3 Locating Sport Policy Influence and Partnerships within the Canadian Political Framework | 12 |
| 1.2.4. The emphasis on 'local voices' and 'community choices' in Switzerland: A bottom-up approach | 14 |
| 1.3 Purpose of Study | 16 |
| 1.4 The Research Questions | 17 |
| 1.5 Implications of Proposed Research | 17 |
| Chapter 2 | |
| 2.0 Literature Review | 19 |
| Part One: Contributions to SFD NGO Theory | 19 |
| 2.1 Sports Development or Development Through Sport? Contextualizing the Tensions | 19 |
| 2.2 The History of Sport for Development | 21 |
| 2.3 Global (sport) Hegemony and Westernized Definitions | 23 |
| 2.4 Non-Governmental Organizations as representatives of civil society | 24 |
| 2.5 Sport, community, citizenship engagement and civil society | 26 |
| Part Two: Sport, Policy Influence, Partnerships, Collaborations and Networks | 28 |
| 2.6 Sport Policy, Ideology and Power: Shaping the Sport Agenda | 28 |
| 2.7 Using Interorganizational Relations Theory to Understand NGO influence on policy | 31 |
| 2.8 Network Theory: The Power of Connections | 35 |
| 2.9 Transnational Advocacy Networks | 37 |
| 2.10 Summary and Contributions to Existing Literature | 37 |
| Chapter Three | |
| 3.0 Methodology | 42 |
| 3.1 Case Studies - Rationale | 42 |
| 3.2 Research Site | 43 |
| 3.2.1 Case Study Organizational Backgrounds | 45 |
| 3.3 Role of the Researcher | 48 |
| 3.3.1. Reflexivity | 50 |
| 3.4 Sample and Recruitment | 50 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| 3.5 Data Collection | 54 |
| 3.5.1 Document Analysis..... | 54 |
| 3.5.2 Interviews..... | 56 |
| 3.5.3. Field Notes | 60 |
| 3.6 Data Analysis..... | 61 |
| 3.7 Limitations of Research | 62 |
| 3.8 Ethics..... | 63 |

Chapter Four

| | |
|--|-----|
| 4.0 Findings and Discussion | 65 |
| 4.1 SFD Policies: Addressing Multiple Issues through the Power of Sport | 66 |
| 4.1.1. <i>Similar SFD Policies: Social Inclusion, Peace, Target Populations and Partnerships</i> | 69 |
| 4.1.2. <i>The Canadian NGO: Emphasizing Partnerships and transferring international SFD Policies to the Canadian Context</i> | 71 |
| 4.1.3. <i>The Swiss NGO: Already Using SFD Policies in both Developed and Developing Countries</i> | 73 |
| 4.2 Policy Influence: Are SFD NGOs trying to influence current national sport policies?..... | 76 |
| 4.2.1. <i>Introduction: The Complexities of Policy Influence</i> | 76 |
| 4.2.2. <i>The Canadian NGO: Influencing Policy through Social Capital</i> | 78 |
| 4.2.3. <i>The Swiss NGO: Indirectly Influencing Sport Policy?</i> | 80 |
| 4.3 The Centrality of Partnerships to Policy Influence: The Power of Social Capital | 84 |
| 4.3.1 <i>Introduction</i> | 84 |
| 4.3.2. <i>The Canadian NGO: Losing Organizational Identity through Partnerships</i> | 85 |
| 4.3.3. <i>The Swiss NGO: Partnering with Individuals or Organizations?</i> | 87 |
| 4.3.4. <i>Magnifying the Role of Social Capital in Partnerships and Policy Influence</i> | 89 |
| 4.4 Reasons for Partnering: From legitimacy to resource mobilization | 94 |
| 4.4.1. <i>Introduction</i> | 94 |
| 4.4.2. <i>The Canadian NGO: Tensions Limiting Partnerships</i> | 95 |
| 4.4.3. <i>The Swiss NGO: A Sensitive Approach to Partnerships</i> | 100 |
| 4.5 SFD vs. Elite sport: Conflicting values and the fight for power..... | 106 |
| 4.5.1 <i>Introduction</i> | 106 |
| 4.5.2. <i>The Canadian NGO: Dominating values and imbalanced relationships</i> | 108 |
| 4.6.3. <i>The Swiss NGO: The Power of Legitimacy</i> | 112 |
| 4.6. Networking through SFD: Constructive Connections or Disruptive Disconnections? | 116 |
| 4.6.1. <i>Introduction</i> | 116 |
| 4.6.2. <i>The Canadian NGO: Enhancing Governmental Understanding of SFD through Network Relations</i> | 118 |
| 4.6.3 <i>The Swiss NGO: No Shared Vision in IPSDN</i> | 123 |

Chapter Five

| | |
|---|-----|
| 5.0. Conclusions and Recommendations | 129 |
| 5.1 SFD Policies..... | 130 |
| 5.1.1 <i>Similarities between Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs in SFD Policies</i> | 130 |
| 5.1.2. <i>Differences between Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs in SFD Policies: Canadian NGO</i> | 132 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 5.1.3. Differences between Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs in SFD Policies: Swiss NGO | 134 |
| 5.1.4. Canadian NGO Policy Promotion Strategies | 134 |
| 5.1.5. Swiss Policy Promotion Strategies | 135 |
| 5.2. Key National Sport Partners: Reasons for Partnering | 136 |
| 5.2.1. Reasons for Partnering | 136 |
| 5.2.2. Similarities behind Swiss and Canadian NGO's Reasons for Partnering | 136 |
| 5.2.3. Differences behind Swiss and Canadian NGO's Reasons for Partnering | 137 |
| 5.3 Key National Sport Partners: Relationship Dynamics | 137 |
| 5.3.1. Similarities in Relationship Dynamics | 137 |
| 5.3.2. Differences in Relationship Dynamics: Canadian NGO | 138 |
| 5.3.3. Differences in Relationship Dynamics: Swiss NGO | 138 |
| 5.4. The Role of the IPSDN: Collaborating or Dividing? | 139 |
| 5.4.1. The Canadian NGO: Increased Credibility through presence in IPSDN | 139 |
| 5.4.2. Swiss NGO: Frustrations within IPSDN | 140 |
| 5.4.3. Considering Possible Reasons for Differences between Canadian and Swiss NGO | 141 |
| 5.5. Recommendations and Contributions | 143 |
| 5.5.2. Theoretical Contributions | 145 |
| 5.6. Concluding Comments | 147 |
| 5.6.1. Democratic Policy Influence | 147 |
| 5.6.2. Colonization versus Partnership | 148 |
| 5.6.3. Acknowledging the Underlying Value Conflicts in Partnerships for SFD | 149 |
| 5.6.4. Future Research | 150 |
| References | 153 |
| Appendix A1– Interview Protocol for the Swiss NGO | 170 |
| Appendix A2 –Interview Protocol for the Canadian NGO | 172 |
| Appendix B1 – Letter of Contact (Swiss) | 174 |
| Appendix B2 - Letter of Contact (Canadian) | 176 |
| Appendix C – Information Sheet (Swiss / Canadian) | 176 |
| Appendix D – Consent Form (Swiss/ Canadian) | 178 |
| Appendix E1 – Agency Consent Form | 180 |
| Appendix E2 - Agency Consent Form | 180 |
| Appendix F – Table of Codes | 181 |
| Appendix G – Behavioural Research Ethics Board Certificate of Approval | 184 |

List of Tables

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table 3.1 Documents Analyzed..... | 56 |
| Table 3.2 Interview Information..... | 57 |
| Table 4.1 SFD Policies (Swiss and Canadian)..... | 66 |
| Table 4.2 List of Partners..... | 84 |
| Table 5.1. Possible Reasons for Differences Between Canadian and Swiss SFD NGOs..... | 142 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|---|
| Figure 1.1 International Platform on Sport and Development Network..... | 4 |
|---|---|

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Across the developing world, a cumulative concern about the rise in civil unrest, the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the widening gap between the rich and the poor are issues that have become targeted by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), governmental agencies, and international humanitarian groups such as the UN. In developed nations, health issues such as the rise in child obesity (Action Schools! B.C., 2006), and exclusionary practices in sport relating to race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status (Donnelly & Nakamura, 2006; Frisby, Reid & Ponc, 2006); have demanded both innovative and low-cost solutions from governments.

Subsequently, in both developed and developing countries, “sport for development” (SFD) initiatives have become viewed as one of many possible solutions to diverse social problems. SFD is defined as using the values of sport (including physical activity, leisure and recreation), as a tool to augment social and human development. In comparison with the more traditional “sport development” proponents whose focus is on elite performance (Houlihan & White, 2002), SFD is particularly concerned with participation and access to sporting opportunities. As the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group argued:

The inherent concern of [SFD] with reducing social, economic, and health disparities requires a fundamental focus on, and commitment to, sport that is available and accessible to everyone. This focus is a critical factor in differentiating [SFD] from professional and elite sport (2006, p. 12).

Whether as a mechanism for upholding peace in war-torn nations, promoting gender equity, bridging divided neighbourhoods, teaching health prevention tactics, or as an incentive for protecting the environment, sport has recently been understood as a universal means by which to reach the most disadvantaged and needy populations across the globe. While it should

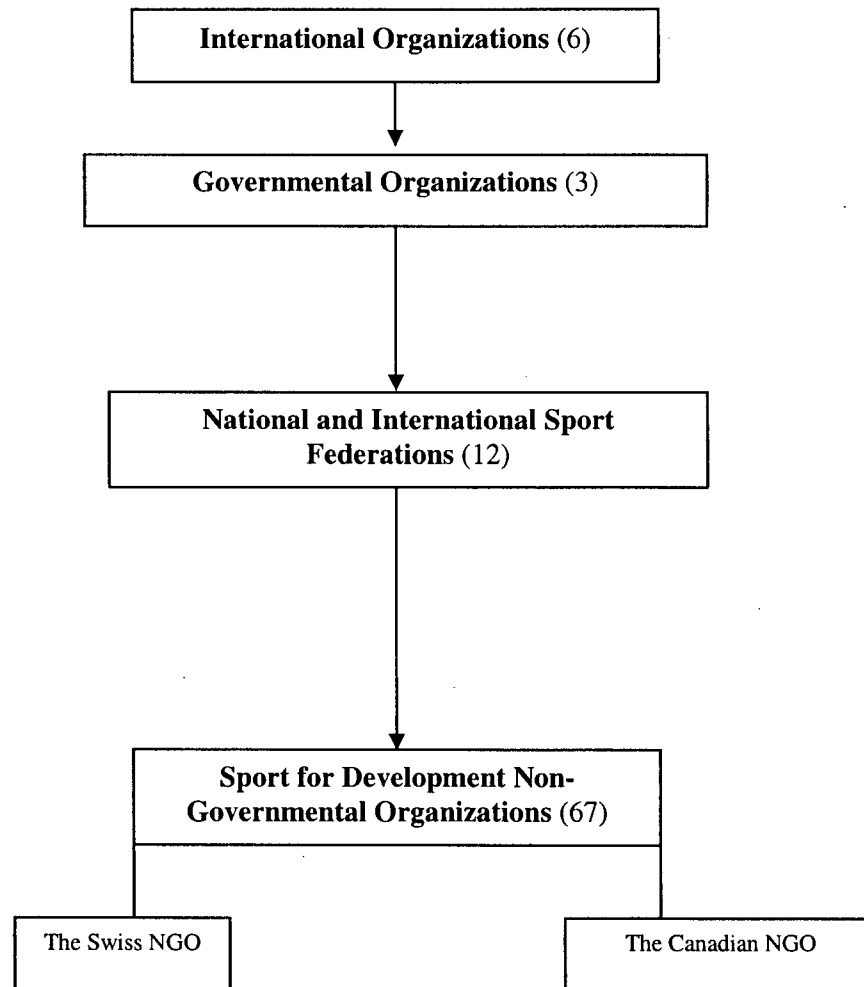
be noted that the social, economic and political environments in every country are very different, sport is believed to be an important factor in the social policy of all governments, developing or developed (SDP IWG, 2006).

Subsequently, the late twentieth and early twenty-first century have seen Western sport for development non-governmental organizations (SFD NGOs) and their governing factions respond to these issues by developing SFD programs to target socially and economically disadvantaged populations. As a retort to the possibility that sport may have some chance at alleviating social problems, the UN named 2005 the “International Year of Sport and Physical Education” (UN, 2005). Consequently, in December, 2003, the International Platform on Sport and Development Network (from here on referred to as the “IPSDN”) was established (see Figure 1.1), governed by global organizations such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC), UNICEF and other sport and governmental entities (Swiss Academy for Development and Cooperation, 2004). Moreover, to highlight the importance of SFD, the UN accounted for over 120 SFD initiatives in 2003 (UN, 2003). However, many of these projects currently being implemented across the globe are seriously lacking in systematically-driven evidence that sport actually heals the problems of deprived populations where politicians and churches have failed (Gasser & Levinsen, 2004).

Providing evidence that SFD ‘works’ is often accompanied by the monitoring and evaluation of SFD projects. Significantly, SFD NGOs such as Right To Play argue that if SFD is acknowledged as a coherent policy, it will be more effective ‘on the ground’ as a tool to support international development:

In order to ensure the most effective use of [SFD], sport must be included as a component of Government development policies, as well as be on the agendas of national and international development agencies” (RTP, 2004b, p. 17).

Figure 1.1 International Platform on Sport and Development Network (IPSDN)
(modified) (www.sportanddev.org).¹



As such, it is important to consider the effect SFD NGOs, and the IPSDN, are having on policies, both in the realms of international development and in sport (SDP IWG, 2006; RTP 2004b). Confusion as to which policy domain to place these initiatives has been recently documented by the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, and will be further explored in this investigation (SDP IWG, 2006).

¹ The number in brackets beside each type of entity denotes the number of each type of organization in the International Platform on Sport and Development Network as of September, 2005.

Regardless of the uncertainty of which policy realm SFD fits into (international development or sport), recognizing it in the form of policy is a concerted aim of the SFD IWG, and other large SFD NGOs such as Right To Play. Without well-designed national strategies and programs, it is maintained that the sustainability of SFD will be weakened (RTP, 2004b). Yet, how will such policies be placed on the agendas of those who are making key decisions about sport and international development?

In fact, political scientists and sport sociologists have uncovered how advocacy groups and NGOs are often able to insert their concerns and influence policy-makers through various strategies (Betsill & Corell, 2000; Humphreys, 2004; Green & Houlihan, 2004). Although theoretical frameworks for policy influence vary, the general consensus is that one of the initial steps of this process is to distinguish the information NGOs aim to convey to policy-makers (Betsill & Corell, 2000; Humphreys, 2004; Green & Houlihan, 2004). Related to this step is an important and relatively unexplored aspect of policy influence in the realm of sport that involves examining underlying relationships between and amongst NGOs and their organizational partners, and exploring the effect these relationships have on shaping and articulating unified or disconnected policy concerns.

In this way, the SFD case is somewhat distinguished in that many SFD NGOs are partnered with elite sport organizations. The tensions between elite and grassroots sport were therefore of concern for the purposes of this investigation, as partnerships between organizations with opposing values often fail and are plagued with difficulties (Babiak, 2003; Gray & Wood, 1991, Frisby et al., 2004). In addition, there are currently (as of July, 2006) 67 SFD NGOs around the world that collaborate with sport federations, under the umbrella of the IPSDN,

forming a transnational network of opposing values with stakes in the SFD cause (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2004).

Various researchers have studied how transnational partnerships and networks shape and influence policies on the domestic, national, and global levels (e.g. Smythe & Smith, 2003; Keck & Sikkink, 1999; Gordenker & Weiss, 1995; Brown & Fox, 2001; Humphreys, 2004; Betsill & Corell, 2001). As will be further detailed in this study, determining the influence these SFD NGOs retain in terms of policy is related to power relations and the struggles experienced through partnerships and their presence in a network, as these NGOs are often unable to take on this vast agenda on their own.

A case in point in terms of gauging the reaction of governments to the SFD movement was evident in Canada in March 2005, when the federal government held a Roundtable on SFD. During this Roundtable, the government officially acknowledged for the first time the mounting interest SFD initiatives both domestically and globally (Government of Canada, 2005). At the Roundtable, the government invited SFD NGOs, sport organizations, academics, and others with experience in this field to discuss Canada's stance on SFD. The government also sought council on future directions on matters such as partnerships with sport organizations and international humanitarian groups, transferring SFD programs to the Canadian context, learning from the international experiences of SFD in other developed nations, and possibly implementing a coherent SFD policy in Canada. It was also suggested that the research community examine "international examples of how models of SFD projects have or might be adapted for use in the domestic contexts", (Government of Canada, 2005), and similarly focus on "how international experiences" may inform the Government's strategy (Government of Canada, 2005).

This research therefore heeded the requests made by the Canadian government, and applied various theoretical understandings of NGO influence on policy in combination with previous research conducted on NGOs, sport policy formation, partnerships and networks to the SFD context (Sam, 2003; Betsill & Corell, 2001; Green & Houlihan, 2004; 2005; Smythe & Smith, 2003). Examining sport policy is a relevant research topic because:

Policies themselves direct, redirect, or constrain social, political, and economic behaviour...[and] the nature and design of sport programs is affected by sport policies, which in turn shape sport's social impact" (Chalip, 1996, p. 311).

The purpose of this study was to conduct case studies of how Canadian and Swiss SFD NGOs attempted to place SFD on the policy agendas of their key national sport partners. A secondary intention of this study was to determine how the presence of SFD NGOs in the IPSDN possibly augmented their power to influence national sport policies.

It is important to note that SFD NGOs are often divided into two camps: those who are trying to get sport on the development agenda, and those who are trying to get development on the sport agenda. This study will focus on the latter, due to current research which emphasizes the need to change current sport practices by encompassing issues such as gender equity, social inclusion, health and community development through sport (Donnelly & Kidd, 2003; Frisby, Reid & Ponc, 2006). Therefore, for the purposes of this study, it is imperative to highlight that although SFD touches various policy fields due to its cross-cutting nature, I will be focusing on how Canadian and Swiss SFD NGOs aim to influence policy-makers through their relationships with key national sport partners and through their roles in the IPSDN. I also explored how these SFD NGOs attempted to place SFD on the policy agendas of their key national sport partners including governmental organizations (e.g. a national Olympic association, sport organization, etc.) or associations (e.g. funded by branch of government, or have common staff with a

governmental department). Examining the relationship between SFD NGOs and their key national sport partners is crucial when considering the underlying abilities or inabilities of these NGOs to influence sport policy.

SFD has also captured the attention of researchers in the field of sport policy and human rights in sport (e.g. Donnelly & Kidd, 2003; Kidd & Donnelly, 2000). These academics have called for learning experiences to be drawn from the European context, where the idea of sport is conceptualized as “a collective good” (Beauvais, 2001, p. 48). In order to probe a bit further into the ability of SFD NGOs to influence their key national sport partners, and to consider the European context as advocated by these researchers, I explicitly compared Swiss and Canadian-based SFD NGOs. The Canadian case was selected due to the interest of the government as demonstrated by the Roundtable held in March, 2005, while the Swiss case was chosen due to their experience in adapting SFD projects for use in both international and domestic arenas. The Swiss are also considered the ‘pioneers’ of the SFD movement (SDP IWG, 2006; Alexandrova, 2005). Conducting a comparative analysis was as it “allows for conclusions to be drawn about NGO influence across cases, permitting much needed comparison” (Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 66). Furthermore, it contributes to a better understanding of the role SFD NGOs based in different countries play in shaping sport policy.

1.2 Background of Study

1.2.1 NGOs: influencing policy by creating partnership linkages

In terms of policy influence, the presence of NGOs is believed to have a defining effect. NGOs retain power by being able to intensely focus on distinct issues that are generally ignored by the state (Clark, 1995). Gordenker and Weiss (1995) go so far as to claim that influencing policy is one of the sole functions of NGO activity. A plethora of studies on NGO influence in

environmental movements have documented the various ways that NGOs go about effecting policy negotiations. Betsill and Corell (2001) and Humphreys (2004) describe activities such as lobbying, coordinating boycotts, and participating in negotiations as key actions carried out by NGOs in their attempt to exert influence on environmental negotiations. In the sport policy context, similar studies have been conducted using a comparative analysis examining policy change in elite sport (Green & Houlihan, 2004; Houlihan & Green, 2005; Houlihan, 1994, 1997). These academics caution that when comparing NGO influence, it is important to consider that every NGO is often based within a different political context, complete with specific strategies and goals for influencing policy. While it is beyond the scope of this study to fully examine the political context of each case under examination, some reference is made as to how it account for the similarities and differences observed across cases.

Although there are complex strategies to determine NGO influence, an initial starting point agreed upon by these authors is to examine how NGOs transmit information to policy (decision) makers. This involves gathering data pertaining to actors' perceptions, beliefs, and experiences, in combination with the information they intend to use to influence policy. This step is important because, "information is the primary tool used by NGOs to exert influence" (Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 81). This investigation therefore focused on this initial step in order to examine how SFD NGOs relayed information about SFD onto the policy agendas of their key national sport partners, and explored how their ability to do so was possibly augmented or hindered by their positions within the IPSDN.

Furthermore, both partnership and network frameworks were used in this investigation as extensions of NGO influence in order to highlight two ways in which SFD NGOs interact with other organizations, and with each other. Research has documented the fact that nonprofit

organizations often depend on key partners for fiscal sustainability, legitimacy and access to resources (Babiak, 2003; Gray & Wood, 1991; Mohr & Spekman, 1994; UN, 2003). In the NGO context, state funding is a primary means through which NGO projects are sustained (Hulme & Edwards, 1997; Gordenker & Weiss, 1995). In the SFD experience, NGOs are often partnered with elite sport organizations with whom they compete for government funding, public approval, and policy voices (Houlihan & Green, 2005). In other cases, these SFD NGOs are sometimes directly funded by their sport partners (Right To Play, 2004a). The result is the emergence of partnered organizations with fundamentally opposing values placed on sport, although they may be able to influence each other's values through partnerships.

The literature suggests that NGOs are also able to influence governmental agendas when they form networks with other organizations (Brinkerhoff, 2002; Bressers, Laurence, O'Toole & Richardson, 1995; Keck & Sikkink, 1998; 1999; Betsill & Corell, 2001; Humphreys, 2004; Clark, 1995). As Thibault and Harvey (1997) delineated:

The interrelationships among the State, the organizations operating in the nonprofit sector, and the ones operating the private sector play a role in the provision of sport programs and services to people (p. 47).

Thus, when organizations link with one another, it is believed to be a useful means whereby which opportunities are created for a variety of stakeholders (e.g. individuals, organizations) to "contribute more to government decision making" (Thibault, Frisby & Kikulis 1999, p. 126). Yet, in the case of SFD, NGOs are increasingly working with national sport partners in a joint effort to mobilize development through the power of sport. In these partnerships, sport federations have various roles including:

Running [SFD] projects; participating in disaster-relief efforts; promoting peaceful international relations; lending infrastructure to other development efforts, and working to strengthen mainstream sport capacity in developing nations (SDP IWG, 2006, p. 12).

However, the value conflicts and bureaucratic relationships between partners in the realm of sport have been documented by various studies (e.g. Houlihan & White, 2002; Babiak, 2003). Various authors have observed how NGOs are only able to survive bureaucratic relationships with partners due to the presence of support networks with other nonprofits, which gives them the assurance to “criticise and hope to change governmental policies” (Gordenker & Weiss, 1995, p. 370). For example, the relationships between NGOs and the state (Hulme & Edwards, 1997), and NGOs and the UN (Donini, 1995), have been well-documented as ones which are highly bureaucratic in nature. As Babiak (2003) observed, “highly bureaucratic organizations [prove] to be challenging partners” (p. 204). By joining forces against governments, or creating what some researchers type as an ‘oligopoly’, NGOs collectively aim to consolidate power and influence (Donini, 1995). In this way, authors argue that NGOs create commanding networks which cross the globe and strengthen their voices, bringing domestic attention to their advocacy platforms (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; 1999; Clark, 1995). With this in mind, the next sections will briefly outline both the Swiss and Canadian SFD NGO contexts.

1.2.2 SFD Practices and Policies in Developed Countries

In June, 2006, the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) released a report outlining the most recent information on SFD policies and practices in both developing and developed nations. The report was based on interviews with leading government officials on SFD from thirteen countries (six developing countries, seven developed), as well as an analysis of available English-language SFD policy and programming information. Two of the developed countries examined by the SDP IWG were Canada and Switzerland. In general, the following points summarize the key findings of the report that were relevant for the context of my case studies:

- In most developed countries, SFD has not achieved a separate budget allotment, however, in Canada, a total of \$2,296,633.00 USD was spent from 2005-2006 on SFD, whereas in Switzerland, a total of \$3,333,493.00 USD was allocated. These funds were combined from various governmental departments in each country.
- Policy leadership for SFD was most often located in the Department of Sport in each developed country.
- Multiple governmental departments were responsible for SFD initiatives. For example, in Canada, Canadian Heritage was the lead policy agency, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) was the lead funding agency; while both Foreign Affairs Canada (FAC) and the Department of National Defence (DND) broadly supported SFD initiatives. In Switzerland, the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation (SDC) was the lead policy agency, while the other key departments involved included the Federal Office of Sport (BASPO), the Swiss National Olympic Committee and the Office of the Special Adviser to the UN Secretary-General on Sport for Development and Peace. An important point pertaining to these divided jurisdictions is made by Donnelly and Kidd (2003), as they asserted that a multitude of stakeholders in the realm of sport “complicates policy, planning and programme delivery” (p. 36).
- In general, creating national SFD campaigns and opportunities were viewed as extremely valuable for domestic policy influence, as they were noted as being able to, “build a strong national community of individuals and organizations that are aware and supportive of [SFD] and can increasingly provide compelling success stories that resonate with elected policy-makers” (SDP IWG, 2006, p. 75).

This report lays important groundwork for conceptualizing the specific institutional settings that underpin the type of analysis conducted in my study. Following other studies on sport policy (e.g. Sam, 2003; Houlihan, 1997; Green & Houlihan, 2004), the next sections will briefly describe the socio-political climates in terms of sport policy in both Canada and Switzerland to provide contextual background for this investigation.

1.2.3 Locating Sport Policy Influence and Partnerships within the Canadian Political Framework

'Federalism' and 'liberal democracy' have been used as distinct characteristics of Canada's political system (Macintosh, 1996; Pross, 1986; Haddow, 1999; and Howlett, 1999). Subsequently, the federalist system of government creates an environment that is able to constrain policy-making (Howlett, 1999). Pal (1992) described how various policy research sectors in Canada have grown over the past few decades. With each sector contributing to ongoing policy dialogue, heavy deliberations and underlying interests plague possibilities for reaching consensus. Research has also documented how the Canadian nonprofit sector has started to combine resources in order to provide a coordinated reaction to government policies. According to Brock (2003), by merging resources, Canadian nonprofits have "the potential to strengthen their input into the policy process and influence the direction of policy" (p. 14).

In the contemporary Canadian sport context, Houlihan (1997) claimed the voices of activist groups campaigning for policy change have been mounting, as policy fields are viewed as the best avenue to pursue change in the Canadian sport system. On the other hand, Thibault et al. (1999) suggested that any signs of protest have been nullified, as sport in Canada has been idealistically portrayed as a collective and coordinated system, where local, provincial and

federal agents work together to fortify communal goals and objectives to ensure the provision of sport and leisure to all Canadians (p. 128).

However, Frisby and Hoeber (2002) stressed how the involvement of voices at the community level in the decision-making process when it comes to sport provision are not being heard in this so-called 'coordinated' system. This is, in part, because a 'New Public Management' (NPM) ideology is currently in place where, "citizens have come to be increasingly regarded as 'customers' or 'clients'" (Aucoin, 1995, p. 6), and where governments are more "entrepreneurial, client-centred, service-oriented and results-focused" (Thibault, Kikulis & Frisby, 2004, p. 121). In this framework, Olympic campaigns such as "Own the Podium 2010" have demonstrated that sport in Canada is based more on performance than participation (Allinger & Allinger, 2005). Certainly, as Frisby et al. (2006) argued:

With increased pressure to raise revenues and promote athletic performance excellence that has accompanied Canada's low Olympic medal count, the poor are often rendered invisible when recreation and sport policies and programs are developed, marketed, and evaluated (p. 3).

Typically, sport policy has been used by the federal government to promote national unity (Franks, Hawes & Macintosh, 1988; Harvey, 2001) but various studies have documented how, for the past two decades, national sport organizations in Canada have shifted in orientation. Initially, these entities were once volunteer-driven and decentralized, however they have increasingly become bureaucratic and more commercial in outlook, resulting in a highly regulated sport system (Frisby, 1982; Babiak, 2003; Kidd, 1988; Macintosh, 1988). This shift was primarily attributed to the intervention of the state.

Green and Houlihan (2004) discovered in their interviews with key personnel from NSOs in Canada that the federal government appeared to remain in control in the sport policy sector, but did not balance this strict regulation with funding. Yet Harvey (2001) maintained the state

uses a minimalist approach in terms of delivering recreation and sport programs to Canadian citizens. Instead, non-governmental organizations (civil society groups) have been expected to pick up the pieces where the government has failed. In this way: "The constant pressure from new social movements, such as the women's movement, has kept the question of equality front and centre in political debates" (Harvey, 2002, p. 164).

Although various healthy living and promotional campaigns have inundated Canadians for the past twenty years, citizens have become less active than ever before (Harvey, 2002). The Sport Matters Group argues that a perceived "secret approach to policy priority setting" is taking place at governmental levels, where the voices of citizens are not being included in sport policy discussions (Sport Matters Group, 2006, p. 1). As a result, Harvey (2001) contended that "citizens have lost the power to influence public policy" (p. 40).

1.2.4. The emphasis on 'local voices' and 'community choices' in Switzerland: A bottom-up approach

The Swiss political system is most often characterized by its welfare state, and is stereotyped as a peaceful and neutral nation comprised of a mostly middle class population (Church, 2004; Segalman, 1986). The diversity of Switzerland is notable, and its social policies must consider and address a nation that has one of the highest percentages of foreigners among Western European countries (Steiner & Dorff, 1980; Church, 2004). Another important feature of the Swiss political landscape is its prominent sporting, voluntary, and altruistic traditions (de Goys, 1993). Over twenty international sport organizations are based in Switzerland, as well as several United Nations agencies, multilateral organizations, and major international NGOs (AISTS, 2006; de Goys, 1993). Collectively, these entities have mobilized civil society in Switzerland.

Segalman's (1986) fundamental argument on the success of the Swiss political system is that: "when local communities and local people are given their appropriate responsibilities and the authority to carry them out, they rise to the assignment" (p. 191). In this way, the pertinence of civil society in embodying local voices within each Swiss canton is an important characteristic of the Swiss political system (Segalman, 1986). As Stamm and Lamprecht (2003) argued: "Most politics [in Switzerland] take place at the lower levels of the system. The central government's main task is to coordinate and integrate regional policies but it has only limited possibilities to implement national policies on its own" (p. 2).

Segalman (1986) suggested lessons could be learned from the Swiss political system by other Western nations if it is noted that the Swiss focus on community is mostly ascribed to its historical development, and its strong Protestant Ethic. Similarly, Tomlinson (1999) argued that the significance of sport in Switzerland is largely accredited to its Protestant principles:

The sporting sphere could...be seen as part of a wider religious mission, and suited central Protestant values especially. In Switzerland itself sports associations were promoted more in the Protestant community (p. 124).

While exercising great caution, one might suggest that the Swiss policy environment is more participatory, one that "recognizes the capacity of subnational or non-governmental stakeholders to shape policy" (Stewart, 1997, p. 219). Swiss research notes the legitimacy of NGOs in their role as advocacy organizations: "The government views NGOs as instrumental in the development and maintenance of a positive attitude towards official development assistance" (de Goys, 1993, p. 276-277). The role of SFD NGOs in this system is therefore imperative for a country known as one of the pioneers in the SFD sphere (SDP IWG, 2006, Alexandrova, 2005).

Stamm and Lamprecht (2003) and Stamm, Lamprecht, Somani and Peters (2000) have extensively examined the Swiss sport system, and their analyses are useful in identifying the

strengths of this structure as a potential model for comparison with Canada. According to Stamm and Lamprecht (2003), the role of NGOs as “representatives of civil society” in Switzerland is paramount to the overall success of the national sport system (p. 1-2). The authors noted that, in the realm of sport:

Non-governmental organizations enjoy the right to be consulted and heard by governments and the private sector...Moreover, NGOs are frequently entrusted with implementing different policy areas, for which they receive state funding (Stamm & Lamprecht, 2003, p.3).

The relative invisibility of the federal government within this system is pertinent and results in both communal and sustainable sport. It is assumed that NGOs represent the voice of the Swiss people in determining and developing sport policies which best suit their physical activity needs (Stamm et al., 2000; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2003). Another noteworthy point is that Switzerland not only houses the IPSDN, but it is the home of various organized sporting bodies involved in the movement, such as the IOC and the Union des Associations Europeennes de Football (UEFA). Thus, it is a country that hosts several high-profile elite sport organizations. Another aspect of the Swiss sport system relevant to the case study is that the Swiss National Olympic Committee (Swiss NOC), which is an intricate part of the IPSDN, works with a SFD NGO in Switzerland, which for the purposes of anonymity, will from now on be referred to as “the Swiss NGO”. The Swiss NGO delivers SFD programs in both Switzerland and has one project located in Africa.

1.3 Purpose of Study

The purpose was to conduct case studies of Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs to examine how they attempted to place SFD on the policy agendas of their key national sport partners.

Another broad aim was to determine how the presence of SFD NGOs in the IPSDN possibly augmented their power to influence national sport policies.

1.4 The Research Questions

- i) What do Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs see as their key policy imperatives?
- ii) Who do they see as their key national sport partners?
- iii) What strategies are SFD NGOs using to promote SFD to these key national sport partners and what is the nature of these partnerships?
- iv) What role does the presence of the SFD NGOs in the IPSDN play in their ability/inability to place SFD on the policy agendas of these key national sport partners?

1.5 Implications of Proposed Research

This proposed study presents some substantive, practical, and theoretical implications in the SFD realm. The substantive implications of this research include a contribution to understanding the way that interorganizational partnerships involving NGOs are attempting to capture the attention of national governments and subsequently influence sport policies on a domestic level. In this sense, this study may be useful for policymakers in determining how current conceptualizations of SFD are deemed 'beneficial'.

The aim of this study is to deliberate SFD practice and policy in Switzerland and Canada. These are both important items to consider, as they relate to health and social issues prevalent in leisure and recreation, and therefore affect people's everyday lives (Chalip, 1996). Sport has become increasingly recognized by governments as delivering more than just Olympic medals by potentially contributing to the building of civil society by generating social capital and fostering community development (e.g. Jarvie, 2003; Harris, 1998).

This study contributes to sport for development theory in both conceptual and organizational frameworks, specifically through interorganizational partnerships and networks in

sport, and the implications they may pose for sport policy. These literatures have rarely been used in the same stratum, with few exceptions (e.g. McDonald, 2005).

Finally, comparing Switzerland to Canada is hoped to be beneficial and is unique for an investigation in sport policy. It is important to reiterate that Switzerland has, according to research conducted by Swiss sport sociologists, focused on creating access to sport opportunities, and has used SFD in such a way so that SFD NGOs are involved in the sport policy formation and implementation stages (e.g. Stamm & Lamprecht, 2003; Tomlinson, 1999; Stamm et al., 2000). Although Canada claimed to be doing the same (e.g. Owen, 2005), several authors have maintained that the Canadian sport system is failing in a variety of ways, especially in breaking down barriers to sporting opportunities and for the lack of input into sport policy formation by Canadian citizens (e.g. Donnelly & Kidd, 2003; Frisby et al., 2006; Harvey 2001, 2002; Franks et al., 1988).

This study used a comparative lens, as others have advocated that a comparative approach is constructive for organizational learning, particularly concerning the development and implementation of policies, and the reactions to the issues at hand by practitioners (Houlihan, 1997). He (1997) argued comparative policy analysis is imperative, for it is perceived to exist “at the intersection of pure research and policy advice” (p. 21). Moreover, others suggested it is beneficial to show “different perspectives” within a case study framework (Creswell, 1998, p. 62).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Literature Review

Due to the recent emergence of SFD NGOs, there is a lack of research that focuses on partnerships and networks in SFD, particularly using a policy influence lens. In light of these paucities, I have divided the literature into two succinct parts.

The first part of the literature review (sections 2.1-2.5) will examine the underlying theories, tensions, and practices that contribute to a sound understanding of SFD NGOs. Part one is central for understanding the origins of SFD NGOs, and for considering what types of issues they aim to take to policy-makers. Therefore, part one will specifically highlight: the tensions between elite and grassroots sport, the globalization of sport and its relationship to the reinforcement of Western hegemonic definitions and values, and the growing role of sport in civil society. The second part of the literature review (sections 2.6-2.9) will attempt to connect the underlying theories pertaining to SFD NGOs described in part one to literature on power and ideologies and their connection to sport policy, as well as partnerships, collaborations and networks. By using these lenses to explore policy influence, it is hoped that important knowledge can be gained for the purposes of this investigation. Finally, a summary and contributions to existing literature will be presented in the concluding section (2.10).

Part One: Contributions to SFD NGO Theory

2.1 Sports Development or Development Through Sport? Contextualizing the Tensions.

Pinpointing the historical origins of SFD is imperative in order to develop an understanding of how and why NGOs, governments, and international organizations have taken to this cause in both developing and developed countries. However, before doing so, it is

imperative to note that the term 'sport for development' is a complex term with multiple meanings. The problem, according to Houlihan and White (2002), is that sports development has, "suffered from a marked degree of instability in objectives which...has made it difficult to establish continuity of practice that often provides a foundation of a public profile" (p. 2). For Houlihan and White (2002), the confusion stems from the fact that 'sport(s) development' is at the crux of a tension between elite and grassroots sport organizations:

At different times, the emphasis in sports development has varied between reactive and proactive strategies between participation objectives and performance objectives...The most significant in policy terms has been the tension between development through sport (with the emphasis on social objectives and sport as a tool for human development) and development of sport (where sport [is] valued for its own sake) (p.4).

The central premise of SFD NGOs is that grassroots, community-based sport, with a focus on participation and increased access to citizens holds considerable promise. As various researchers have discerned, this mandate contrasts sharply with the traditional lure of elite sport that centers on performance and tends to dominate the increasingly neo-liberal agendas of contemporary governments (Franks, Hawes & Macintosh, 1988; Frisby et al., 2006). The result is the emergence of opposing rather than complimentary networks of sport organizations which frequently compete for government funding, partners, public approval, and policy voices.

SFD is perhaps more unique than other social movements because it attempts to funnel its policy objectives through various channels, such as education, health, foreign policy, social services and sport itself. Similarly, SFD is able to mobilize its cause using other human rights campaigns as catalysts for furthering its policy objectives. As Kidd and Donnelly (2000) contended: "Some of the most important advances in extending sporting opportunity have been

made in step with human rights campaigns” (p. 137). This is evident in the anti-apartheid movement (e.g. Guelke & Sugden, 1999) and in the fight for workers’ rights (e.g. Sage, 1999).

The essential point at hand is that sport is a human right, as is noted in the UN Declaration (1948), Article 24, which states that, “everyone has the right to rest and leisure”; while Article 27 highlights the individual’s “right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community” UN, 1948, (as cited in Giulianotti, 2004, p. 358). Conversely, Giulianotti (2004) observed how the Declaration is in itself ironic, particularly as sport can contribute to the “colonial subjugation of non-Western cultures” (p. 358). Yet, the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) claimed framing sport as a human right brings with it, “an obligation on the part of governments, multilateral institutions, and other actors in civil society to ensure that opportunities exist for everyone to participate in sport and physical activity” (SDP IWG, 2006, p. 8).

2.2 The History of Sport for Development

The history of the concept of SFD is, as noted by Giulianotti (2004), inextricably linked with colonialism. Even in contemporary times, the extent to which modern sport has arrived in the third world is questionable. As Willis (2000) asserted:

The remarkable congruence between imperial expansion and sport expansion may have appeared to the sport evangelist as evidence of destiny in much of Africa, [however], opportunities in the colonial era for indigenous sportsmen [and women] remained underdeveloped (p. 829).

The ‘underdevelopment’ of sport in the third world is attributed to a variety of reasons. Indeed, the lack of basic sports equipment and the shortage of facilities are attributed to historical poverty dating back to colonialism. Bale and Cronin (2004) contended this point:

Sports were part of the colonizing process, and have remained in most colonized countries following independence. Given the presence of neo-colonial relationships, however, there is clearly no unambiguous division between colonialism and postcolonialism and it can be argued that postcolonialism is something that has yet to be achieved (p. 3).

Interestingly, one may be able to draw parallels between the type of colonialism depicted by Bale and Cronin (2004), and another type of hegemonic relationship which has arisen between various NGOs and northern international actors (Deacon, 2000).

Current researchers characterize the types of relationships between organizational actors working in development as 'asymmetrical associations'. Stubbs (2000) maintained that: "The interventions of international agencies have tended to reproduce particular forms of *colonization* rather than partnership, in terms of their relationships with a range of local actors and agencies" (p. 23). In this way, SFD NGOs that enter into disadvantaged communities (in both developed and developing countries) with the promise of sporting opportunities may be critiqued as reproducing forms of colonization by imposing programs on individuals who have not participated in the design and implementation of these programs. Moreover, relations between SFD NGOs and their donors may likewise be characterized in the same light (Stubbs, 2000).

The colonization versus partnership rhetoric is thus a contemporary issue, one which directly pertains to the organizational dynamics of various entities which have potentially collaborated within the IPSDN. Certainly, the use of the word "partnership" may be taken to have several different connotations. For example, in this proposed study "partnership" is being selected as a research term despite the fact that interviewees may have different understandings of the word, and may not view national sport organizations as "partners" per se. For instance, in Babiak's (2003) study on interorganizational partnerships in Canadian sport, she found that there were: "divergent views on what partnership meant, and whether the informants felt that the

relationships established between and among organizations were in fact partnerships” (p. 285). Similarly, the aim of this proposed research is to gain further insights by asking SFD NGO staff members about the nature of their partnerships.

2.3 Global (sport) Hegemony and Westernized Definitions

Joseph Maguire (2005) argued globalization has resulted in the deterioration of athletic abilities from Third World nations. In this way, Maguire (2005) claimed, “global sport processes lead to the under-or-dependent development of a nation’s talent” (p. 4). He also explained while the West may be challenged on the playing field by Third World countries, the control over the content, ideology (i.e. sport as a “human right”), and economic resources associated with sport lie within the control of the West. The point here is that global sport is able to act as a form of dominance, where “hegemonic relations” (MacNeil, 1988), may exist or be enforced between two teams through competition. In a global milieu, Harvey (2001) noted the threat to state sovereignty has resulted in a highly competitive international atmosphere, one in which, “states rival each other for prestige...high-performance sport may become a favourite method for exorcising these demons” (p. 35). Thus, globalization may be facilitating the precedence of high-performance sport for governments instead of affirming sport as a right for all citizens.

However, the sport-as-a-human-right discourse is also useful for advancing our understandings of sport and globalization in the SFD NGO context. Human rights are often critiqued as an overly westernized concept, with a focus on individualism and liberal freedoms, while other rights, for example, social and economic rights, are rarely protected (Bryant, 2002; Kidd & Donnelly, 2000). Whitson (1984) concurred that sport has contributed to the reinforcement of particular Western hegemonic definitions and values. Yet he also prompted discussion about other possibilities to such a negative conception of sport, when he suggested

that sport may lay a foundation for alternative ways of thinking and feeling about things, and ultimately for alternative ways of living. Hence, although the current SFD movement may be conceived as mimicking former First World and Third World relationships through postcolonialist interactions, Whiston's (1984) argument provides the opportunity for an alternative reading on SFD.

2.4 Non-Governmental Organizations as representatives of civil society

According to Edwards (2001), civil society is defined as: "The arena in which people come together to advance the interests they hold in common, not for profit or political power, but because they care enough about something to take collective action" (p. 2) Cox's (1999) notion of civil society is essential for advancing an understanding of the way that SFD NGOs act as a catalyst through which "those who are disadvantaged by the globalization of the world economy can mount their protests and seek alternatives" (p. 11). In this way, "what NGO activities have in common, is [that] while they often challenge governments and sometimes complement government-provided services, they nearly always act in counterpoint with governmental actors" (Clark, 1995, p. 507). For Cox (1999), civil society is the "realm of autonomous group action distinct from both corporate power and the state. The concept has been appropriated by those who foresee an emancipatory role for civil society" (p.11). This liberation endowed by civil society occurs in a 'bottom-up' sense.

Alternatively, in a 'top-down' sense, states and corporate interests influence the development of this current vision of civil society by making it an agency for balancing social and political power. The dominant hegemonic forces infiltrate and co-opt elements of popular movements (Cox, 1999). Cox (1999) argued that states which fund NGOs do so to ensure their conformity, and aim to brainwash society and thus enhance the legitimacy of the prevailing

order. NGOs are thought to emphasize the bottom up process led by those individuals of a population who are disadvantaged and deprived under the capitalist order who aim to build a counter hegemony (Cox, 1999; Clark, 1995). However, this creates a tension for NGOs in terms of influencing national sport policy, as Sam (2003) acknowledges, since their intermediary roles do not necessarily guarantee a bottom-up input.

Salamon and Anheier (1997) defined NGOs as, "the plethora of private, non-profit, and nongovernmental organizations that have emerged in recent decades ...to provide vehicles through which citizens can exercise individual initiative in the private pursuit of public purposes" (p. 60). Smythe and Smith (2003) pointed out, rather significantly, that the very definition of NGO connotes a negative identity in terms of "otherness", that is, "what they are not" (p. 300). In light of this negative delineation, it follows that NGOs, in an ideological sense, have become characterized as separate from the state, and are essentially voluntary in nature (Anheier & Salamon, 1998). Despite the positive claims attributed to the work of NGOs, critics point out that often NGOs are merely "providers or agents of a political body" (Tousignant, 2002, p. 76).

However, according to Edwards (2000), the recent growth in the number of transnational NGOs over the past decade, "from 28,000 in 1993 to over 200,000 transnational NGO networks active worldwide in 2000" (p. 9), indicates that any negative connotations associated with them have been overlooked. The growth noted by Edwards (2000) is attributed to the decline of the state and a growth in neo-liberal economies, and to the increasingly neo-liberal and bureaucratic model of government that has become structured in terms of efficiency and cost-effectiveness. Similarly, the number of transnational SFD NGOs has significantly risen, with only a few registered organizations in the mid-to-late nineties to approximately thirty-five represented in the

IPSDN. Importantly, it should be reiterated that both Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs being used for this proposed study are “transnational”, in the sense that they, “transcend national boundaries [and] address issues in which the stakes and needs are transnational” (Harvey & Houle, 1994, p. 344).

The broad roles which NGOs are designated range extensively from “deal[ing] with the entire spectrum of human values...aspirations...needs...and...antagonisms” (Ritchie, 1995, p. 513) to “exist[ing] to influence, to set[ting] direction for, or...maintain[ing] functions of governance...[and] to operate where government authority does not” (Gordenker & Weiss, 1995, p. 546). Furthermore, the plethora of organizations that fit into the NGO category seem infinite, including: “membership associations, local community groups, clubs, health care providers, educational institutions... self-help groups, and many more” (Salamon & Anheier, 1997, p. 61). It is no surprise then, that NGOs, in representing these organizations, also reflect “the power that people have as citizens” (Otto, 1996, p. 110), and become designated as a policy voice.

Recent research conducted in Canada noted that almost sixty percent of Canadians believe that NGOs should have the opportunity to “speak out on public policy issues” (Phillips, 2003, p. 39). However, not all researchers contend that NGOs are able to provide a legitimate and accountable voice when it comes to policy change and development, particularly upon considering that, for the most part, NGOs are not considered democratic entities (Clark, 2001; Bell & Carens, 2004). While keeping these cautions in mind, the next section will aim to augment our understanding of how sport connects with civil society and NGOs at large.

2.5 Sport, community, citizenship engagement and civil society

The links between sport, civil society, social capital and community are numerous. According to the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG),

“sport is widely viewed to offer benefits in...social integration and the development of social capital” (2006, p. 8). Specifically, it has been argued that sport contributes to sense of civic pride (Ingham and McDonald, 2003), and has a vital role to play in the regeneration of deprived urban communities (e.g. Coalter, Allison & Taylor, 2000; Frisby et al., 2006; Pedlar & Arai, 1997). Moreover, many sport sociologists contend that sports facilities provide a social focus for community and serve as an entry point for social inclusion, consequently influencing people’s perceptions of ‘neighbourhood’ (Jarvie, 2003; Coakley & Donnelly, 2002). Physical activities are also viewed as entry point for civic engagement, as evidenced in community runs, volunteerism found through sport, sport-based clubs and leagues (Harris, 1998; Harvey, 2002; Sport Matters Group, 2004).

Harvey (2002) contended sport policy possibly has an effect on engaging citizens in the political community (Harvey, 2001; 2002). For example, as the UN (2003a) observed, “[sport has proven to be] extremely effective in programmes at the community level since they directly involve those affected by conflict and social tension” (p.15).

Another major concern of the SFD movement is the way in which elite sport tends to be prioritized over community sport locally, regionally, nationally and globally. As Chalip (1996) suggested, “The national pride associated with successful international sport performances by national athletes and teams has, in fact, been one of the most potent driving forces for sports policy development” (p. xii). It is often community-based sport which falls at the expense of such nationalism and pride, and subsequently physical recreation programs that would ultimately benefit the masses and contribute to their health and community involvement suffer as resources continue to be poured in to Olympians and elite athletes (Franks et al, 1988; Frisby et al., forthcoming). Thus, SFD NGOs have arrived to act as a catalyst through which citizens who are

disillusioned with sport systems on all levels may mount protest, in both developing and developed countries. This point is especially essential for the purposes of this research, as it provides an entry point for SFD NGOs to be considered, in an ideal sense, as mechanisms through which the voices of local participants in their projects, their staff members and other discouraged citizens may have the opportunity to be heard.

Part Two: Sport, Policy Influence, Partnerships, Collaborations and Networks

2.6 Sport Policy, Ideology and Power: Shaping the Sport Agenda

In order to understand how SFD NGOs, in conjunction with their partners, are possibly influencing the policy agendas in Canada and Switzerland, it is first imperative to note how sport and policies are connected to 'ideologies' (Braham, 2001; McHenry, 1980; Bairner, 2004).

According to James Lull (2000), ideologies are defined as: "sets of values, orientations, and predispositions mediated by interpersonal communication. Ideologies are internally coherent ways of thinking" (p. 13-14). In this way, ideologies are not by any means an "empirically verifiable fact" (Lull, 2000, p. 14). Most often, it is those with vested power who are able to push their ideologies onto a policy agenda. As Braham (2001) argued, "broad ideological assumptions not only direct policy but also underpin the very institutions that shape and deliver policy" (p. 9). These groups and individuals characterize the policy-making process and often shape it to suit their own goals and needs (e.g. advancing careers, etc.) (Amis & Burton, 1996). In many instances, sport has been linked to political campaigns (McHenry, 1980); hegemony (Whitson, 1984); and social control (Bairner, 2004; Arnaud, 2002). In this way, sport policy in itself is cross-cutting, as it "affects several areas of public policy" (Harvey, 2001, p. 40).

However, by having varying interests attempting to construct a unified sport plan, what is thought to be a rational process quickly becomes untenable (Amis & Burton, 1996; Sam, 2003). For example, "policy and planning is invariably carried out to a level of minimal consensus,

whereby planners and decision-makers become content with satisfactory rather than optimal solutions" (Amis & Burton, 1996, p. 26). In the sport context, previous research has documented how the interests of weaker groups (such as women on low-income) quickly become those who lose out in the policy-making process when middle class bureaucrats (often males) are those making the key decisions for them (Frisby et al., 1997).

As a potential solution to this predicament, it is important to be sensitive to the way in which a variety of stakeholders will have different values and beliefs associated with sport; and to realize that, inevitably, these desires will permeate policy design, implementation, and execution (Houlihan, 1994; Amis & Burton, 1996). Moreover, Houlihan (1994) pointed to the centrality of "the product of interplay of organisational and institutional power at the surface of the political process" (p. 4). Since this study was considering the ways in which SFD NGOs influenced national sport policies, it is useful to consider how Lull's (2000) notion of ideology interacts with power and influence. "Explanations of influence may vary depending on how influence is perceived to relate to power and the context in which the influence is exercised" (Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 72).

Thus, the next section will briefly outline conceptualizations of organizational power and policy formation before turning back to the ways in which SFD NGOs may strive to influence policy. Importantly, these sections aim to augment the theoretical lens of this investigation in two ways. First, by exploring why particular actors are in "privileged position[s] in the policy-making process" (Houlihan & Green, 2005, p. 182). And, secondly, to understand in whose interests these actors are ruling and uncovering how their authority results in certain interests being fulfilled (Houlihan & Green, 2005).

In the domain of sport, Chalip's (1995) discussion of critical policy analysis, is another useful example of how power relations are inherently present in the emergence of policies:

Sacrosanct doctrines and dominant problem definitions can constrain policy deliberations and steer policy outcomes. Under these circumstances, policies do not emerge as rational choices from an array of fully elaborated alternatives. Rather, they are the product of socially constructed claims and definitions (p. 4).

In this context, it is crucial to observe that the process of putting SFD on the global agenda was enthusiastically endorsed by the IOC, which began to develop strategic platforms during the Barcelona Olympics in 1998 that involved discussions of the concept of "Sport for All" (IOC, 1998). In May 2000, during the Sport for All and Governmental Policies congress held in Quebec City, it was declared that: "governments at all levels under the patronage of the IOC act urgently to initiate and support comprehensive 'Sport for All' policies, to be implemented at regional and local levels to ensure maximum access to regular sport and recreation" (IOC, 2000, p. 1).

This statement was pertinent for the context of this research for two reasons. First, it demonstrated the augmenting profile of SFD within the elite sport arena and exemplifies a potential avenue for further research in how the global governance of the IOC reigns over far more than only the Olympic Games. Second, the most recent national sport policies developed by Switzerland and Canada were released in November 2000 and May 2002 respectively, after the IOC Congress held in mid-2000. Harvey (2001) also pointed out the decision by the IOC to select Beijing as the host of the 2008 Summer Olympic Games created apprehensions relating to their power as an international sport organization and their principles concerning sport and human rights. Therefore, the power of the IOC in shaping national sports policies is a concrete

example for understanding the way in which bureaucratic sport organizations often retain the majority of power in global sport.

Foucault's (2000) conception of 'governmentality' is useful to advance our understandings of the link between bureaucracy and power, and for understanding the forms of power inherently present in the state. According to Foucault (2000), central components of governmentality include: "the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power" (p. 219-220). For Maguire (2002), the word "governmentality" refers to the fact that power relations have become more, "elaborated, rationalized, and centralized in the form of, or under the support of, state institutions" (Foucault, 1983, p. 224 cited in Maguire, 2002, p. 306). An example of this is provided by Frisby et al. (2006) in their analysis of how the power of a 'neo-liberalized economy' infiltrated particular ideologies into sport policies and programs in Canada. Finally, in Foucault's analysis, "the fragility of unified interest 'groups' is emphasized and the simplistic nature of decentralized approaches to power relations is countered" (Foucault, 1983, p. 224, as cited in Maguire, 2002, p. 306). Therefore, in considering community development approaches to sport, Foucault's governmentality is paramount in that it invokes a framework with which to understand the marginalization of a bottom-up participatory sport.

2.7 Using Interorganizational Relations Theory to Understand NGO influence on policy

Harvey (2001) described how various social movements pressured the Canadian government to maintain certain social issues in sport policy on the political agenda. He contended that this pressure was important, as it resulted in, "a variety of government initiatives promoting equity in sport...in partnership with organizations in civil society" (2001, p. 32). In

fact, Harvey (2001) advocated that the Canadian government consider working more with civil society organizations in order to achieve its goals.

Theoretically, Gordenker and Weiss (1995) suggested interorganizational linkages are able to ameliorate our understanding of NGOs as they “emphasize the quality of contact among NGOs through their personnel and among distinct policy and activity sectors [and] does not assume a monolithic character of governments” (p. 544).

Increasingly, organizational entities are becoming linked, as few organizations are able to succeed in “insulated autonomy” (Phillips & Graham, 2000, p. 157). In this way, Blau and Rabrenovic (1991) claimed that non-profit organizations possess more intricate partnerships in comparison with profit-oriented entities, because such linkages are required to face environmental uncertainties. Importantly, there are various nuances of interorganizational linkages, broadly encompassing collaborations, partnerships, and networks.

Collaborating is often associated with “coordination, cooperation and harmonization” (Ritchie, 1995, p. 524) and is perhaps one of the more idealistic ways of describing the relationship between NGOs and other organizations involved in ‘global governance’ such as the UN. Often collaboration is associated with centralization, meaning the pooling of resources and the concentration of decision making.

A collaboration is when a group of autonomous stakeholders of a problem domain engage in an interactive process, using shared rules, norms and structures to act or decide on issues related to that domain (Gray & Wood, 1991, p. 146).

Yet, the underlying pressures to collaborate stem from a shift to a neo-liberal ideology embedded in government activities in the past decade, which essentially forced the non-profit sector to combine resources in order to survive (Phillips & Graham, 2000). In fact, Provan and Milward (2001) argued that collaborations occur between non-profit entities for this very reason:

When the profit motive is absent, the potential downsides of cooperation, such as reduced autonomy, shared resources, and increased dependence, are less likely to be seen as a threat to survival. (p. 145).

While the potential collaboration of counter hegemonic forces may solidify a single oppositional voice to offset neo-liberal policies endorsed by the state, a problem arises when the diversity of these voices is numbed. In fact, competition amongst NGOs is often optimal for creating conditions where the state is heeding a variety of criticisms (Gordenker & Weiss, 1995; Stewart, 1997). Importantly, Stewart (1997) claimed that even where diverse interests exist for NGOs who are simultaneously lobbying governments (e.g. tensions between sports development versus development through sport), collective action may still result:

Diverse interests, incompatible value systems, and competition between stakeholders can still accommodate common action. Divergence and convergence are not therefore opposites but may be simultaneously at work (Stewart, 1997, p. 223).

The notion of partnership is not that remarkably different from collaboration, with the exception that it highlights the mutually advantageous relationship between organizations or one or more organizations (Babiak, 2003). Gaining legitimacy and obtaining resources are two other significant benefits for non-profits to engage in partnerships. Partnerships often assume equality between entities, however, in the context of NGO-state relations, many authors argue that this is not the case (e.g. Clark, 2001; Edwards, 2004; Brown & Fox, 2001; Salamon & Anheier, 1997). Ultimately, it is the power of the donor, or the dependency of the NGO upon the donor for resources, which activates the asymmetrical relationships between these two entities, instead of a partnership (Hulme & Edwards, 1997). This often results in stagnant organizational learning environments for NGOs (Ebrahim, 2003). In the SFD context, a partnership approach to sport-for-development programmes is strongly advocated by the UN in order to provide capital for cash-strapped NGOs:

Partnerships are...a particularly effective way to work with sport, given that the world of sport is by definition a world of partnerships, incorporating diverse actors from the community, the public and private sectors and sport organizations at various scales...Partnerships provide a strategic approach to resource mobilization, both for and through sport (UN, 2003, p. 19-20).

In this observation made by the UN, there is relatively little acknowledgement that interorganizational partnerships may play a rather significant role not only in resource mobilization, but also in influencing global and national policy-formation. In linking NGOs with other organizational entities in an augmenting transnational environment, authors such as Edwards (2001) contend a global public policy is being developed, combining partnerships with policy formation. Bull, Boas and McNeil (2004) described advocacy partnerships as:

Cooperative initiatives between multilateral institutions and nonstate actors. The official purpose of these partnerships is to raise public awareness and support for the objectives and programs of the multilateral institution in question (p. 482).

In these types of partnerships, authors such as Lin (1999), Houlihan and White (2002), and Inkpen and Beamish (1997), suggest that social capital is generated, where bonds of trust, friendship and reciprocity are nurtured and result in a strengthened relationship between two or more entities. However, Houlihan and White (2002) cautioned in such a case, social capital is only successfully deployed if:

there exists a network of institutions of civil society which are independent of the state and of the market and also sufficiently powerful to provide a counterbalance to both (p. 216).

Thus, the next section of this chapter focuses on the power of networks in order to frame one of the arguments embedded in this investigation: that SFD NGOs and their sport partners are tied together in a multifaceted way by their participation in the IPSDN.

2.8 Network Theory: The Power of Connections

It is beneficial to use Babiak's (2003) definition of partnership in order to distinguish it from networks:

Partnership is defined as a close, long-term, planned strategic action between two or more organizations with the objective of serving mutually beneficial purposes in a problem domain (p. 6).

In contrast, network researchers emphasize the horizontal, interdependent ways that multiple organizations use their connections as the building blocks through which their cause is mobilized (e.g. Provan & Milward, 2001; Tarrow, 1998; O'Toole, 1997; Keck & Sikkink, 1999; Nixon, 1993; 2002). Specifically, Keck and Sikkink (1999) defined networks as, "forms of organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange" (p. 91). Network theory is useful in highlighting the ways in which NGOs act as "conveyor belts for communicative and political exchange, with the potential for mutual transformation of participants" (Keck & Sikkink, 1999, p. 100). In light of this theory, organizational interaction is thought to be achieved through not only goal attainment, but also through the "legitimacy" and "sustained external support" of the overall interorganizational entity (Babiak, 2003, p. 58).

Tarrow (1998) argued that while a network acts as a connective structure, social networks are imperative for mobilizing social interactions between actors. In this way, social network theory advances the notion of network as not only a framework, but as a, "comprehensive paradigm that focuses directly on patterns of social relations, that become part of enduring social structures" (Nixon, 2002, p. 267). Nixon (2002) stresses the emphasis in social network theory is on the, "horizontal, reciprocal, and egalitarian relations" between entities, versus the traditional bureaucratic models (p. 277). Indeed, the mobilization of resources between actors is also part of

this equation, denoted as a “social network theory of social capital” (Lin, 1999). Lin (1999) stated that this theory of social capital is at times useful for commanding the attention of authorities:

Social ties may exert influence on the agents who play a critical role in decisions involving the actor. Some social ties, due to their strategic locations (e.g. structural holes) and positions (e.g. authority or supervisory capacities), also carry more valued resources and exercise greater power in organizational agents’ decision-making (p. 31).

In returning to the idea of social capital, Lin advanced the work of Putnam (1995) by pointing to three intersections of structure and action that exist in notion of social capital: the structural (embeddedness), opportunity (accessibility), and action oriented (use) aspects. “It is the interacting members who make the maintenance and reproduction of this social asset possible” (Lin, 1999, p. 32). Additionally, Brown (1998) advocated that non-profit organizations have the capacity to build social capital because they develop out of the relationships between actors that are concerned with social issues, often resulting in positive organizational outcomes.

2.9 Transnational Advocacy Networks

Keck and Sikkink (1999) built on the sociological origins of the term ‘network’ as previously outlined by Nixon (2002) in their definition of a transnational advocacy network: “A transnational advocacy network includes those actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information” (1999, p. 89). Not only do transnational advocacy networks act as communicative structures (Sage, 1999; Tarrow, 1998) and articulate principles (Brown & Fox, 2001), but they also provide information and pressure key political players (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). The numerous actors involved in this global milieu of organizations are denoted as particularly strategic in gaining

leverage over powerful institutions and governments (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). They tend to emerge around issues which are sometimes formed at the grassroots (Brown & Fox, 2001).

A key example of a campaign that was mobilized by a transnational advocacy network is evident in Sage's (1999) analysis of the Nike anti-sweatshop movement. Sage (1999) demonstrated how a transnational advocacy network grew within the realm of sport when various NGOs, human rights organizations, religious organizations and labour organizations coalesced around the Nike anti-sweatshop campaign to address Nike's appalling labour practices in third world countries. However, besides this campaign, there is little evidence sport being a catalyst through which NGOs, in particular, have played such a prominent role in policy influence, although many human rights campaigns have been mobilized through sport (e.g. Guelke & Sugden, 1999; Hargreaves, 1997; Donnelly, 1997).

2.10 Summary and Contributions to Existing Literature

In sum, the explanatory framework to be used in this study was one that combined interorganizational networks with policy influence in a comparative analysis of Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs. This framework aims to account for the relation between policy and underlying power structures. As previously outlined, discerning the underlying power structures between sport partners and the political ideologies that accompany them is crucial when considering policy influence (Houlihan, 1994, 1997; Houlihan & White, 2002; Amis & Burton, 1996).

Some key concerns have been outlined in the previous sections pertaining to the underlying issues embedded in the SFD cause. This research aims to be a useful next step for advancing the SFD context in attempting to uncover the ways in which SFD NGOs in Canada were possibly attempting to influence their key national sport partners by obtaining a policy

voice. Thus, this investigation aims to build on various studies mentioned throughout the literature review that are broadly positioned in the SFD milieu.

Although the majority of previously conducted studies have marked important advances in the field of SFD, there are numerous shortcomings in the literature which I intended to address through my investigation. First, there is deficiency in qualitative work on sport policy formulation in general, particularly pertaining to sport in the Canadian context, as noted by Kidd and Donnelly (2000). Indeed, Rist (1994) argued there is a lack of qualitative work in policy in general: "The quantitative study of policy tools is an area that is yet to be even modestly explored within the research community" (p. 549).

Furthermore, there is a deficiency in the number of studies that use both a comparative, critical lens in terms of sport policy, which at the same time address the underlying partnerships which inflict a policy voice in sport, although there were a few important exceptions (e.g. Chalip, 1994, 1995; Houlihan, 1997; Houlihan & White, 2002; Houlihan & Green, 2004; Sam, 2003). Again, this is a contentious omission, bearing in mind the demands for more research on international experiences in sport policy formation (e.g. Donnelly & Kidd, 2003, Beauvais, 2001), and recognizing the experiences as noted by Frisby et al. (2004) pertaining to the prevalence of conflicting and competing values prevalent in interorganizational partnerships in Canadian sport organizations.

Third, only four studies were uncovered that provided an in-depth examination of SFD NGOs (Willis, 2000; Hognestad & Tollisen, 2004; Gasser & Levinsen, 2004; Armstrong, 2004). These studies were useful in illuminating the successes of SFD in developing nations in fostering peace, education, and resilience for children growing up in nations plagued by conflict. However, they did not address the complex relationships which underlie the abilities of SFD

NGOs to deploy such benefits to the participants of these projects. This is a surprising omission given the clear dependency of NGOs on support from the external environment from governments, funders, other SFD NGOs and outside “experts” (Deacon, 2000; Korten, 1990; Smythe & Smith, 2003; Jenkins, 1987).

Furthermore, researchers pointed to the descriptive and conceptual omissions pertaining to research on non-profit organizations, civil society, and social capital in general (Anheier & Salamon, 1998; Cox, 1999); and therefore the obvious incongruities in applying these paradigms to sport become apparent. Although sport sociologists such as Harris (1998) and Jarvie (2003) attempted to fill these gaps, Harris observed that the majority of studies in the North American perspective that draw from this area have focused solely on the ways in which community sport impacts “urban, inner-city youths” (1998, p. 147). Thus, these studies did not speak to the general necessity of policy formations to be created that recognize sport as helpful for revitalizing civil society. The work of Putnam (1995, 2000) similarly attempted to address how sport relates to the growth of social capital, yet he primarily focused on bowling leagues (a sport not used by SFD NGOs). The Sport Matters Group (2004) recently released a publication linking sport to citizenship engagement and community development, but did not highlight the contributions of SFD NGOs specifically to these areas.

Certainly, while work on the relationship between leisure and recreation and community development in Canada has been well established, the majority of this research does not account for the recent international focus on SFD (e.g. Pedlar, 1996; Pedlar & Arai, 1997; Reid & van Dreunen, 1996; Hutchison & Nogradi, 1996; Wilson & White, 2003; Frisby et al., 2001; Frisby & Hoeber, 2002). However, this research was not intended to examine the relationships between SFD NGOs and other organizations and their influences on sport policy at both the domestic and

international development levels. This omission could have potential for collaboration between the already-present movements at the local levels, and the “domestic transfer objective” recently announced by the Canadian Government pertaining to International Development Through Sport (Government of Canada, 2005).

Fifth, the profound connections between the increasing global governance of sport and its relationship to the SFD movement have yet to be significantly explored, with few exceptions (Maguire, 2005; Kleiner & Winiger, 2005). The studies by Maguire (2005) and Kleiner and Winiger (2005) are paradoxically placed on the website of the IPSDN, but they ignore a critical approach by glossing over the inherent problems in partnering SFD NGOs with competitively based international sporting bodies such as the IOC and the International Paralympic Committee (Right To Play, 2004a). Moreover, while the majority of the partnership literature focused the importance of alliances for resource mobilization, few studies were found that analyzed policy mobilization through collaborations in a SFD context, with the exception of recent pieces (e.g. McDonald, 2005). As McDonald (2005) pointed out:

Research into partnerships in social policy remains theoretically underdeveloped, characterised by one-sided approaches that either lack critical edge or are dismissive of the potential partnership working (p. 529).

Gordenker and Weiss (1995) highlighted an important oversight of current literature pertaining to “linkages” between NGOs and other entities in that “NGOs exist at the community, local, regional and international levels...[yet] little is known about the links among them and about the direct and indirect feedback among the various levels” (p. 545). Certainly, given previous research on partnerships with competing value systems (e.g. Frisby et al., 2004; Babiak, 2003; Mayo, 1997), it seems imperative that these relationships be addressed. According to

Huxham and Vangen (2005), exploring the way in which theories of power are embedded in interorganizational partnerships also appears to be largely ignored”

There is no coherent body of literature on power in collaborative settings. One view of the reasons for this is that a presumption of cooperation has led to power issues being overlooked (Huxham & Vangen, 2005, p. 174).

Finally, although I hoped to fill many theoretical, practical and methodological gaps by conducting this exploration, it is important to clarify that the aim of this study was not to address the impacts of SFD policy. In order to address policy impact, Pal (1992) noted one must, “examine its efficacy as a formal problem-solving tool, in terms of the problems it defines” (p. 183). To do this would have involved examining SFD policy’s impact on sport, which would have gone beyond the scope of this investigation. Rather, the first step of identifying impact is to “ascertain the policy’s goals, which normally will be expressed in a cluster of related programs” (Pal, 1992, p. 183). By examining the ways that SFD NGOs aimed to put SFD policies on the agendas of their key national sport partners, I hope to contribute to the first step of policy impact by assessing the problems and goals of the SFD campaign in the eyes of both Canadian and Swiss SFD NGOs.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Methodology

In the previous chapter, I described how the existing literature on policy, partnerships and networks has informed my understandings of SFD, and how this study addresses some gaps in this area of research. In this chapter, the research methods used in this study are presented. This chapter is organized into eight broad sections. First, I will give a rationale for the case study method and describe my research site and role as a researcher. I then will move on to discuss my sample and recruitment strategies and explain my methods of data collection, including the document analysis and interviews. Finally, I will explain my process of data analysis, the limitations of my research, and outline the ethical considerations.

3.1 Case Studies - Rationale

A “case” is generally referred to as a “phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 25). It can involve an individual, an organization, anything that is specific, complex functioning unit, and is often used to offer insight into a specific topic (Stake, 2005, c.f. 1998, 1994). However, it is important to note that my study was somewhat limited by only examining two SFD NGOs, therefore generalizing my findings to encompass all SFD NGOs is not possible. It is important to highlight Stake’s (1994) point pertaining to the function of a case study, particularly for policy:

[A] case study can usefully be seen as a small step toward grand generalization...but generalization should not be emphasized at all in research...The purpose of case study is not to represent the world, but to represent the case. Criteria for conducting the kind of research that leads to valid generalization needs modification to fit the search for effective particularization. The utility of case research to practitioners and policy-makers is its extension of experience. (p. 238- 245).

With the two case studies, I conducted “a process of constant comparison among groups, concepts, and observations” in order to develop an analysis that addressed the research questions under examination (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 12).

According to various researchers, the case study method usually relies on interviewing, observing, and document analysis (Creswell, 1998; Stake, 2005; Travers, 2001). Creswell (1998) explained that in order to provide a good qualitative study, it is imperative that: “the researcher collects multiple forms of data, adequately summarizes and details about them, and spends adequate time in the field” (Creswell, 1998, p. 20). Utilizing a multiple methods approach “reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5).

3.2 Research Site

The sites of my research included two SFD NGOs, one based in Switzerland and the other in Canada. The decision to include the perspectives, beliefs, and experiences of staff members from each SFD NGO was made in order to understand and compare how policy influence and partnerships were being interpreted by two organizations based in different countries and were both actively engaged in the SFD cause. A limitation was that I did not explore the views of the national sport partners to obtain their perspectives on SFD policy influence. However, focusing on the perspectives of staff has been advocated by other researchers such as Bryant (2002), who explained that, if trying to understand policy influence of one organization over another, it is important to first, “learn about knowledge activities used by individuals attempting to influence the policy change process” (p. 94).

Although there are currently 67 SFD NGOs in existence in a variety of countries (nearly doubling from 35 SFD NGOs when I initially started this study in April, 2005), I selected my case studies following an initial scan that determined the apparent expertise of the Swiss NGO in terms of partnering with elite national sport organizations, conducting SFD projects both domestically and internationally, and the renowned reputation of Swiss sporting and civil society contexts would make it a good choice. As I have been involved with SFD initiatives in a Canadian context, I wanted to compare its strategies with the Swiss NGO.

Houlihan (1997) acknowledged that comparative case studies are useful for policy-makers for them “to learn from other political systems facing similar problems” and to assist them to “learn which policies it is probably wise to avoid and which are most likely to prove useful” (p. 7). Other studies have found that by sampling individuals from different organizations, the researcher may learn about additional and multidirectional pressures on a given set of organizations (Frisby et al., 2004). For Stake (2005), “comparison is a grand epistemological strategy, a powerful conceptual mechanism, fixing attention upon one or few attributes” (p. 457). In terms of the literature on networks, the need for a comparative analysis is recommended in order to, “establish both the effect on networks, and...the relative effect of networks and context on outcomes” (Marsh, 1998, p. 15). Due to time constraints, and because the goal of this study was to find out how SFD NGOs attempted to influence policy, interviewing more than the two focal organizations already selected would have been beyond the scope of this research.

Several authors have pointed out a number of challenges in using a comparative case study approach that focuses on policy issues. First, as Houlihan (1997) and Rist (1994) recognized, when researchers are exploring the impact or influence of a phenomenon on a given

policy, problems may arise in that such interpretations are highly subjective. An essential qualification Houlihan (1997) made was, “different countries may generate distinctive responses to apparently similar problems because they situate the same problem with different political discourses” (p. 5). Houlihan (1997) and Betsill and Corell (2001) also noticed the need to establish that the concepts being compared in a given study correspond; to ensure appropriate indicators are selected and to be aware of ethnocentric claims (i.e. suitable frames of reference within each comparison). Mason (2002) similarly cautioned researchers to remember that they are fundamentally, “lifting small sections of data out of their contexts, so that they can be compared with other similarly decontextualized sections of data” (p. 158-159). Finally, Stake (2005, c.f. 1998) warned that comparative analyses often only touch the surface of the study at hand, and are often more general than detailed “with uniqueness and complexities glossed over” (1998, p. 98).

3.2.1 Case Study Organizational Backgrounds

Since 1993, the Canadian NGO has been conducting SFD work in developing countries located in Africa and the Caribbean. Comprised of 5 staff members (one individual based in Africa), the organization works in over 20 developing countries, having assisted “thousands of people” through their SFD initiatives (Canadian NGO, 2005). It has conducted various leadership and internship programs for both local youth and Canadian youth; for instance, they acted as “a visiting consultant working with the hosting countries to create programs that ...continue from year to year, without help” (Canadian NGO, 2005, p. 2).

Canadian youth, ages 19-30, are able to apply to intern with the Canadian NGO to “share their sport experience and expertise in developing countries” (Canadian NGO, 2005, p. 2). More than 60 Canadians have engaged in these eight-month international placements with successful

candidates working in-field to use sport in order to address various social development issues, including: education, nutrition and health, HIV/ AIDS, persons with a disability, gender equality, and child protection (Canadian NGO, 2005). The Canadian NGO stresses the importance of working in true partnership, as will be elaborated upon in the results section.

The Swiss NGO was founded in 2002, almost ten years later than the Canadian NGO, and has been conducting projects in both Switzerland and Africa ever since. The philosophy of the organization was to embody what they defined as the 'dual approach' to development. For them, this meant that there was, "not only a need for development in foreign countries, but also in Switzerland...foreign countries can learn from [the Swiss] as well as [the Swiss] can learn from them" (Swiss NGO, 2005). As of December, 2005, there were approximately 50 volunteers (without pay) engaged in various positions with various projects facilitated by the Swiss NGO throughout Switzerland and Africa, and 150 members who contributed financially (identified as "passive members") (Swiss NGO, 2005). The SFD programs in Switzerland were primarily focused on 'interculturalism' that involved various sporting events, study days and school camps, with the goal of:

facilitating [the] social competence of children and youths to enhance the dialogue with immigrants...[they] want to do [their] part in having an open interaction/ contact with people from different cultures (Swiss NGO, 2005, p. 2).

Their projects in Africa were focused on one country which will remain anonymous to protect the identity of the organization. In Africa, the centre of the Swiss NGO's activities was to help street children by encouraging them to "help themselves," and also by developing social skills, improving the level of the youth's education, finding them medical care, and simply getting them off the streets (Swiss NGO, p. 3). The organization used 'educational sport lessons' on the base of positive emotions. For them, this meant, "during our sport lessons we don't want

to do 'just' sport. We playfully focus on educational topics. The street kids become re-socialised step by step – and have fun” (Swiss NGO, p. 4). Overall, the Swiss NGO's mandate emphasized the way in which sport helps to develop social inclusion, particularly among youth.

The final UN report on the International Year of Sport and Physical Education 2005 released in April 2006 detailed the various ways in which both Canada and Switzerland were involved in the International Year by partaking in various special events, projects and programmes. In Canada, the UN noted 'hundreds of special events' which were endorsed by a special 'Canadian Year of Sport and Physical Education' logo that was placed on all material used to celebrate the year (United Nations, 2006). Moreover, a website platform was developed by the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance (CAHPERD) to act as a focal point for all SFD-related activities.

In Switzerland, the UN also pointedly noted in their report the 'thousands' of initiatives which had taken place (United Nations, 2006). Examples of the thousands touched by the international theme year was evident in that “eight nationally coordinated promotional programmes were initiated including the 'Schools on the move' project which made nearly 30,000 children from all over Switzerland physically active every day” (United Nations, 2006). Certainly, the UN theme year proclaimed to engage not only Canada and Switzerland, but approximately 122 nations in total. The successes of the year were listed by detailing activities such as conferences and the publications on SFD from various research institutes, as well as by outlining a range of commemorative activities being held in each SFD-endorsed country (United Nations, 2006).

3.3 Role of the Researcher

I initially became interested in SFD after interning for the Right To Play during the summer of 2004. Right To Play is the leading SFD NGO in terms of size and outreach, based in Toronto, Canada, with offices in Europe and the U.S. and with over forty SFD projects in eighteen different third world countries as of January 2006. My role at Right To Play included conducting research on the best practices of SFD for the Athens Roundtable on International Sport and Development during the Summer Olympic Games held in Greece, 2004.

Before the Roundtable held in Athens, there were a set of meetings held in Magglingen, Switzerland in February, 2003, that marked the first set of congregations to be dedicated exclusively to sport and development. Those who attended included a broad array of organizations that claimed to adhere to the SFD movement. As Giulianotti (2004) observed while attending this Magglingen convention:

Over 380 conference delegates from 55 nations were in attendance, representing governmental bodies, the United Nations system, athletes, sports organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), scientific research institutes, and media corporations (p. 355).

Those attending these conferences were purportedly part of a new harmonized front maintaining that sport may be used to achieve positive social outcomes.

After Magglingen in 2003, these organizations then formally congregated under the umbrella of the IPSDN (Right To Play, 2004b; Giulianotti, 2004). It is important to note that, for the purposes of this thesis, the name of this Platform has been somewhat modified to include the word "network". This was to reflect its web-like structure (involving the multiple NGOs, governmental organizations, international organizations, academic institutions and international/national sport federations, associations and organizations) of this large entity.

Importantly, many SFD experts consider Switzerland to be the 'base' for the SFD movement (Alexandrova, 2005; Schwery, 2003). This, along with other research presented in this exploration, justified my interest in travelling to Switzerland for an academic exchange for three months to interview staff members from the Swiss NGO and in order to compare my findings with my interviews with staff from the Canadian NGO.

As a follow-up to the initial Sport and Development meetings held in Magglingen, Switzerland in 2003, I was able to attend another meeting that was held from December 4th-6th, 2005, to which both SFD NGOs involved in this study also attended. This summit provided a useful context for understanding the roles these NGOs were playing in the IPSDN. The meeting also helped in understanding the different approaches that each NGO took while networking with other organizations at the conference in the IPSDN context.

Another important point to note in terms of my role as a researcher was my position as an outsider to the participants. I was very conscious of the fact that I was a stranger, as researcher who was female, white and middle-class, with certain set of experiences shaping my perspectives. It is important to acknowledge inherent power relationships in interviewing, as noted by Amis (2005), because:

Research can empower if participants are given knowledge that then enables them to control and perhaps change some aspect of their own lives. However, research is also capable of disempowerment if the information that is provided is misused" (p. 112).

3.3.1. Reflexivity

According to Stake (1994), reflexivity is not simply a matter of following the “conceptualizations of theories, actors or audiences,” but rather involves the researcher working within a framework of local, foreshadowed, and readers’ meanings (p. 242). Being aware entailed reflecting upon all questions asked and amending questions if necessary (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995); maintaining a “critical awareness” of what is being said; and being ready to explore issues in greater depth by asking probe questions to follow-up on initial responses (Measor, 1985). It proved necessary to move beyond my own attitudes and opinions concerning interview topics. Throughout my interviews, I felt that I was “aware of the line between discussion and intrusion” (Hardy & Clegg, 1996, p. 636). Again, I tried to be conscious of the fact that I was an outsider to both Canadian and Swiss staff members being interviewed, and had certain experiences shaping my perspectives.

3.4 Sample and Recruitment

In each of the two countries, agency contact and approval were confirmed to assist in the recruitment of participants. This process will be detailed below. First, it is essential to note that, initially, securing staff interviews after preliminary agency approval proved to be difficult in the case of both organizations. While I was aware of the autonomy of each individual and their subsequent “right to self-determination” (Amis, 2005, p. 112), I wanted to be sure they made an informed decision before they chose whether or not to participate in the interviews.

In the case of Swiss NGO, I initially received one of the staff member’s contact information in August, 2005, from my employer at the time, the Right To Play. After corresponding with this individual (what Hammersely & Atkinson, 1995, referred to as “the

gatekeeper”) and detailing the nature of the study and my exchange to Switzerland, I was told to meet with her and other Swiss NGO staff members upon my arrival in October, 2005.

After my arrival in Switzerland, the staff members of the Swiss NGO were concerned about the purpose of my study and participating in the interviews. This could have been attributed to a variety of reasons. Emails passed between me and my gatekeeper throughout the month of October. These emails often detailed the other concerns of the Swiss NGO staff. First, it is likely they were sceptical of me as I was a foreigner who they were unfamiliar with, and who wanted to study their organization. My gatekeeper was under the impression I had traveled all the way to Switzerland simply to interview them, and this somewhat distressed her. Subsequently, they felt it was imperative for me to attend a staff meeting on November 2, 2005, in person to discuss the implications of my study for their organization. This meeting was held in a restaurant at the Bern railway station. The management team (comprised of 8 individuals) met at this location one day during the first week of every month.

During this meeting, my goal was to gain their trust. I came early at the request of my gatekeeper, as she wanted to converse before the others arrived. We sat and talked for 15 minutes about sports, travel, and Switzerland. Hereafter, other staff members started to arrive. I was introduced to the 3 staff members I would later interview by my gatekeeper. Following this, I presented them with the information sheet (Appendix C1 – Information Sheet, Swiss), and explained my study to them in the most simplistic way possible. We discussed the sports we enjoyed, and I also told them that I actually came to Switzerland to participate in an academic exchange and not exclusively to interview them.

Their questions pertained to the subject of my study. They mostly wanted to know what I meant by “policy”, and the implications my investigation of policy would have for their

organization. They were also unsure about the link I was exploring between policy, partnerships, and networks. Moreover, they were under the false impression that they would have to travel to Lausanne where I was attending classes at the University in order to participate. After briefly showing them the interview guide (Appendix A1 – Interview Guide, Swiss), taking the time to answer any questions and assuring them of the amount of time that they would need to participate, they decided to proceed with interviews. Subsequently, I obtained their email addresses, scheduled interviews with 3 of them and asked Jerome the Senior Project Officer (pseudonym name, see section on interviews below), to sign a copy of the agency approval form at the end of the meeting (Appendix E1- Agency Consent Form).

Similarly, in the case of the Canadian NGO, I emailed the Director of International Programs in order to gauge her interest in participating in the study. When I did not get an initial response, I then telephoned her to follow up on my email and ask if the Canadian NGO would be available to participate in the study. During this conversation, she said she wanted to meet with me during her trip to Magglingen for the SFD meetings to be held in December, 2005. After encountering her there, it was decided that it would be easier to conduct telephone interviews in January, 2006 because of the short amount of time she would be in Switzerland. An amendment was put in for ethics for telephone interviews in early December 2005 and was subsequently approved. I emailed her during the first week of January to ask for agency approval (Appendix E2 – Agency Consent Form, Canadian), and she suggested 4 other participants for interviews and gave me their email information.

For this project, I interviewed 4 staff members from each SFD NGO (one staff member from the Swiss NGO twice). These individuals acted as my sample, and a total of 9 interviews were conducted ($n = 8$). Both organizations comprised of staff that were either “in-field” (i.e. in

Africa/ Caribbean managing their SFD projects) or in their headquarters/ base in Switzerland or Canada. The Canadian NGO had 1 staff member in Africa out of a total of 5 individuals. Although initially a telephone interview with the member in Africa was attempted, it proved too difficult to coordinate.

In the case of the Swiss NGO, 4 of a possible 8 individuals were interviewed. At the time of the interviews, 3 individuals were in Africa, while the other possible interviewee who was actually the aforementioned gatekeeper, backed out of the interview. She was a full-time employee of the Swiss National Olympic Committee, but also worked for the Swiss NGO. She initially seemed concerned about speaking with me about the relationships between the Swiss NGO and the Swiss NOC. After extensive correspondence with her (approximately 6 emails were sent from me to her and vice-versa) to discuss why I wanted to interview her, she agreed to participate. However, on the evening of our scheduled interview, I missed my train to meet her and told her I would be 15 minutes late. She apologized but said she didn't want to wait, and due to the proximity of the Christmas holidays, she said she was unable to reschedule.

The participants selected for interviews had experience both in-field (for example, in Africa) as project officers, as coordinators and administrators, as well as in various managerial and leadership roles in their respective office headquarters. The organizational leaders who were the President/ Founder and Director of International Programs of each NGO were also interviewed. These interviewees were selected due to their knowledge on their SFD NGO's policy imperatives, their key national partners and the role of their NGO in the IPSDN. The knowledge of each staff member interviewed varied greatly. While some were more acquainted with organizational partnerships, others were more informed about SFD policy. Gaps in some

interviews were filled in by document analysis, and the responses of participants in other interviews, so that sufficient information was gathered to address the research questions.

3.5 Data Collection

3.5.1 Document Analysis

According to Hodder (1994), documents are useful for qualitative research due to their accessibility, insight into lived experience and low cost, however he warned that interpretation of these texts must be carefully conducted. Thus, following the work of Wilson (forthcoming), a content and contextual analysis of websites used to display information about the Swiss NGO and the Canadian NGO was executed. It may be argued that this form of data collection is similar to what Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) coin as “casing the joint” (p. 37).

Key documents pertaining to each organization were gathered (some printed from the abovementioned websites, others obtained from interview participants via email), including input papers from meetings, mission statements, partnership agreement statements, policy documents and press releases (see Table 3.1 on the following page). The Swiss NGO had documents available in both German and English that were posted on the NGO’s website, and the Canadian NGO had documents posted in both English and French.

By examining each document listed in Table 3.1, I was able to gain an initial understanding of how each SFD NGO conceptualized their SFD policies and partnerships on paper. While press releases such as documents A, B, C and D were useful in contextualizing how the work of each SFD NGO had been showcased by the media and various SFD-endorsed websites throughout the United Nation’s “International Year of Sport and Physical Education” (IYSPE); other documents shed light upon the details of partnership agreements (or “memorandum of understanding”) and key policy directives (e.g. documents L and M).

Table 3.1 Documents Analyzed

| Document Label | Date | Document Title | Author/ Organization |
|----------------|----------------|--|---|
| A | June 2006 | Sport for Development and Peace: From Practice to Policy. | Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) |
| B | April 2006 | Final Report: International Year of Sport and Physical Education 2005 | United Nations |
| C | March 2006 | Plus de 3000 activités: l'Année du sport fait bouger la Suisse | The Swiss Federal Office of Sports at Magglingen |
| D | March 2006 | International Development Through Sport: Coming from Canada | Sport and Development International Platform |
| E | March 2006 | SDP IWG Reports in Key Policy Findings en Route to 2008 Olympic and Paralympic Games in Beijing | SDP International Working Group |
| F | December 2005 | Input Paper for the Break-Out Session: Roles, responsibilities and interfaces for effective partnerships (2 nd Magglingen Conference Sport and Development) | Llyod, P. & Dettling, M. |
| G | December 2005 | Input Paper for the Break-Out Session: Playing along: sport as a means for social integration | Henry, I. |
| H | December 2005a | Sport for Development and Peace | Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) |
| I | December 2005b | The Magglingen Call to Action 2005 | Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) |
| J | November 2005 | The Canadian NGO – About International Development Through Sport | The Canadian NGO |
| K | August 2005 | Strengthening Canada: The Socio-Economic Benefits of Sport Participation in Canada | Bloom, M. Grant, M. & Watt, D. |
| L | January 2005 | The Swiss NGO – Partnership Descriptions | The Swiss NGO |
| M | January 2005 | Memoriam of Understanding: made between The Canadian NGO, X Sport Group and Y Sport Group | Canadian, Norwegian and UK Organizations |
| N | Fall 2004 | The Swiss NGO – Overview | The Swiss NGO |
| O | Spring 2004 | The Swiss NGO – Specification of the [African Project] of the Organisation | The Swiss NGO |
| P | April 2002 | The Canadian Sport Policy | Canadian Heritage |

Throughout my analysis, questions developed pertaining to particular organizational viewpoints. For example, I wanted to know why the Swiss NGO felt so strongly about their policy pertaining to unpaid volunteers. Why did they consider a 'developed' country such as Switzerland "in need of development" (Swiss NGO, 2004)? Why did their list of partners often include the names of individuals who ran various sport organizations in lieu of the organization's name itself? What was the difference between the Canadian NGO's 'sponsors', 'partners', 'working partners' and 'collaborative partners'? How did they influence the other organizations with whom they work in terms of policy? In order to develop a more in-depth understanding of the relationships between these SFD NGOs and their partners, as well as the way in which they potentially influence policy, interviews were then carried out with organizational staff members.

3.5.2 Interviews

Table 3.2 below lists the interview information for both Swiss and Canadian participants. The technique of interviewing was used because I wanted to explore and understand the perspectives of these individuals involved in SFD (Fontana & Frey, 1994). In selecting semi-structured, in-depth interviews, I aimed to investigate the perspectives of the participants instead of "[impos[ing] any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry" (Fontana & Frey, 1994, p. 366).

I chose to interview more than one person from each organization because I believed each member would be able to provide a range of standpoints on Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs, partnerships, networks and policy influence. In sum, by conducting 9 interviews with 8

participants, I felt that I was able to obtain varying perspectives which confirmed each other to some degree and subsequently lent confidence to the analysis of my results.

Table 3.2: Interview Information

| Date | Informant's Position | Organizational | Pseudonym | Gender |
|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| November 7 th , 2005 | Senior Officer (Operational Lead), The Swiss NGO | | Jerome | Male |
| November 10 th , 2005 | Project Officer, The Swiss NGO | | Kenny | Male |
| November 14 th , 2005 | Senior Officer (Operational Lead), The Swiss NGO (interview #2) | | Jerome | Male |
| November 23 rd , 2005 | Project Officer, The Swiss NGO | | Phyllis | Female |
| December 5 th , 2005 | President/ Founder, The Swiss NGO | | Roger | Male |
| January 16 th , 2006 | Director International Programs, The Canadian NGO | | Kendra | Female |
| January 18 th , 2006 | Senior Regional Officer, The Canadian NGO | | Oscar | Male |
| January 20 th , 2006 | Program Officer, The Canadian NGO | | Shelly | Female |
| January 23, 2006 | Regional Officer, The Canadian NGO | | Gina | Female |

As previously explained, these 8 participants were the maximum number of members available to me from each organization. In the Swiss case, I interviewed 4 out of a possible 8, and in the Canadian case, I interviewed 4 of a possible 5. By obtaining the majority (or in the Swiss case, half) of the available participants, I felt that the voices of each organization were adequately captured.

The interview questions are located in Appendix A1 (Swiss) and A2 (Canadian). The interviews were scheduled to last for approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour, although some lasted for up to or over 2 hours. All participants were asked for written consent to the interview (see Appendix D –Consent Forms, Swiss/ Canadian), and were presented an information sheet indicating their rights in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the University of British Columbia’s Behavioural Science Committee for Research and Other Studies Involving Human Subjects (see Appendix C – Information Sheet, Swiss/ Canadian).

In addition to the emphasis placed on ensuring that informants were aware of their rights as study participants, other ethical issues were taken into account. In conducting interviews, the three most central cautions taken into consideration included ensuring informed consent and the “right to privacy and protection from harm” (Fontana & Frey, 1994, p. 363); treating interviewees as human beings instead of objects; and ensuring that the meaning and interpretation of the informants’ views and words were correct and represented accordingly in my write-up. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), cultural differences by interviewing and observing another culture involve ethical dilemmas pertaining to access and “culture clash” (p. 102).

Specifically, the design of the interview questions enabled me to probe interviewees. In this way, probing contributed towards the emergence of a repetition of points and patterns. Jerome, the first Swiss participant who I interrogated, was interviewed twice, as he was the only one to answer “no” to my questions #1c and #1e pertaining to policy influence (see section #1, Appendices A1 – Interview Guide, Swiss). Subsequently, this response led me to ask another set of questions which were specifically formulated to address a “no” answer to the ‘policy influence’ question (see section #2, Appendices A1 and A2 – Interview Guide, Swiss and

Canadian). Since my initial interview with Jerome was over 2 hours long, we both agreed it would be best to schedule another interview for my set of questions addressing a “no” response. My interview guide was useful for deciphering between the answers of other Swiss respondents from Jerome’s pertaining to policy influence, as their responses included statements such as: they were “possibly” or “kind of” influencing policy, “indirectly influencing” or “not actively trying to influence policy”. In contrast, when asked questions #1c and #1e, Jerome maintained that Swiss NGO was absolutely not trying to influence policy in any way. My second interview with him only lasted 45 minutes, but was very useful for magnifying his initial response.

The interview initially set out with three basic questions pertaining to the key SFD policies of the interviewees’ SFD NGO, including how these policies evolved and why they were important, who the SFD NGO was representing in the realm of policy, and whether or not sport policy influence in particular was important for their SFD NGO. Hereafter, the interview focused on the relationship between the SFD NGO and its partners, including value conflicts, partner policy influence, and power relations. The goal of this section was to uncover the underlying reasons behind the partnership formation.

Once the interviewees provided a background on partnerships in the context of their organization, the interview shifted to discuss the potential link between partnerships and SFD policy dissemination. In this section of the interview, I also asked questions pertaining to sport policy in their respective country, and the way in which they felt their SFD NGO had potentially influenced national sport policy. The goal of this segment of the interview was to discover what the aims of these organizations were in terms of obtaining a voice through policy-making in their respective countries. In using critical policy analysis, Chalip (1995) stated that it is not sufficient to merely “describe the logic of policy debates” (p. 5). Rather, he argued that a useful

examination of policy influence would, “proceed from an examination of the verbal interactions that mould the definitions, attributions, and foci of attention of policymakers. The requisite methods for analysis will be interpretive and critical” (Chalip, 1995, p. 4). Therefore, in positing the abovementioned interview questions, it was expected that the underlying aims and suppositions pertaining to policy within these organizations would be discovered.

The final section of the interviews focused on the role of the individual’s organization in the IPSDN, their relationships with other organizations within the IPSDN, and the purpose for their SFD NGO becoming involved in this network. The aim was to shed light on information pertaining to policy influence through the presence of the SFD NGO in a network.

In light of the nature of the questions asked of the interviewees, the amount of probing done, the number of organizational members I was able to recruit to participate, and the documents reviewed, I feel that I was able to achieve data saturation. Glaser & Strauss (1967) argued that themes generally begin to emerge and recur following several interviews with a homogenous sample, after which the researcher can assume that they have reached a point of data saturation. Another indicator of saturation is that performing more interviews would be unlikely to produce new or different data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Morse, 1994). Morse (1994) recommended once “sufficient data have been collected...saturation occurs and variation is both accounted for and understood” (p. 230).

3.5.3. Field Notes

Field notes were also kept in a journal to document the research process as it unfolded, record various experiences and challenges in my role as the researcher and to record initial analyses. The participants also agreed to notes being taken in this journal during interviews. These notes were later entered into a MS Word file and were particularly useful for reviewing

when following up on issues during my interviews (e.g. recounting the emotions of participants during interviews, highlighting similarities between the responses of staff members.). In Switzerland, I most often wrote these notes during my train rides back to Lausanne from Bern (1 hour, 45 minutes). I also wrote comments in it both during and following my telephone interviews with Canadian staff members. Writing in this journal gave me the opportunity to reflect upon my personal understanding of SFD given my social location and my role as a member of a SFD NGO. The opportunity for “self-conscious reflection” by researchers is an important factor for remaining reflexive during the interview process (Ellis & Berger, 2003, p. 160).

3.6 Data Analysis

The data obtained from the document analysis was thematically identified using “categorical aggregation,” a well-used technique for data analysis and interpretation in case study research (Creswell, 1998). This procedure was used so that “issue-relevant meanings [would] emerge” (Creswell, 1998, p. 154). Essentially, this process involved identifying patterns and relationships between information generated with the information provided by Swiss and Canadian NGO staff members. Hereafter, document summary forms were created, following the work of Miles and Huberman (1994). These forms are useful for examining the document in context, explaining its significance, as well as reflecting and summarizing its contents.

The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim from tape recordings. This rendered a concrete and detailed record and complimented field notes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Following Tesch (1990), a through reading of all collected information was then conducted in order to obtain a general perception of the data on the whole. Data coding and analysis was facilitated using ATLAS.ti, a qualitative data analysis computer programme that

allows researchers to categorize quotations from interviews under emergent main themes and sub-themes. Essentially, the program provides the researcher with the ability to use memos and attach codes to segments of data in order to create an understanding of the information at hand.

Using these themes, a coding scheme was developed. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), to code data is essentially a form of analysis that gives meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study (p. 56). By using my research questions as guides, I developed four major themes that continued to emerge and develop through repeated readings of interview transcripts and documents. The four themes acted as headings for each cluster of codes, and were broadly labelled under the following headings: i) partnerships, ii) networks, iii) policy and iv) power, ideology and politics (see Appendix F – Table 3.3: Table of Codes).

I started by coding the Swiss interviews using the four themes listed above, and eventually various clusters emerged and labels (codes) were developed in relation to each theme. For example, under the theme of “partnership,” labels such as “reasons for partnering,” and “value conflicts” were created. After the Swiss NGO interviews were labelled, I used the four major themes for the Canadian NGO, and also tried to use as many of the same labels as possible, with the goal of maintaining similar frames of reference for both countries. For example, I created a sub code titled “direct policy influence”. This label was then distinguished as either “a” (Swiss) or “b” (Canadian). In this way, a comparison identifying the similarities and differences of each case was more simply facilitated. Overall, the coding process shed light on the various links between thematic categories in conjunction with my theoretical standpoints in an attempt to build a more complete research landscape (Travers, 2001).

3.7 Limitations of Research

It is important to highlight the fact that each of the selected methods posited potential limitations of this study. First, a document analysis is viewed as “mute evidence” and as such the possibility of misinterpretation exists (Hodder, 1994, p. 399). To counteract misconceptions, Hodder recommended that the interpretation be “based on the simultaneous evaluation of similarities and differences, context, and theory” (Hodder, 1994, p. 400). My investigation used the Internet as part of a document analysis, extensively examining organizational websites to obtain background information on each SFD NGO and on the IPSDN. Concerns pertaining to the indefinable boundaries of ‘represented communities’ on the Internet were also voiced by various researchers (e.g. Jones, 1998; Fernbeck, 1998). For example, the IPSDN is represented on the Internet as a cohesive group of organizations, when in reality, as I discovered through my interviews, this was not really the case.

In recognizing these limitations, I hoped that by employing a comparative case study approach using documents and interviews, and by using reflexivity as “sensitizing device” (Hine, 2000, p. 56), I would be able to improve the methodological approach of my investigation. Stake (1994) argued in order to rectify misinterpretations, one should utilize a variety of procedures, which include “redundancy of data gathering and procedural challenges to explanation” (p. 241).

Second, in conducting interviews, it was essential to consider power relationships between the ‘interviewer’ (a young, female, Canadian student) and the ‘interviewees’. Approximately half of my interviews were conducted over the phone, and those interviewed were older and some were from a different culture. These were all possible restrictions in attempting to build a rapport with interviewees (Punch, 1994). However, by attending an initial meeting with the Swiss participants, and by meeting in person with one of the directors of the

Canadian NGO at the Magglingen meetings, I felt I developed good rapport with my participants that may have been linked to our joint interest in the SFD cause.

3.8 Ethics

This study received ethics approval from the University of British Columbia Office of Research Services and Administration Behavioural Research Ethics Board (see Appendix G – Certificate of Approval). An amendment was put in to conduct telephone interviews in December, 2005, and was also approved. Because the organizations or interviewees are identified by pseudonyms and general organizational names (e.g. 'the Swiss NGO') in the reporting of the results, the risks to the participants were minimal. In using pseudonyms, Amis (2005) cautioned researchers to ensure that the identity and dignity of the participants are protected, but at the same time that the data not be misshapen. He argued characteristics such as geographical location, role and gender must not be distorted, "unless doing so is paramount for the protection of the participant" (Amis, 2005, p. 113). Thus, each pseudonym used corresponded with the gender of the participants (4 males, 4 females interviewed in total), and each organizational name revealed its geographical location.

When the interviews were audiotaped and transcribed, real names were not assigned to speakers. The transcripts were stored in the project office, Auditorium Annex Room 156A in a locked file cabinet. Consent forms were kept in sealed envelopes in a separate location from the research materials in a separate office. A summary report will be made available to the study participants via email once the research has been defended.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS and DISCUSSION

4.0 Findings and Discussion

The findings will be presented in three major sections that correspond to the research questions guiding this investigation. Each section will compare and contrast Canadian and Swiss perspectives. First, the topic of policy influence in the context of SFD will be discussed, by describing SFD policy within each NGO and how each NGO was trying to influence, or in some cases, not trying to influence, the current national sport policies in each respective country. The primary focus of the policy section will examine exactly who the NGOs were claiming to represent through their work and how they were representing these groups, communities and individuals when influencing policy. I will also deliberate the various strategies used in terms of influence. While a comparison between Swiss and Canadian NGOs will be made, the main goal of this section is simply to create a starting point by outlining the key SFD policies of each NGO in order to distinguish the information NGOs aimed to convey to sport policy-makers (Betsill & Corell, 2000; Humphreys, 2004; Green & Houlihan, 2004).

The second section will examine partnerships, by identifying partnership structures, reasons for partnering, and relationship dynamics (including value conflicts and power relations). The third and final section will discuss the findings related to the dis/connections of the International Platform on Sport and Development Network (referred to in this thesis as the

'IPSDN'). Themes in this section include the role of SFD NGOs within the IPSDN, the benefits and drawbacks of being involved in this Network, and the ability of each SFD NGO to influence policy through its presence in this Network.

4.1 SFD Policies: Addressing Multiple Issues through the Power of Sport

Houlihan (2005) observed government's increased use of sport as an "instrument of social engineering" in recent years, but also noted that sport has not endured an extensive policy

| Table 4.1 | |
|------------------|--|
| SFD NGO: | SFD policies (according to document analysis) |
| Canadian | <p>Sport is used to address a number of important development priorities, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - alleviates negative effects of poverty - helps individuals to achieve basic health - reaches out to youth-at-risk - raises awareness of women's rights and issues - reaches out to people with a disability - connects regions and nations, instilling international pride and peace <p>Our objectives are to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - strengthen sport systems by developing leaders - encourage healthy living for youth and youth-at-risk - support self-directed projects and programs - ensure program sustainability through local ownership and by strengthening capacity - incorporate basic education, gender equity, and health awareness into existing programs - promote opportunities for women and girls and people with a disability - provide young Canadians with international development opportunities through sport <p>(Canadian NGO, 2005).</p> |
| Swiss | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - bridge gaps and act as a facilitator between people of different cultures - carry out projects for street children from particularly disadvantaged areas of the world - sensitise children to issues of international social and economic development; and intercultural cooperation - utilise sport as an intercultural philosophy for mediation - all members – without any exception – work voluntarily and without compensation for the realization of mutual/ shared goals - represent the 'dual approach'...there is not only a need for development in foreign countries, but also in Switzerland (follows organizational philosophy: 'Every country is a developing country') - do justice the meaning of 'developmental collaboration' - connect projects with already existing ones - members associate openly and honestly with each other - principles of [The Swiss NGO] not only work within projects, organizational members also want to live it - use sport to teach about: body, rules, acceptance, fairness, teamwork, nutrition and health <p>(Swiss NGO, 2005).</p> |

analysis by these same governments. Giulianotti (2004) urged governments to recognize that sport policies need to be accompanied by other, more direct policies, such as those which aim to, "alleviate disease, hunger, war and forced migration" (p. 367). The novelty of the SFD cause as

observed by these academics was accentuated during interviews with each organization, as they struggled to define what SFD policies were of their organizations, and how their organizational policies would contribute to national and global SFD dialogues. According to a recent SFD document released by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (2005a), the development of policies for the consolidation of sport in cross-cutting development strategies is urgent. There is a paucity of instruments such as manuals, policy guidelines, documentation, and fact sheets on SFD. Consequently, policy development needs to occur by raising the profile and building the SFD cause, and by bridging the gap between research and policy-makers/practitioners (Dettling & Lloyd, 2005).

After conducting a document analysis, the key policies for each SFD NGO were noted and listed in Table 4.1 on the preceding page. However, during the interviews, only certain policies examined in the document were emphasized by the participants. The SFD policies encompassed by each NGO in Switzerland and Canada were all-encompassing, focusing on a wide range of issues broadly embodied by the concept of social development. In this way, SFD policies were generally incorporated under the umbrella of social policy, defined by Deacon, Hulse and Stubbs (1997) as:

Those state and non-governmental activities within one country that are designed to intervene in the operations of the free market in the interests of social protection and social welfare (p. 1).

SFD policies may also be located within the realm of social citizenship, defined by Harvey (2001) as, “a set of rights to certain services, such as education, health...and sport and recreation” (p. 31). The SFD policies in these two countries therefore aimed to embrace sport and recreation as part of the rights of citizens. Accordingly, “the status of sport as a right brings with it an obligation on the part of governments....and other actors in civil society to ensure that

opportunities exist for everyone to participate in sport and physical activity”(SDP IWG, 2006, p 8).

The list of SFD policies featured in Table 4.1 demonstrates the concerted effort of SFD NGOs to take on their responsibilities as civil society organizations by aiming to compensate for existing disparities in sport and physical activity for disadvantaged populations. The understanding of their policies may be augmented by Green & Houlihan’s (2004, p. 391) ‘policy core’ belief system, whereby, “policy core beliefs represent a coalition’s basic normative commitments and causal perceptions across a policy subsystem.” The core value priorities of each SFD NGO are subsequently revealed and engrained through their SFD policies. Green and Houlihan’s (2004) descriptions of the ambiguities between the word ‘policy’ and ‘values,’ were evidenced when asking the staff members from each NGO about the key SFD policies of their organization. For example, the word ‘policy’ caused confusion with other terms such as: guiding principals, objectives, ideas, concepts, values, and topics. Further misconceptions developed in trying to distinguish between SFD ‘policies’ and SFD ‘practices’. In one instance, a Swiss participant was concerned about the written concept of SFD on paper versus the way in which it was acted upon:

Everyone knows sport and development...the concept is really good, and then they do the concepts. But, in reality, what does it mean? How do we do this project?

Jerome (Senior Officer, Swiss NGO)

Another respondent from the Swiss NGO referred to policies as the “output of politics” and claimed that he had never thought about the key policies of his organization until I posed the interview question.

Overall, most staff from both SFD NGOs were reasonably confident in explaining their organizational policies right away, although approximately 5 interviewees consulted NGO

documents while doing so. A staff member from the Canadian NGO noted that they often used unwritten policies as guiding principles, while suggesting that there were still documents being created to develop a foundation for SFD policy. He explained that these documents would be useful for making more grounded programming decisions. With these fundamental observations and explanations regarding SFD policies in mind, the next sections will briefly compare and contrast the policies of Canadian and Swiss SFD NGOs. This will help shed light on the various SFD policies each NGO was potentially aiming to transmit to policy-makers.

4.1.1. Similar SFD Policies: Social Inclusion, Peace, Target Populations and Partnerships

Table 4.1 reveals various similarities between the SFD NGOs in terms of SFD policies. First, both NGOs used sport to promote social inclusion and peace. In this way, sport was viewed as a tool to link segregated populations, and to bring regions and nations together. Secondly, two of the major target populations of both NGOs were youth-at-risk, and, more generally, those living in poverty. Sport was upheld as a useful mechanism to engage these youth, and to promote the economic well-being of disadvantaged and marginalized groups. Finally, staff members from both NGOs repeatedly underscored their policies pertaining to partnerships with other organizations and emphasized the importance of local participants' contributions to their projects. However, there were both similarities and differences in the way that these partnerships were conducted, as the next sections will outline.

In a similar vein to the SFD policy of the Canadian NGO, the Swiss NGO emphasized the collaborative nature of their partnerships with 'local' participants in their projects. Informants emphasized that Swiss NGO aimed to collaborate with the local participants who engaged in their programs by learning from them. An important point is that, throughout interviews, it was clear that the term "local participant" was referring to those individuals from Africa and

Switzerland who were partaking in the Swiss NGO's SFD projects. Other members suggested that their programs were developed in cooperation with local participants. Phyllis stated that when formulating ideas for the Swiss NGO's projects, they interviewed children, asking them questions for their input, what their favourite sports were, their goals for the future, etc. In this way, Phyllis felt that their SFD policies represented the rights of their participants:

*Here in Switzerland...I think it's a voice for them...that we stand up for people.
And don't people need to have those rights?*

Phyllis (Project Officer, Swiss NGO)

Jerome similarly suggested that the Swiss NGO was a grassroots organization working directly on the ground with the people. In fact, when Roger was asked who the Swiss NGO represented, he rather idealistically claimed:

*All the people who want to change the world. We are representing those who
want to do something new with sport.*

Roger (President/ Founder, Swiss NGO)

The perspectives of these staff members were echoed in the literature on NGOs bringing the grassroots concerns to the forefront of policy-makers agendas. As Brown (1998) asserted, "NGOs...translat[e] grassroots experience to government policy-makers" (p. 234). However, a significant portion of international development literature highlights concerns as to exactly how NGOs are going about ensuring democratic representation (e.g. Price, 2003; Bell & Carens, 2004). If NGOs are indeed bringing the 'voices' of these disadvantaged populations to government officials, then who elected them into such influential positions? The political accountability of NGOs has been identified as a concern by several researchers (e.g. Bratton, 1990; Morss, 1991; Ebrahim, 2003a; b; Price, 2003), and will be deliberated further in the final chapter of this thesis.

Other investigations have countered that it may be, “understandably difficult for those who represent institutions to engage in public discussion of issues that bear on the legitimacy of the institutions they represent” (Korten, 1998, p. 6). McDonald (2005) conceded partnerships can be “damning” when they exacerbate power relations and result in the exclusion of citizens from all stages of policy development (p. 581). Despite the enduring debate on the ways in which NGOs embody their participants, the evidence gathered from interviews with staff members indicated that both Swiss and Canadian NGOs were aiming to represent the voices of their participants, feeling as though it was their duty to do so.

The next section will outline the major differences between each SFD NGO. Although many apparent differences were revealed through interviews and document analysis, only those relevant to the topic at hand will be discussed.

4.1.2. The Canadian NGO: Emphasizing Partnerships and transferring international SFD Policies to the Canadian Context

For the Swiss NGO, partnerships meant connecting their projects with already existing ones. However, for the Canadian NGO partnerships were distinguished by the local ownership of SFD projects, and by increasing the local capacity of participants to sustain SFD programs. In Canadian NGO, partnerships were mentioned as a key operational SFD policy. Therefore, the key difference between the two NGOs seemed to be the Canadian NGOs concern with building local capacity and by using its own SFD curriculum, whereas the Swiss NGO claimed to look towards coordinating their programs with local projects (i.e. African projects) already being implemented by local people.

Yet, Kendra felt that the Canadian NGO operated in a ‘true partnership’ with the local participants in their projects, working with a commitment to respectful and collaborative

partnerships. Others confirmed her assertion by suggesting that not only did the Canadian NGO work with populations comprised of groups such as youth-at-risk, people with disabilities, and various strata of government, but noted that they also represented the voices of these groups through their SFD policies. Shelly, a Senior Regional Officer with the Canadian NGO, felt it was their responsibility to represent those who did not have access to governments:

We have a huge responsibility to be a louder voice for our partners in the field because we do have access that they don't necessarily have.

Shelly (Program Officer, Canadian NGO)

Significantly, Smillie (1995) asserted that, in this sense, partnerships should involve investing in the capacity of local initiatives, not simply using "the jargon of independence, but the concrete reality of independence" (p. 96). The idea of representing these groups and lending them independence was alternatively expressed by other interviewees who claimed that they were actively "consulting" with locals on a regular basis concerning program development and funding. When asked how the various SFD policies were developed, it was acknowledged that they were primarily created in-house by the NGO staff. Oscar suggested that this was necessary because The Canadian NGO was responsible for the creation of the programs:

I mean we have to be sure that we agree and that a policy is what we want it to be because that's what we're going to take to our programs.

Oscar (Regional Officer, Canadian NGO).

The relationship between the policies developed in Canada by this NGO for those groups participating in their programs in the third world; and the thought of linking these SFD policies to programs developed for Canadians, was also an interesting theme emphasized during the interviews. The staff from the Swiss NGO did not refer to transferring these policies from a 'third world' to a 'developed' context (i.e. from their African project to their Swiss projects). This point will be further explained in the section below.

The justification for transferring (or “linking”) the SFD policies from their projects in Africa and the Caribbean to the Canadian context was made by Kendra, as she observed that there was no coherent national SFD policy in place, therefore making it difficult for the Canadian NGO to follow any prescribed SFD policy model. All four staff from the Canadian NGO discussed how the “cross-over” between disadvantaged populations in Canada, such as Aboriginals, and those groups participating in the Canadian NGO’s projects in Africa, were simply too powerful to ignore. Oscar explained the idea of linking their international work with the potential formation of similar SFD programs in Canada:

We’re looking at how we can bring these [programs] to Canada to have an impact here with Canadian youth. And through a few consultations, a few demonstrations of some of the programs that we do, members of the Aboriginal community approached us to say, ‘ok, this is something we’d like to be involved in’. So, we’ve had some general conversations with them, and we’ve decided what program concept we’re going to look at applying.

Oscar (Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

As Kendra explained, the gradual approach to applying SFD programs domestically was based on the successful implementation of the NGO’s programs internationally. This transfer of the ‘global’ to the ‘local’ is especially interesting in comparison to the work of The Swiss NGO, discussed in the next section.

4.1.3. The Swiss NGO: Already Using SFD Policies in both Developed and Developing Countries

The Swiss NGO’s SFD policies were considerably more focused on specific issues in comparison with those of the Canadian NGO. This was likely due in part to its size, as it had a minimal number of staff (who were unpaid, whereas the Canadian staff were paid); as well as smaller scale and outreach with only one project in Africa and three in Switzerland, whereas the Canadian NGO had multiple projects in the Caribbean and Africa. The SFD policies described

by Swiss interviewees which somewhat varied from the Canadian NGO's included (but were not limited to): participation, respect, 'building bridges' between cultures, acceptance, sport 'as a language', unpaid volunteers/ staff, and empowering people to take action.

Overall, there was little discrepancy between staff interviews and document analysis in terms of Swiss NGO's SFD policies. However, the interviews clearly highlighted the importance placed upon sport as a tool to develop intercultural dialogue. This policy was transferable to its projects in both Africa and Switzerland, where a myriad of ethnicities, races, and languages meant that there were barriers to communication (Swiss NGO, 2005). The emphasis on 'bridging' cultures meant more than simply creating dialogue; it also had to do with mutual learning, as Roger explained:

We say sport is a really nice tool to bring together cultures, and to be a bridge... We really believe that we can build [a] bridge, but the bridge means that we can learn from each other – both ways, not only one way. And we really believe that to develop the world, we have to learn from our partners. And that means we can learn from [African project] the same like they can learn from Switzerland.

Roger (President/ Founder, Swiss NGO)

The Swiss NGO's perspective on the relationship between its programs in Africa and in Switzerland, as explained above, was relatively novel in comparison to the Canadian context, as was evidenced during the Roundtable held in March, 2005 by the Canadian government. At the Roundtable the possibility of using SFD policies and programs from projects in third world countries (called the "domestic transfer" objective) was only beginning to be explored (Government of Canada, 2005).

According to Jerome, the Swiss NGO's organizational stance encompassed the belief that every country is a developing country. Jerome believed that others defined SFD as only using sport as a tool for development in a third world country. However, Jerome argued that

Switzerland was also in need of the Swiss NGO's projects, but in different areas than those in Africa. In comparison with the Canadian NGO staff members who were only just beginning to embark on developing domestic programs with Aboriginals in B.C. (which will be further explained in the latter half of this chapter), the Swiss idea that SFD was needed in both developing and developed countries was somewhat advanced. In Switzerland, the SFD programs were not focused entirely on disadvantaged populations, but were rather aimed to teach the Swiss population in general about social issues through sport by conducting information days at schools and camps and hosting intercultural sport events (Swiss NGO, 2005).

Another important difference encompassed by the Swiss SFD policy was that staff members should not be paid. Roger explained the rationale for this:

[The Swiss NGO] is fully based on volunteer work, so no one is paid a salary. It is the main belief, to do sport for development for free, because if you do the salaries, you take a lot and that amount of money should go to the development projects in Africa.

Roger (President/ Founder, Swiss NGO)

This point was further elaborated upon during my interview with Roger, as he suggested that his NGO's policy on unpaid staff attracted donors, because donors knew their money would be going directly towards SFD projects. He felt that this would augment relationships between the Swiss NGO and their partners, and enhance their trust in the ability of the Swiss NGO to administer SFD projects. Roger accused other SFD NGOs of "just doing SFD for the money" and over-indulging by financing self-promotion through professional posters and other "unnecessary materials". He observed other SFD NGOs were constantly looking for funding to support their growing number of employees. As a result, Roger felt that other SFD NGOs did not want to collaborate with the Swiss NGO due to this fiscal competition.

4.2 Policy Influence: Are SFD NGOs trying to influence current national sport policies?

4.2.1. Introduction: The Complexities of Policy Influence

In the last section, the specific SFD policies represented by each SFD NGO were outlined, with a focus on those SFD policies which were central to each organization. The majority of staff from both NGOs felt they were representing the participants in their projects. In this sense, if NGO's were claiming to represent the participants involved in their projects using alternative forms of sport for social development, then one could argue that they were reframing the way sport is played and practiced. They were attempting to develop a new platform for sport which was potentially of great importance to local, regional, national and even global interests, something that arguably needs to be recognized when considering sport policy formation. A range of voices were seemingly being encompassed by the SFD policies of both Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs. Indeed, as Joldersma (1997) observed: "A participatory policy-making process implies the presence of a diversity of stakeholders' perspectives" (p. 209). However, the extent to which the viewpoints of all stakeholders were truly included in such a bottom-up fashion in these SFD policies was debatable, as this section will outline.

However, Bratton (1990) noted that this diversity actually impedes the abilities of these NGOs to influence policy-makers when he suggested:

Organizations that represent a homogeneous clientele can articulate a clear and unambiguous policy platform, as opposed to organizations whose members have mixed or competing claims (p. 109).

Certainly, the very existence of these SFD NGOs, especially the Swiss NGO, is based on the premise that sport can unite such heterogeneous populations. For example, the Canadian NGO 'represented' groups such as those infected with HIV/AIDS, women, and youth-at-risk, to sport policy-makers. It is highly plausible that these groups might have competing concerns to be

addressed in a national sport policy. However, it is critical to point out that, due to its cross-cutting nature, SFD may be representing its stakeholders to a variety of policy-makers in the broad areas such as health, youth, human rights, social, international, and community development and, of course, sport itself. The literature thus far focuses on how both social / international development and sport policies may incorporate the objectives of the SFD campaign (SDP IWG, 2006; Right To Play, 2004b). However, since this study has focused on sport policy, the policy-makers being influenced are those with governing the realm of sport in Switzerland and Canada.

Keck & Sikkink (1998) also argued that NGOs are likely to be more successful in influencing policy if they specialize in certain policy topics, concentrating on only one issue. Various studies on the successes of the role of NGOs in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) demonstrated the efficacy of their coordinated policy voice (Brem & Rutherford, 2001; Short, 1999). If NGOs focus on a specific issue, Bratton (1990) claimed, "governments are less likely to fear that they [NGOs] will promote a general alternative policy platform from which to mount a bid for political power" (Bratton, 1990, p. 109). A final important observation made by Bratton (1990) was that NGOs who are comprised of unpaid volunteers are not as likely to be effective actors in terms of policy influence. For example, NGOs are unlikely to pressure government policy positions when staff lack the research time and necessary proficiencies required to pressure governments. These points are important to highlight when assessing the strategies SFD NGOs used to promote SFD to their key national sport partners.

Before exploring the results of this section, it is critical to note the varying words used to qualify 'policy influence'. When asked if it was important for their organization to influence

sport policy in their respective country, many interviewees responded in an array of ways while affirming that they were, indeed, attempting to influence policy. For example, several staff members in both NGOs identified the way in which they were influencing as broadly either “directly influencing” or “indirectly influencing”:

It's not on our program, its not that we have activities directed to change policies. We have other activities. But maybe thinking more into the future if you teach kids, maybe children will grow up and then change the government. But for now, we are not directly trying to change policy.

Phyllis (Senior Regional Officer, Swiss NGO)

Other respondents expressed a fear of admitting that they were trying to actively present an alternative to current sport policies. Several staff members admitted to being unaware of the current national sport policies in place. However, the literature strongly suggested that NGOs, simply through their existence alone, are exercising power and drawing attention to alternative ideologies and policy directions which are neglected by the state (Price, 2003; Bratton, 1990; Ebrahim, 2003a; b; Tandon, 1991).

4.2.2. The Canadian NGO: Influencing Policy through Social Capital

Canadian interviewees claimed their twelve year history with SFD endowed them with a respected reputation in their field. Oscar affirmed the Canadian NGO was naturally given a seat at the table and included in conversations with the Canadian government pertaining to sport policy and SFD-related issues. When I asked Shelly if she felt that it was important for their organization to influence sport policy in Canada, she responded without hesitation:

Definitely, because we're hoping to re-shape it, and to re-shape the definition of what sport can do.

Shelly (Senior Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

The importance of trying to re-shape the definition of sport's possibilities was critical for the creation of an alternative conception of national sport policy. The idea behind policy influence was to change the view of sport, to one that captured the needs of the disadvantaged groups served by the Canadian NGO (e.g. youth-at-risk, women, the disabled). In this way, it was hoped that this alternative definition would possibly be recognized in policy documentation.

Conversely, Kendra thought the Canadian NGO was well-respected in terms of its international work, and therefore believed that they were only able to directly influence Canada's international position by using sport as a development tool. However, throughout my interviews with staff members, it was seemed that the Canadian NGO was actively attempting to influence the domestic SFD dialogue.

This was apparent in the various strategies they used to create policy influence as highlighted below by NGO staff members. First, they co-hosted a Roundtable held in March, 2005 with the Canadian government pertaining to how the international SFD movement could potentially be harnessed and transferred domestically to the Canadian context. Second, they had been working with Aboriginal populations in Canada to develop SFD programs which were similar to those used internationally in Africa and the Caribbean. Third, they had been conversing with the social development branch of the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games, known as '2010 Legacies Now', on SFD-related plans for the Olympics. Kendra confessed that the Canadian NGO was hoping to work with Aboriginal groups in British Columbia, which would give them a local tie-in to the province and develop better relations with 2010 Legacies Now. However, she was sceptical about the progress being made by the social development side of the Olympics:

In the conversations that I've had with 2010 Legacies Now, they're development component is very weak, and is more focused on facilities development...I've had a conversation a couple of times in regards to social development and it's not there yet. They [2010 Legacies Now] don't have a solid social development plan coming out of the Olympics.

Kendra (Director of International Programs, Canadian NGO)

Finally, interviewees felt that the interns who participated in the Canadian NGO's international programs had exerted influence on policy. As Gina observed, these interns often returned to Canada to give presentations at a variety of prominent forums, conferences, and workshops to disseminate information on SFD programs and curriculum.

Significantly, the NGO had important relationships with key partners, particularly national sport partners, which increased their ability to influence national sport policy through the building of social capital. For example, a lobby group recently formed in Canada that pushes for SFD policies and is administered by two individuals who are on the Canadian NGO's advisory committee. Oscar noted that this group was trying to "directly influence sport policy in Canada". The Canadian NGO was also invited to a workshop with various Canadian sport organizations to discuss social inclusion in high performance sport. Oscar understood that occasions such as these were crucial for influencing their key national sport partners:

While you know not everyone in sport gets what this [SFD] is if we can get them to see sort of the potential for sport to break away from the traditional benefits of sport, you know, you can talk about self-esteem, team-building, all that stuff – but there is another side of sport that not everyone at the table recognizes. Hopefully, through that we're able to affect some influence.

Oscar (Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

4.2.3. The Swiss NGO: Indirectly Influencing Sport Policy?

In sharp contrast to the Canadian NGO, the Swiss NGO staff members consistently referred to how they were small and not institutionalized, which they felt impeded their ability to secure political clout in terms of national sport policy influence:

[The Swiss NGO] is an association who is politically neutral. And so, we are not like a political party. We want to promote our ideas, sure. But not on the political level. I think the thing is that we're growing, and we are still weak and little. So this project has to grow more, has to become more institutionalized so that sometime, perhaps when we want something from the Canton, from the city of Bern, we have to be then politically active.

Jerome (Senior Officer Regional, Swiss NGO)

In this quote, it was clear that Jerome strongly believed promoting ideas about SFD through the Swiss NGO's various activities was very different from trying to influence national sport policy. As was revealed earlier, Jerome mentioned he had not thought about the Swiss national sport policy until being a participant in this research project. He also attributed the weakness of the Swiss NGO to the fact that they were a very young organization. The majority of Swiss interviewees believed that by increasing in size (i.e. more projects in-field, more staff members), the Swiss NGO would gain respect by potential donors and partners. However, other Swiss NGO members critiqued those SFD NGOs who they felt were too big:

There's [a SFD NGO] which is huge, just huge, we're talking about a huge thing. I see that it is a danger of losing the focus. I mean, you're talking about spending millions a year, and getting in millions a year, I mean it becomes quite a heavy thing. I think it is like a government.

Kenny (Project Officer, Swiss NGO)

Other members explained they felt it was inappropriate to be pushy or to be on the inside of policy-making. The Swiss NGO staff wanted to be sure it was clear that any attention they had garnered had simply been unintentional. In this sense, Phyllis felt that when the Swiss NGO asked donors for money, it was apparent that there was a philosophy ingrained in their projects that donors would support. In other instances, she would try to convince them that what she was doing was important. By underlining the importance of Swiss NGO's activities, however, she never felt they were advocating for a change in national Swiss sport policy.

The literature on NGOs and policy influence states these entities are not able to act submissively due to the very nature of their activities. As Ebrahim (2003b) observed:

NGOs are not simply passive recipients of global ideas which are transmitted to them. NGOs are frequently and actively involved in challenging [and] reshaping global discourses to suit their own needs (p. 4).

Fighting for the rights of street children in Africa, for example, cannot be viewed as a neutral activity. During Phyllis' interview, after discussing the 'neutral' policy of the Swiss NGO, the very impossibility of maintaining such impartialities was realized:

As long as [we are] promoting sports and promoting social development, it is political. In this way, I think it will not be possible. Maybe in the beginning we were – but even here, you cannot say that you are actually neutral because we were also active. We make statements through our activities.

Phyllis (Project Officer, Swiss NGO)

Kenny asserted that sports were free of politics as a neutral basis of understanding. The claim of the neutrality of the Swiss NGO seemed to directly contradict the point that: "NGOs are frequently entrusted with implementing different policy areas" (Stamm & Lamprecht, 2003, p. 3). Literature on humanitarian organizations such as the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) has documented that many NGOs are misleading in that they claim to be impartial to the work at hand in order to mask a hidden political agenda (Hilhorst, 2002). In this way, "one may find organisations that take on a humanitarian identity to disguise a political agenda or an interest in profiting from humanitarian activity" (Hilhorst, 2002, p. 196).

The literature on government-NGO relations in Switzerland confirmed that their dealings are "constructive and open" (Randel & German, 1999, p. 234) and that the government actually views NGOs as effective in their advocacy. In the end of my interview with Kenny, he eventually stated that he thought the Swiss NGO was trying to acquire attention from the

government through their activities. However, Roger continued to emphasize that they only had “indirect influence” and that this was done in an unassuming way:

Indirectly we have influence. Influence not to show your projects with nice pictures, with nice cameras. So show what you are doing, and with these projects, you can see that it's working, that Ministry of Sport here has to say it is working. And they did, so they [are] already interested.

Roger (President/ Founder, Swiss NGO)

The Swiss NGO's claims of being neutral and inactive in their quest for policy influence was difficult to ‘decode’. While they would assert their impartiality, they discussed their good relations with key internal decision-makers. And, although for the most part, maintaining their unpretentious methods of promotion, several interviewees discussed the various strategies they used to actively disseminate their ideas about SFD throughout Switzerland. The first tactic included creating a manual on the Swiss NGO's curriculum used in their SFD projects and promoting it to other NGOs and the United Nations. Jerome suggested this manual would perhaps be promoted to the national organization responsible for sports policy, suggesting that the Swiss NGO was doing things of interest to the federal government. Second, Roger also did presentations for students on the Swiss NGO's activities and curriculum as part of their school program, where they taught children about values learned through sport such as acceptance and respect. Staff held information booths in the City of Bern where they provided interested Swiss visitors with coffee from the same country in Africa where they implemented their SFD projects. When citizens visited these booths, staff would then discuss the SFD projects in Africa to solicit funds.

Roger observed that the Swiss NGO had a special relationship with the Federal Sport Department, stating that whenever he was in Switzerland, he met with officials there. As well, the Swiss NGO sent the Department a report every two weeks on their activities and the groups

frequently exchanged ideas with one another. Finally, the Swiss NGO co-hosted a major running event which was highly popular in Switzerland known as the 'Gigathlon' that was administered by the Swiss National Olympic Committee. According to Roger, this event gave the Swiss NGO publicity, and provided them with access to resources such as extra office space, as well as financial support.

The details of the relationship between Swiss National Olympic Committee and the Swiss NGO were critical. With the exception of Kenny, it was clear that the majority of the Swiss NGO staff members did not want to be perceived as having influence on Swiss national sport policy. They maintained their neutrality, and as such it initially appeared that they did not have a political agenda. However, data analysis revealed evidence that through their activities, and simply through their SFD policies as listed in Table 4.1, the Swiss NGO was perhaps having an effect on sport policy.

4.3 The Centrality of Partnerships to Policy Influence: The Power of Social Capital

4.3.1 Introduction

Table 4.2 reveals the various national sport partners for each SFD NGO. Additional partnership documents were emailed by both Swiss and The Canadian NGOs after interviews were conducted, (e.g. memorandums of understanding, etc.). Each partner listed below was given an anonymous name to maintain anonymity.

Table 4.2: List of Partners

| NGO name | Partner #1 | Partner #2 | Partner #3 |
|-----------------|--|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Canadian | International / National Sport Organization (INSO) | Federal Sport Department | National Paralympic Committee (NPC) |
| Swiss | International / National Sport Federation (ISF) | Federal Sport Department | National Olympic Committee (NOC) |

The upcoming section will advance our understandings of research question two by describing the basic interactions between the SFD NGOs and their key national sport partners. Following this, I will begin to explore research question three by delineating the reasons behind initial partnership formation, and how this relates to social capital and policy influence. Then, I will examine how each SFD NGO considered their ability to affect their key national sport partners when it came to policy influence by examining their relationship dynamics.

4.3.2. The Canadian NGO: Losing Organizational Identity through Partnerships

The Canadian NGO's relationship with International/ National Sport Organization (hereafter INSO) was unique. In fact, the Canadian NGO was born out of INSO, and therefore their partnership prevailed throughout its entire existence of twelve years. The mission of INSO was to "strengthen sport within Canada and throughout [The X Region] by participation in [The X Games] and by using sport as a development tool" (The Canadian NGO, 2005). Moreover, the values of INSO included "caring, justice and development" (The Canadian NGO, 2005), which demonstrated its attempt to ascribe to some of the SFD principles. When I asked Canadian NGO staff members about their relationship with INSO, many had difficulties explaining whether it was in fact a partnership or whether these organizations were one in the same. For example, when I asked Oscar about this relationship, he struggled to clarify the link between the two organizations:

[INSO] is – I mean, we are in the 'fold', we are part of that, we are one organization, but for our development through sport unit. But for our organization as a whole, the [INSO] is very much a partner of ours.

Oscar (Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

Many staff emphasized that due to the fact the Canadian NGO and INSO worked so closely, these entities had many of the same partners. For example, the Canadian Government was listed

in key documents as a key supporter of both organizations. However, while INSO had more corporate sponsors, the Canadian NGO listed separate 'Collaborative Partners', 'Working Partners' and 'Government Sponsors' on their website). While National Paralympic Committee wasn't listed on their website as a national sport partner, some of the staff members identified them as key a collaborator. Thus, discrepancies existed between the document analysis and interviews on which organizations were the Canadian NGO's key national sport partners. Indeed, INSO contributed to SFD related activities due to their long-term relationship, however the organizations were forced to unite for reasons beyond history. They worked in close proximity in both physical space and in cyberspace, by using the same office and by being featured on the same website. Clearly, the Canadian NGO and the INSO were embedded in a marriage that was both constraining and enabling, as this chapter will reveal.

For example, the federal sport department directly supported the INSO as well as the Canadian NGO. In some cases, staff members revealed how the INSO would inevitably be in contact with the federal sport department on behalf of the Canadian NGO (e.g. by sending news updates from both organizations in an email from the INSO). In this way, the INSO would indirectly be assisting the Canadian NGO in "channelling" information about SFD to the sport department. Shelly felt these connections resulted in a multi-pronged campaign for the Canadian NGO:

If we work through [INSO] channels, you know it's [federal sport department], it's the national sport organizations, and they're all learning about the power of international work to show different degrees of what sport can do as well. So, it's hitting two really different target audiences and targeting more people.

Shelly (Senior Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

As another key national sport partner, the federal Sport Department assisted the Canadian NGO in developing forums of discussion and supported their international projects financially,

however further details on this relationship did not emerge through the document analysis and interviews.

Interestingly, while most staff members suggested the Federal Sport Department was a key national sport partner, Kendra, the Director of International Programs, made no reference to this partnership and instead listed other groups as essential collaborators. She was the only interviewee who identified a Department of Human Kinetics at a Canadian University and the partnership with the National Paralympic Committee as important sport partners based in Canada. Accordingly, Kendra stated these partnerships were primarily focused on programming development for their international projects; contributing to the Canadian NGO's internship programs; as well as conducting various SFD workshops.

The fact that Kendra identified different key national sport partners in comparison to other staff members was a significant inconsistency, as it demonstrated a possible misunderstanding as to which organizations were the essential national sport partners for the Canadian NGO. Past research conducted by Huxham and Vangen (2000) found that often organizations that were engaged in numerous partnerships had difficulty identifying key stakeholders. In this light, it seemed possible that the Canadian NGO was ensconced in many relationships with other entities, tackling issues from multiple positions, and creating a rather chaotic partnership environment (Huxham & Vangen, 2001).

4.3.3. The Swiss NGO: Partnering with Individuals or Organizations?

The partnerships between the Swiss NGO and their key national sport partners resulted from the personal connections between Roger (president of the Swiss NGO), and the presidents, founders and high-profile administrators of the other key sport partners, seemed to directly result in their support of the Swiss NGO. This support was important to note, as it often translated into

strategies being used to promote SFD policies to these key national sport partners. The next section will focus more on the way that Roger's personal connections to the Swiss NGO's key national sport partners related to the development of social capital. First, I will outline the key sport partners identified through interviews and document analysis.

First, the Federal Sport Department supported the Swiss NGO in three ways. There were regular teaching sessions where the Swiss NGO lectured sport students of all ages on sport and development. Also, there was a "regular exchange" between the Swiss NGO and the special advisors for SFD at the Ministry of Sport, as well as frequent meetings between the Swiss NGO and the "special Parliament member" for sport at the national level.

The second sport partner, the International Sport Federation (ISF) based in Switzerland, was a useful connection for the Swiss NGO, not only because it raised their national profile in Switzerland, but also assisted with their projects in Africa by providing the Swiss NGO with special training material for the street children. At the time of interviewing, the ISF was hoping to provide the Swiss NGO with special coverage in a future magazine article. This publicity was of great importance to the Swiss NGO interviewees, as Jerome emphasized:

Every time when we do something with an association who has publicity we can take a little bit of this publicity and promote our ideas, and we are thankful for that for sure.

Jerome (Senior Officer, Swiss NGO)

Finally, the Swiss NGO's partnership with Swiss National Olympic Committee (hereafter 'Swiss NOC') was crucial for the development of its national profile as an NGO. The year 2005 was the theme year for the Swiss NOC where the 'big one helps a small one', meaning that the Swiss NGO was the 'small organization' being assisted by the larger 'more institutionalized' Swiss NOC. The Swiss NGO was also included in a working group which was used to create this idea. Swiss NOC provided the Swiss NGO with Olympic athletes and materials for certain the

Swiss NGO events. There was also a frequent exchange of information on SFD with the administrators of the Swiss NOC, including a conference which was held for youth on sport, where the Swiss NGO was one of the featured organizations. The nationally acclaimed Gigathlon, an extravagant athletic event held each year in Switzerland and administered by Swiss NOC, featured a team from the Swiss NGO. According to Roger, this team embodied the values of the Swiss NGO:

The Gigathlon consist[ed] of four Swiss, who represent[ed] every one of the four language regions of Switzerland, and the Department Manager of [the Swiss NGO] for our African Project.

Roger (President, Swiss NGO)

Overall, many of the interviewees felt that Swiss NOC created interest in the Swiss NGO's SFD-based activities by disseminating their message on 'bridging cultures' to the wider Swiss population.

4.3.4. Magnifying the Role of Social Capital in Partnerships and Policy Influence

Although the role of social capital was briefly explored in the previous sections on policy influence, this short section will attempt to build upon this by discussing the ways that social capital and policy influence link to partnerships (and briefly, networks).

Following the first set of meetings on Sport and Development held in Magglingen, Switzerland in February of 2003, various stakeholders in the SFD movement advocated for partnerships to be created between NGOs and sport organizations. Academics who were in attendance stressed the importance of uniting fronts for the advancement of the SFD cause (e.g. Giulianotti, 2004). The United Nations final report on the International Year of Sport and Physical Education (2006) reaffirmed the centrality of partnerships between sport organizations and NGOs. The report enunciated the point that many sport federations were "increasingly

willing to become involved in humanitarian actions” (United Nations, 2006, p.5), and emphasized sport organizations in fact celebrated the International Year by hosting various seminars, workshops and events commemorating SFD. In many ways, partnering with SFD NGOs was a refreshing means by which international sport federations were able to be viewed more favourably around the world.

In chapter two, I discussed how the literature argued NGOs have the capacity to influence governmental agendas when it comes to policy decisions. The strategic partnerships between national sport organizations and NGOs to promote the SFD agenda is somewhat unique. While the literature typically characterizes partnerships between these stakeholders for international development as bureaucratic and void of trust (e.g. Hulme & Edwards, 1997; Tandon, 1991; Donini, 1995), others discussed the necessity of such relationships for the increase in financial stability and power of non-profit organizations (e.g. Babiak, 2003; Stone, Bigelow & Crittenden, 1999). However, the literature glosses over a central point: that policy influence between NGOs and governments is very much related to partnerships based on social capital in the form of trust and the development of horizontal relationships. For example, the Canadian NGO interviewees had political clout through their relationships with individuals from a Canadian sport policy lobby group:

[The Canadian NGO] is in good standing with the [Canadian Sport Lobby Group], having influence with that organization, who in turn are able to – well, they are essentially a lobby group who are going to have influence on policy...If we weren't associated with a sport organization like that, we wouldn't be able to have the influence that we could have... We also have had an advisory committee that's made up of certain leaders in certain areas of sport and recreation from around Canada. A couple of them have come directly from the [Canadian Sport Lobby Group], and actually the senior leader from [Canadian Sport Lobby Group] is on our advisory committee.

Oscar (Senior Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

Similarly, the Swiss NGO interviewees frequently mentioned the importance of Roger's personal connections to policy-makers and high profile sport federation leaders in their ability to indirectly influence policy. As Roger himself mentioned:

We have our partner in the government. She is working in one special group for sport in Switzerland. And she's highly interested. We have a very nice relationship to this place, here Magglingen, it's the Ministry of Sport as you know, and we have a very nice relation, I am always here when I am here in Switzerland, we have a very nice exchange for the project. So indirectly we have some influence.

Roger (President/ Founder, Swiss NGO)

Jerome cited personal connections between Roger and their partners were stronger than an institutional connection that would exist between associations. Moreover, Roger asserted he was selected to bring in a speaker from one of their African projects over other NGOs to the Magglingen meetings because of his personal relationship with the UN Special Advisor on Sport and Development and Peace.

At this point, it is useful to discuss the literature that supports and augments our understandings of the quotations above. Various researchers have posited that if social capital is generated, the relationship between two entities is strengthened (Brown, 1991, 1998; Lin 1999; Inkpen & Beamish, 1997, Provan & Milward, 2001; Sport Matters, 2004). Lin (1999) considered the centrality of social ties between individuals as highly influential and observed their critical role in decisions involving the actor. More specifically, Brown (1991, 1998) suggested that non-profit organizations have the ability to build social capital because they develop out of the relationships between actors that are concerned with social issues, often resulting in positive organizational outcomes.

The findings of my research indicated that the abilities of SFD NGOs to influence governments when it came to policy making was primarily related to their appetencies to

counteract traditionally hierarchical relationships through cooperative organizing. Authors such as Brown (1991; 1998), Bratton (1990) and Joldersma (1997) stress the importance of social capital in relation to the aptitudes of NGOs to gain leverage over power governmental officials.

As Brown (1998) argued:

The distribution and use of power in society are intimately related to its stocks of social capital: large stocks enable cooperation and lateral decision making, while the absence of social capital requires hierarchical coordination (p. 228).

Brown asserted that NGOs have the unique role of 'bridging' power disparities and proposed that, "NGOs can play critical roles in fostering cooperation among unequally powerful parties when the aim is to solve social problems" (Brown, 1998, p. 228-229). He argued that by coming together to address common problems cultivates social capital. Moreover, the role of social ties between various individuals in the Canadian and Swiss SFD NGOs and certain staff members in the organizations of their key national sport partners created social trust between entities, resulting in powerful partnerships. This point will be explored further in the next section.

In this way, social capital (social ties) appeared to be generated where bonds of trust and common values were cultivated between staff in the SFD NGOs and their key partners. Provan and Milward (2001) advanced this idea by suggesting the relationships between two entities is strengthened if their social ties exist in multiple relationships, for example, if they have a partnership and are both part of the same network. In this way, "two organizations are said to have multiplex ties if they are connected in more than one way. Such a tie is stronger than a single link" (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 422). This was certainly seemed to be the case of both Canadian and The Swiss NGOs, as their partners were also members of the IPSDN.

The promise of "internal government champions" and their inherent abilities to promote the SFD cause in both Switzerland and Canada was noted in the report by the Sport for

Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG, 2006), and has been documented as an important factor when it comes to NGO policy influence in research on the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) (Brem & Rutherford, 2001). This was evidenced in the SDP IWG's interviews with government officials on SFD: "With regard to collaboration and coordination, respondents emphasized the importance of internal government consultation and coordination to foster awareness, support, integration, and policy consistence" (SDP IWG, 2006, p. 65). The notion that loose and informal policy networks were strongly advocated by the Swiss government officials interviewed in the report, as they argued this casualness was more inviting to all relevant stakeholders and, "allowed for a truly participatory approach" (SDP IWG, 2006, p. 66).

Yet, literature critiquing the premise of social capital in the form of social networks has claimed it is a broad term containing a wide range of meanings (DeFilippis, 2001). One of the major contentions surrounding Putnam's (1993; 1995; 2000; 2002) conception of social capital in the appearance of networks is the absence of power relations within these connections (DeFilippis, 2001). As the quotes above demonstrated, the social connections of some SFD NGO staff members were crucial in their abilities to obtain the attention of government officials and policy-makers. According to DeFilippis (2001), these types of relationships play a critical role in augmenting the power of these NGOs, as he explained: "Certain social networks are greater in positions of power than others, and they can therefore yield much more substantial returns to their members" (p. 791). While keeping these points in mind for section 4.7 which will examine the role of the SFD NGOs in the IPSDN, the next section will examine the reasons for partnership formation between the SFD NGOs and their key national sport partners. This will be useful for exploring and applying DeFillipis' arguments pertaining to the relationship between

power relations and social capital to the interactions between SFD NGOs and their sport partners.

4.4 Reasons for Partnering: From legitimacy to resource mobilization

4.4.1. Introduction

In chapter two, it was revealed that, in the non-profit context, partnerships were most often formed primarily out of financial need (Phillips & Graham, 2000; Provan & Milward, 2001). Although the results of this study exposed resource mobilization as a major incentive for SFD NGOs to partner with national sport organizations, underlying reasons behind their partnerships went beyond the idea of fiscal stability. Other motives for partnering, as will be detailed in the upcoming sections included: developing corporate social responsibility platforms for national sport organizations, knowledge sharing and program development, legitimacy and agenda advancement.

Understanding the reasons behind SFD NGOs working with key sport partners was important for examining the third research question, which aimed to identify the strategies used by SFD NGOs to promote SFD to their partners. The information revealed during my interviews provided evidence that SFD NGOs had the abilities to capitalize on their relationships with their partners by promoting their ideas and policy agendas. However, policy influence did not seem to be one of the major motives for creating the initial partnership.

Although each organization listed approximately three organizations as key national sport partners, the rest of the partnership section will mainly focus on INSO and Swiss NOC. These entities will be the focal partner organizations for this study because both interviews and document analyses highlighted these groups as the most central national partner for each SFD

NGO. The following sections will cite key examples of how the Swiss and The Canadian NGOs varied and corresponded on the reasons behind partnering with Canadian INSO and Swiss NOC.

4.4.2. *The Canadian NGO: Tensions Limiting Partnerships*

The Canadian NGO and INSO always existed under the same umbrella. However, many of the staff agreed that the Canadian NGO was starting to take on a life of its own. The identity of the Canadian NGO as a SFD-oriented unit of INSO continued to be discussed throughout each interview. For example, Gina noted that it was difficult to talk about a holistic approach to development when she was unsure if the Canadian NGO was really more of a sport organization, or a development organization. As she explained:

I would say that there are tensions sometimes between trying to use sport as a tool in development, and the emphasis on high-performance athletics. Perhaps a gap in comprehension in terms of what each person does. I believe that there are more and more people who are coming on board in terms of looking at all of the possibilities of the power of sport per say, and going way beyond high-performance athletics or games, and really looking at holistic approaches.

Gina (Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

When probed about what a “holistic approach” entailed, Gina suggested it meant truly working within a participatory framework in comparison to a traditional high performance sport agenda. It seemed that many of the staff valued a collaborative approach to sport, one that involved consulting participants on programming decisions. All the Canadian NGO interviewees agreed there were some key distinctions between the Canadian NGO and INSO. In fact, when I asked Kendra outright if she felt working with INSO was more beneficial than working independently, she responded with hesitation:

I don't think I want to answer that question. There are pros and cons. I don't – I wouldn't say that it's, that how this is set up now is necessarily the best case scenario.

Kendra (Director, International Programs, Canadian NGO)

At the same time, staff implied there were many important reasons as to why this partnership was both necessary and logical. First, in order to advance the SFD cause, several participants mentioned the crucial need for INSO to be supportive, in that it improved the reputation of the Canadian NGO. As Oscar argued:

By linking an established sport organization whose histories have been in high performance sport, you sort of step into the game at a much higher level than you would if you were going at it alone.

Oscar (Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

Shelly noted that working with INSO presented a real opportunity to forward the SFD agenda. She felt that SFD added value and therefore complemented elite sport organizations on the whole. Mostly, partnering with an elite-centred organization was perceived by interviewees as valuable in that it legitimized the work carried out by the Canadian NGO. Certainly, collaborating with an organization to improve the credibility of another is nothing new, as it has been well-documented in both business and sport management literature (e.g. Babiak, 2003; Thibault et al., 1999; Gray & Wood, 1991; Mohr & Spekman, 1994). However, perhaps what is potentially new about partnering for legitimacy in the SFD / elite sport context is that it is uniting two traditionally opposing groups of sport who traditionally had little in common (Houlihan & White, 2002). As Heinila (1985) once questioned when deliberating the claims of competitive sport as beneficial for peace, friendship, and mutual understanding:

Is the legitimacy of the international sport movement factually justified in the practice of international competition, or do these common good causes simply constitute lip service without any real implementation? (p. 241).

Perhaps SFD is the new alternative for creating a social role for elite sport organizations and partnerships with SFD NGOs is a step towards Helina's (1985) "real implementation". Certainly, the UN promoted partnerships between elite sport organizations and SFD NGOs throughout the

past two years (UN, 2003). In this way, it may be argued that a mutual validation of both SFD and elite sport is necessary to advance the agendas of each camp.

Yet, by uncovering the apparent congruence between SFD and elite sport, underlying tensions may be revealed. For example, during the December 2005 meetings held in Switzerland, it seemed as though sport federations were under pressure to lend more legitimacy to the SFD cause. The report released by the UN in 2003 demonstrated their power as an international body to invoke responsibilities over those organizations that may have stakes in SFD. The UN did this by advocating and pressuring for partnerships to be made between SFD NGOs and elite sport groups. As such, it is necessary to question whether sport being the common denominator between SFD and high-performance entities meant for an expected and necessary partnership between the two sides. As Oliver (1990) asserted, there are distinct pressures between partnering organizations "to increase their legitimacy in order to appear in agreement with prevailing norms, rules beliefs or expectations of external constituents" (p. 246). In this way, "external constituents" such as the UN seemed to expect sport organizations to take on the SFD cause, perhaps without considering whether or not they shared the SFD norms and values. Moreover, as Oliver (1990) argued:

Attempts to enhance legitimacy through relationship formation will be directed especially toward organizations whose level of legitimacy is perceived by the focal organization to be considerably higher than its own (p. 246).

The conflicting nature between SFD and elite sport organizations meant that goals between these two camps must sometimes be negotiated. The literature on partnerships between entities from different organizational cultures has not only documented the need for increased investment into understanding one another's values; but has also touched upon the need to examine the composition of one another's organizational memberships (Huxham & Vangen,

2000, 2005; Eden & Huxham, 2001). Whereas SFD targets marginalized populations, elite-based sporting entities develop training programs for able-bodied groups, and for those who have been fortunate enough to have access to sporting equipment. How does serving two such distinct populations impede the benefits of partnering? As Huxham and Vangen (2000) warned:

If members are unclear about the structure of the collaboration, they cannot be clear where the accountabilities lie. Likewise, they cannot be clear whether some of the interests they wish to have represented are actually being represented (p. 800).

In this sense, partnerships are linked with accountability, and represent the interests of stakeholders. With concerns such as these surrounding the relationship between the Canadian NGO and its key national sport partners, it was worthwhile to note that not all interviewees felt that partnerships with elite sport organizations were necessary to uphold the SFD cause. For instance, Oscar maintained the recent upsurge in SFD work on a global scale translated into a future hope of partners outside the sporting world for the Canadian NGO:

In the past...the idea of [SFD] was not being recognized anywhere. That you had to be associated with a sport organization in order for you to sort of further your agenda. But I think that's changing. I think there's going to be a strong movement of non-sport organizations recognizing the role that sport has to play.

Oscar (Program Officer, Canadian NGO)

It was interesting that in the previous quote, Oscar mentioned the need to partner with well-respected sport organizations in order to advance the SFD movement and improve integrity, yet, in the quote above he suggested this was changing. Yet the United Nations' (2006) promotion of partnerships between sport federations and SFD NGOs appeared to contradict Oscar's hope for the SFD movement to be credible on its own terms.

Another key reason for partnering besides legitimacy was resource mobilization. The document analysis revealed that both the Canadian NGO and INSO received funding from Federal Sport Department, with Oscar confirming that INSO secured "a little more" than they

did. However, in returning to the idea of legitimacy, it was clear that by working closely with INSO, the Canadian NGO was able to access more funds. Interviewees suggested that they were able to create dialogue between the two governmental departments (Federal Sport Department and International Development Department) because of their association with both elite sport and SFD. Despite being supported by two government agencies, the Canadian NGO was constantly in need of more funding. As Kendra observed:

The challenge is, the government is overwhelmed and over worked, and development through sport is not a big-ticket item. You go in with a new AIDS vaccine and they'd probably pay attention, and tell them that you're going to dig a thousand wells and they might pay attention. You know, it's very old school development-minded there. And to sell them something like development through sport takes time.

Kendra (Director, International Programs, Canadian NGO)

The pressure for the Canadian NGO to prove the SFD cause required funding and attention from the government was evident throughout my interviews. Certainly, the link between funding and policy development was important. As Bratton (1990) advised, "an organization's level of dependence on funding is negatively related to its effectiveness at policy influence" (p. 113). He argued NGOs are only able to influence policy if their members are not preoccupied with trying to secure resources. More often, NGOs spend valuable development dollars trying to sustain the authenticity of their projects by constantly being monitored and evaluated by their donors or partners to remain accountable. However, Ritas (2003) pointed out that when NGOs were overly concerned with the being accountable to those funding their projects, they often neglected their responsibilities to their participants at the grassroots level. The Canadian NGO staff realized obtaining more funding would only occur by providing quantitative results proving that SFD actually made a difference in the lives of the participants in

the projects. For example, Oscar found more respect was needed from the government for SFD in order to secure a policy voice:

It's going to take results. It's going to take clear indication of impact. Which is what everyone on development through sport is working on right now. It's going to involve a lot of quality evaluations that are giving the outcomes we expect.

Oscar (Senior Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

The document analysis also revealed the pressures faced by SFD NGOs to improve the current evidence base of their projects. According to the SDP IWG (2006):

Efforts must be made to strengthen the monitoring and evaluation of programs [and] to increase the current evidence base. Donor countries are firmly focused on the need to ensure good quality, high impact, sustainable programs (p. 2).

Thus, the Canadian NGO relied heavily on key national sport partners not only for resource mobilization, but also for legitimacy in order to be viewed upon favourably when seeking government funding.

4.4.3. The Swiss NGO: A Sensitive Approach to Partnerships

Initially, the Swiss case presented an alternative understanding to the reason behind partnerships. On the surface, interviewees claimed to be indifferent to the idea of partnering to secure resources, and were mostly concerned with knowledge sharing and the opportunity to improve the Swiss NGO's projects by collaborating with key national sport partners. However, it was revealed through the document analysis and interview probing that they relied heavily on partners for funding, despite the fact that their partnerships were deemed to be informal. For example, Kenny was even unsure as to whether or not to call Swiss NOC a partner:

I would say it is the beginning of a partnership, yes. For me, from all sides there is still the possibility to say 'no'. I mean, pull back, or whatever. It's an emotional basis, it's not really a worked out contract of ideas or whatever.

Kenny (Project Officer, Swiss NGO)

When asked what he meant by “emotional,” Kenny responded that the relationships with partners were delicate, with each key national sport partner being based upon Roger’s social connections. For most Swiss interviewees, the personal aspect of their partnerships were characterized by the informal and infrequent meetings with key national sport partners, and by the observation that they only exchanged casual updates with these partners on a monthly basis. Roger emphasized the ‘no strings attached’ mentality of his interactions with the Swiss NGO’s sport partners:

I feel that by working with these partners we don't want to have our ideas the same, we can do whatever we like, but they can use everything that we are bringing and we are not working against each other. And even if you have a break for one month of not working together, this is not problem. It's a win-win situation all the time. And this I really like.

Roger (President/ Founder, Swiss NGO)

Despite Roger’s claim of a problem-free partnership, a deeper analysis revealed the particular approach taken towards the partnerships by the staff members. For example, each interviewee made reference to Roger’s request that Swiss NGO personnel treat partners carefully by not demanding too much of them. Phyllis informed me of how Roger expected them to interact with their partners:

[Roger] told me once you cannot just knock at the door and say, ‘Hello, here I am, please come help us’. It is always through connections, through other people.

Phyllis (Project Officer, Swiss NGO)

Previous research has documented how proving the need for financial assistance often results in feelings of degradation and shame (Frisby et al., 2006). All interviewees said they often had to prove themselves to be worthy of assistance from their partners before relying on their support:

[Roger] – he used these contacts and said we don't want to want too much from them so that they say “no” all the time – but he wanted to have enduring contact that would be slowly but surely intensified. And, on the other side there was to be a lot of work to do to promote the [African] Project. Not to promote – to bring it further. Because, at the time when these 3 people write these letters, the [African] Project was only a concept. And this concept at this time, took off in November, 2004 when the project was held there were a lot of changes to things. And then

from the start of the project a lot of work has been done. And I think you can only say – “I want something from you Mr. X” – when you can show that you have done this, that you have done that, and you have taken steps further.

Jerome (Senior Officer, Swiss NGO)

As Jerome articulated, being “worthy” of the assistance from sport partners meant that first, staff members had to maintain contact with each partner over a long period of time before asking something of them. This was important for relationship building and for developing trust, which requires time (Huxham & Vangen, 1996; Golich, 1991). Nonetheless, the need to prove their projects as ones that were worthy of assistance appeared to weaken the frequency of communication, as NGO staff hesitated to make contact for fear of inconveniencing partners.

In a similar vein to The Canadian NGO, The Swiss NGO relied heavily on their partners to lend credibility to their organization. Each president of their sport partners wrote a “letter of support” for the Swiss NGO which was almost viewed as the only formal aspect of their relationships. Organizational integrity was then solidified when Swiss NOC supported them financially. Staff members described how the names and logos of Swiss NOC and other partners (depending on the circumstances) were placed on Swiss NGO flyers, letters, and signs to publicize their support for Swiss NGO’s activities.

It was evident interviewees felt that without the support from these sport organizations, they would not be taken seriously. Kenny stressed the importance of having elite sport organizations advocating for the SFD cause:

Sport development is not a young story actually, it’s quite worked out. And these are quite old organizations which have a lot of experience. To have our sport partners is very important. To have these associations, to have people believing in you coming from this serious side of sport taking you seriously. The door is open.

Kenny (Project Officer, Swiss NGO)

Jerome was also grateful for the partnerships with sport organizations because he worried that outsiders perceived the Swiss NGO staff as “a bunch of freaks.” When probed on what he meant by “freaks,” he responded:

We have a lot of work to do to get a big association together, an association for who everyone has a trust, because it is a good association. Like, it is not a crazy idea of a lot of freaks – we want to do something that is stable over a long time. And because of this, I think the new objectives that we had; we’ve had to take it step by step.

Jerome (Senior Officer, Swiss NGO)

Staff member’s concerns relating to the credibility of the SFD cause in Switzerland was noteworthy, particularly as my analysis of Swiss documents on SFD characterized Switzerland as “among the pioneers” of the SFD realm (SDC, 2005, p. 10). Moreover, these documents emphasized that the Swiss government provided an environment that aimed to: “support innovative projects and corroborate experiences” (SDC, 2005, p. 10).

McDonald (2005) called for research on policy and partnerships to address the: “deeper contradictions of partnerships in social policy and the relations of power underpinning the conceptions of partnerships” (p. 579). Certainly, conceptualizing the sentiments of Swiss NGO and Canadian NGO) staff might be magnified within a framework of power, more specifically, viewing power as legitimation (Hardy & Clegg, 1996, Clegg, 1989). In this sense, sometimes political actors are able to, “section off spheres of influence where their domination is perceived as legitimate and thus unchallenged” (Hardy & Clegg, 1996, p. 630). Subsequently, the power of certain interests over others is maintained often because the weaker entities believe their voices will not be heard (Gray & Wood, 1991; Golich, 1991).

For example, Swiss staff noted their sport partners endowed their NGO with logos, financial resources, and increased publicity around the SFD cause. As such, Roger expected that staff would not overstep the boundaries of these relationships by taking advantage of their sport

partners' support. Here asymmetrical power relations were evident where: "subordinates see their situations as natural or inevitable" (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000, p. 47). However, one could argue that the novelty of the SFD movement would perhaps prioritize the conventional values of elite-based sport organizations over those of the Swiss NGO's, as the age of an organization often corresponds with its' perceived credibility (Blau & Rabrenovic, 1991).

Although it was clear from document analyses that the Swiss NGO relied on their key national sport partners for financial support, Roger stressed this did not result in a relationship based on resource dependency, as he contended that:

They cannot force us in a direction that we are not going in, because we do not depend on them. We are bringing our ideas, but there is no money. They never try to push me, or say, 'change this'...never!

Roger (President, Swiss NGO)

Roger's suggestion that the Swiss NGO was financially independent was countered by the fact that various members mentioned they worked with Swiss NOC, in particular, to support their projects in-field. Researchers such as Zakus (1998) and Edwards and Hulme (1996) cautioned non-profit organizations run the risk of being co-opted by the agencies that hold the purse strings. Certainly, Swiss NOC not only lent financial support to the Swiss NGO, but also co-hosted major events in Switzerland with them, provided high profile Olympic athletes to endorse SFD-related activities, and endowed them with materials and media coverage. However, Crompton (1997) maintained entities who donate (as opposed to "sponsor") often do so for "altruistic reasons" and, therefore, "their focus is upon humanistic or community concerns, rather than upon a commercial return on the investment" (p. 39). Regardless of Swiss NOC's intentions, it was clear that it depended upon altruism in order to carry out activities.

Roger's claim of independence may have been substantiated by the fact that Swiss NGO administration fees were relatively low in comparison with the Canadian NGO. Since the Swiss

NGO did not pay their staff members, they felt this enabled them to maintain independence and not rely too heavily on national sport partners because outside sources were more comfortable knowing that donations would go directly to in-field activities:

We are attractive to the organizations and institutions who give us money. They can say, 'look here, all of the money is going to the project itself and not to salaries'.

Jerome (Senior Officer, Swiss NGO)

This was a key difference between the Swiss and Canadian NGOs. While the former aggressively campaigned for a policy of unpaid staff, the latter retained their financial autonomy to maintain informal partnerships with national sport entities. Thus, with no financial incentives, staff made it clear that they primarily partnered with key national sport organizations in order to share knowledge on how to use elite sport for the benefit of SFD (and vice versa). In this way, Roger believed that a mutual definition of sport would be created by partnering with the Swiss NOC. For the majority of staff, the crucial role that these partnerships played was beyond simply providing knowledge. Rather, these relationships meant sustaining the future of sport, one that was comprised of both elite and SFD-oriented values. Roger emphasized this point in the following statement:

It's nice to think that together we can make a future, and we can learn also through sport many things. And this is a nice discussion that I like. Because to discuss like this, you bring your point and I bring my point and then we are coming one step closer to a compromise because we discussed it.

Roger (President, Swiss NGO)

It was unclear exactly what this “compromise” entailed for the Swiss NGO, as Roger maintained throughout his interview that the elite sport partners were not able to “push him” and the SFD cause in any way. The document analysis confirmed proponents of SFD wanted social development, and a “holistic approach eliciting the best that sport can offer” to be the driving forces of all projects created between SFD and elite sport (SDP IWG, 2006, p. 13). Huxham and

Vangen (1996) distinguished compromise as a necessary tactic in a successful partnership, one that would take time, especially between large bureaucratic organizations and...small community groups (p. 10). Huxham and Vangen (1996) also maintained compromise as inextricably linked to communication, yet as was previously explained, the Swiss NGO did not frequently communicate with its national sport partners. In this way, a harmonious relationship between the Swiss NGO and its key national sport partners seemed to take minimal commitment on the part of each group, and seemed overly idealistic, given the very different values each organization placed on sport.

The next section will open with a discussion on relationship dynamics in partnerships, outlining value conflicts and power relations between each set of organizations. These will be important criterion for assessing research question number three pertaining to the ability of SFD NGOs to place SFD on the agendas of their key national sport partners, as partnerships based on opposing values often beleaguered with complications (Babiak, 2003). Subsequently, obtaining the recognition of SFD as a key policy imperative from elite sport partners would not seem probable, due to the contrasting value it places on sport.

4.5 SFD vs. Elite sport: Conflicting values and the fight for power

4.5.1 Introduction

Through her research on interorganizational relations in the Canadian perspective, Babiak (2003) noted the unique context of sport partnerships, where “the mindset within the sport system was already sceptical of and resistant to the partnership approach in general” (p. 119). Partnerships between SFD NGOs and national elite-based sport organizations presented a case in point where one might assume that even more resistance to collaborate would exist, given their

opposing values placed on sport (Houlihan & Green, 2005). This was clearly evidenced in the SDP IWG's report on SFD in developed countries:

Challenges specific to host-country environments included weakness in sport governance and access, excessive commercialization and politicization of sport, and at times, corruption. Competition between sport federations and NGOs for donor funding can also be a problem (SDP IWG, 2006, p. 67).

Moreover, according to Tandon (1991), the relationship between governments and NGOs is one where the former is unequivocally more powerful than the latter, resulting in a general impudence and eternal dependence for the NGO.

Yet, various studies have documented the role of NGOs working with diverse stakeholders as advantageous for resourcefulness, originality, and understanding (Joldersma, 1997; Brown, 1998; Stewart, 1997). In fact, Brown (1998) argued creating uniting parties from various perspectives actually produced social capital. This was due to the fact that organizations had to, "cooperate to solve problems and manage differing interests" (Brown, 1998, p. 228). He (1998) advocated that NGOs, as representatives of the grassroots who work with governments were in the crucial position to "balance power differences" (p. 239). The next section I will evaluate this claim, by investigating how power relations and value conflicts developed between partners. Considering the power dynamics between SFD NGOs and their key sport partners was necessary groundwork in order to respond to the third research question, which aimed to identify the strategies used by SFD NGOs to promote SFD to their partners. The information revealed during my interviews provided evidence that SFD NGOs often succumbed to the 'upper hand' of their key national sport partners by consistently heeding to the interests of elite sport and cautiously approaching sport partners when in need of financial support.

4.5.2. The Canadian NGO: Dominating values and imbalanced relationships

The historical relationship between the Canadian NGO and the INSO, as well as their location in the same office, meant for a continual need to cooperate and ignore different values placed on sport. Many of the interviewees stressed how one entity complimented the other and described how collaborative initiatives were always on the horizon. For instance, Oscar applauded the Canadian NGO's efforts to work within the high performance sport model whenever they could. Other staff members observed similarities between the two as evident in a variety of ways, such as through peer participation and exposing youth to otherwise inaccessible sporting opportunities. He pointed out that elite athletes were highly involved in advocating for the SFD cause. Kendra argued that the INSO was inherently different from other high performance sport organizations in Canada:

Through the nature of the sports that are included in the calendar at [the INSO], it's immediately more diverse, because many of the sports are not Olympic sports, for example, longboat and netball. It provides an opportunity for sports that aren't usually included in a multi-sport event. And in most cases, this is the equivalent of their Olympics because, for some, it's as big if not bigger than the Olympics.

Kendra (Director, International Programs, Canadian NGO)

Comments such as these conflated the essential binary between SFD and elite sport as emphasized by the literature (e.g. Houlihan & White, 2002). However, while some interviewees described the type of high performance sport embraced by the INSO as one that was different from traditional elite sport; other interviewees expressed intrinsic conflicts between their principles and those of the INSO.

Although working in different areas from the same unit meant for increased publicity for each organization, evidence resulting from interviews revealed high-performance sport was recognized more often by outsiders than SFD. This was largely due to the fact that the Canadian

NGO was required to take on the name of INSO when working in-field, resulting in less confusion. Staff were frustrated by the misconception that the Canadian NGO promoted sport development instead of SFD, particularly when outsiders assumed they endorsed talent scouting for child athletes through their projects. Shelly stated that there was a gap in understanding in the type of work each entity did:

It's an interesting relationship, because there's not necessarily the level of communication that I think would be ideal. You know, it's really interesting to have two separate units in an organization that don't really get what the other one does. But we're really committed to learning more about how each other can compliment the other because a lot of the time we work with the same people.

Shelly (Program Officer, Canadian NGO)

When asked how the elite sport agenda related to SFD, many interviewees struggled to make the link. Shelly explained the essential difference was their end goals, stating that for INSO, it was medals, while for the Canadian NGO, it was participation. One staff member found that the "high performance mentality" permeated through the SFD concept, explaining that mixing the two stagnated Canadian NGO's progress. Certainly, the way in which high performance sport dominated the Canadian NGO demonstrated which organization had the power in their partnership. For Shelly, it was clear that the Canadian NGO would always be known under INSO's identity, as she equated their partnership to a parent-child relationship:

They're kind of like our parent...we can't exist without them...and they're our international profile as well. We're not known as the Canadian NGO when we're working in the field. We're known as [the INSO]. So we work within them. I think that [SFD] can sometimes be seen as an extra.

Shelly (Senior Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

Two points expressed by Shelly in this quote require further examination. First, the idea that the Canadian NGO's identity was merged within the identity of the INSO was highly problematic. As a manifestation or sub-unit of INSO, the Canadian NGO lacked an identity of its own.

Therefore, it came as no surprise that, while conducting SFD projects in-field, people mistook them for an elite-based sport organization.

A useful way to conceptualize the relationship between the Canadian NGO and the INSO is through Weber's (1978) conception of "bureaucracy" where he distinguished between three types of administrative authority: traditional, charismatic and rational-legal. Arguably, the most imperative ideal-construct for the contemporary sport organization is the rational-legal, of which a most common example is the bureaucratic administration (Cantelon & Ingham, 2002). This highly centralized, top-down, authoritarian framework correlated to the INSO's control over the Canadian NGO. Sport organizations in Canada have been characterized as highly bureaucratic in nature (e.g. Frisby, 1982; Kidd, 1988). The "disciplinary practices" of INSO over the Canadian NGO stems from the work of Weber (1978), but may be advanced using the work of Foucault (1991) who described disciplining as a way to exercise power over collective groups of individuals in the form of organizations.

Foucault's (1991; 2000) 'governmentality' is also an important factor understanding the forms of power inherently present governmental organizations. Governmentality refers to the way that power relations have become more "elaborated, rationalized, and centralized in the form of, or under the support of, state institutions" (Hardy & Clegg, 1996, p. 633). In Foucault's analysis, "the fragility of unified interest 'groups' is emphasized and the simplistic nature of decentralized approaches to power relations is countered" (Hardy & Clegg, 1996, p. 633). Therefore, in considering community development approaches to sport, Foucault's 'governmentality' is paramount in that it invokes a framework with which to understand the marginalization of the Canadian NGO by the INSO. To be clear, the data collected from interviews and document analysis revealed the INSO's power seemed to not be linked as much

to resource dependency, as it was a “property of relations” (Clegg, 1989, p. 190). For instance, Shelly’s contention that INSO was the Canadian NGO’s “parent” appeared to demonstrate the control in the relationship, and confirmed the implicit surveillance the former had over the latter’s activities and programs. Evidence of the control exuberated by the INSO was clear as Canadian NGO’s problems, events, and projects were rarely prioritized over those of INSO. Shelly felt they were viewed as an extra and wanted SFD to be planted more firmly on the INSO’s agenda. She also felt that there was a general lack of communication which resulted in the INSO never really understanding or having the time to appreciate the general mandates, principles, and policies of SFD.

Her observations may also be advanced by the work of Clegg (1989), who referred to power invoked by some organizations over others as “incorporation”. Accordingly, “the incorporation of agencies within organizations is normally secured on the basis of contract...such contracts are rarely reciprocal, conflict-free and equal exchanges” (Clegg, 1989, p. 193). The mentality of incorporation is evident in the following quote by Oscar, as he described how the Canadian NGO attempted to fit in with the elite sport agenda:

When we talk to the [INSO] side, and we talk about well, where does IDTS fit in with this sport development model. If you look at the new long-term athlete development model that’s been developed, [SFD] very much fits into it. [SFD] does take a different, it’s not a feeder system into high performance, but it can contribute to the betterment of a sporting – I mean, the entire sporting community benefits from a [SFD] program.

Oscar (Senior Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

Significantly, the way relationships with the INSO were conducted wholly countered the way the Canadian NGO claimed to carry out their partnerships with their participants on the grassroots level:

We’re really looking to ‘walk the talk’...So many organizations say, oh ‘we partner with so and so’, but it’s really a donor-recipient relationship. And our

focus is really to move away from that, and really work in partnerships, so the projects are developed jointly, the reporting is developed jointly. We really try and work as equals.

Kendra, (Director International Programs, Canadian NGO)

The inherent challenge of working in partnerships was clear, and is best summarized by McDonald (2005) who claims the dilemma of partnerships is found in the, “contradiction between the evidence that partnerships are falling short on the one hand, and the commitment to the progressive principles of partnership working on the other” (p. 581). The “progressive” type of partnership with the grassroots is needed, claimed Brown (1998), in that the participants of development projects lack the leverage to bring their own voices to the forefront of governments. However, Buroway (2001) countered that partnerships are falling short in that the connections created at all levels of stakeholders working in development are a fallacy because disconnections occur. He asserted this is concealed by “ideologies of democracy, subsidiary, local participation and decentralization, that proclaim the inclusion of the popular classes” (Buroway, 2001, p. 152). The extent to which this occurred in the case of the Canadian NGO will be delineated in chapter five.

4.6.3. The Swiss NGO: The Power of Legitimacy

Interviewees from the Swiss NGO felt strongly that their organizational values did not conflict with those of their key national sport partners. For them, the agreeability between partners was attributed to the fact that it was small and mostly relied on partners only for moral support, therefore they maintained tension never occurred because there were no formal contracts or financial ties dictating the relationships. Huxham and Vangen (1996) alluded to the size of non-profit organizations on the global scene as an important predictor for confidence in collaborations. They claimed small non-profits tend to be more susceptible to feelings of

vulnerability and inferiority than larger groups. Interviewees often pointed out that the Swiss NGO was a very small and young NGO. The authors warned as long as feelings of weakness exist on the part of the non-profit, "people will act as though they are real" (Huxham & Vangen, 1996, p. 14).

In my first interview with Jerome, he was assured by the informality of the partnerships, as he maintained the casual character of the Swiss NGO's partnerships meant for minimal concerns pertaining to inconsistent organizational values. However, he later admitted if the relaxed nature of the relationships between the Swiss NGO and its key national sport partners changed, value conflicts could become an issue:

We are doing something and ask the other "would you like to support us with material or financially?" And so, they give us money, and so we have only to say, look that our objectives, be sure that the other organization is looking at this and saying "alright, it's good" and then they give us money. But it's another situation if two organizations together decide to do a project together. In that situation they have to say at the beginning, what are our values, what are your values, is that ok? But when there's only support, the 2 associations don't have the need to adjust. And, until now, maybe connections with big associations for projects in Switzerland was mainly in the topic of material or financial support. But when we get bigger, and with more projects at the Swiss national level, we will need to get more intense with other organizations. Then these questions of adjusting values becomes more important.

Jerome (Senior Officer, Swiss NGO)

Other staff were blatantly against the values placed on competitive sport:

When you see the elite sports, it is just a huge amount of money that is wasted...It is a waste of human beings...when all these elite athletes are pushing and only one wins...for the others it's just 100% down the drain.

Kenny (Project Officer, Swiss NGO)

In the interviews with The Swiss NGO staff, it seemed as though a power struggle was evident. Although arguing that they maintained an upper-hand in the relationships with their key national sport partners, it was clear that the historical precedence of elite sport over SFD translated into

their partnerships. Indeed, McDonald (2005) contended dominant powers within a partnership often use “legitimising strategies” to fortify their control in the relationship (p. 597). Roger’s assertion that all staff members should exercise caution in approaching partners for favours such as financial support and publicity demonstrated McDonald’s contention.

In a similar vein to the Canadian NGO, the real conflict for many members was that their projects were often misinterpreted as talent-search sport programs vying for promising young athletes. Despite the Swiss NGO’s strict mandate which only used sport as a tool for social development, interviewees were torn as to whether to give those children who were truly gifted athletes the opportunity to make it professionally. For example, Phyllis acknowledged that if staff saw a child who was “really good”, then they would “maybe refer them to a sports club.” She also noted that sport partners had initially wanted to know if the Swiss NGO would assist them in scouting for talented young athletes, but stated that there was no “big pressure” from them to do so. Kenny argued elite sport left little room for the real possibilities of sport for children, as he contended that the end goal of high performance sport was very narrow and only focused on winning. For the Swiss NGO, he felt that the end goal was more simply to “do whatever you want” and to “feel comfortable”.

The major distinction made by all participants was that other SFD NGOs were simply bringing sports equipment, materials, and other items to enhance sport development. Roger emphasized the point that the Swiss NGO was doing much more than augmenting existing sport conditions in the following quote:

We are not promoting sport. Sport is our language. We are going and promoting social living, and we say sport is our language to teach this. So, if we are going to [Africa], we don't talk about which kind of sport we want to teach...we say we have a new way of how we can do social living, through the language of sport. So we are using sport to socialize with the language of sport, to play together, to have the same rules, to learn about development. Other organizations talk about

[SFD], mostly as bringing sport into other countries to bring things to pay, material, whatever... but we say no, we are not using sport like this. We are using sport in a very social way. To bring people together, also a development project of course, but we are really focused on this part, not sport as itself or material or whatever.

Roger, (President/ Founder, Swiss NGO)

As was previously mentioned, the sensitive relationship between the Swiss NGO and its key national sport partners exemplified the way in which power inequalities pervaded their interactions. In a similar way to the Canadian NGO, it seemed the Swiss NGO wanted to be sure that the asymmetrical power relations experienced with their sport partners did not translate into their work with the participants in their projects. Phyllis characterized their interactions with their participants in Africa as one based on mutual respect where they asked for constant feedback. She maintained the equal relations by suggesting that the power in the relationship with project participants was in their hands:

The project was not to be our project, we always said it had to be theirs, an [African] project. So that's why we also had from the beginning, [Africans] working with us. And we always told them – please tell us if you think it's strange, we need a discussion about it, what can we change? The main objective is to respect the operation together with the [Africans].

Phyllis, (Project Officer, Swiss NGO)

Overall, it was clear that although both Swiss and Canadian NGOs experienced value conflicts with their sport partners, they continued to work with them in order to financially support their projects, gain legitimacy in order to mobilize outside resources, and to share knowledge. It was evident that these conflicting organizational values ultimately lead to frustrations experienced by staff members, particularly in the Canadian case, where the SFD NGO was more formally entrenched in its relationships with its partners in comparison. Previous research on partnerships and policy influence has demonstrated that the age of an organization directly correlates to its ability to hold control in its relationships with other entities (Perruci &

Potter, 1989). Extending control over policy influence increases the power of an organization to an even greater degree. As Perruci and Potter (1989) enunciated:

By controlling the agenda, and thus preventing minor organizations from obtaining state action on issues of importance to them, the major actors exercise great power which is more subtle but nonetheless effective (p. 11).

The relationship between power, partnerships and policy influence were evident when examining the SFD NGOs within a network. In the final part of this chapter, I will discuss the role of SFD NGOs in the IPSDN. This section is important in order to shed light on research question four pertaining to the role of the IPSDN in the abilities/ inabilities of SFD NGOs to place SFD on the policy agendas of their key national sport partners.

4.6. Networking through SFD: Constructive Connections or Disruptive Disconnections?

4.6.1. Introduction

The IPSDN (also at times referred to in this section as “the Network”) came to life during the second set of meetings on Sport and Development, which I attended in Magglingen, Switzerland from December 4th-6th, 2005. Throughout the meetings, various issues pertaining to SFD were deliberated, including discussions on a ‘global partnership’. According to the conference proceedings, partnering for SFD on a global scale would occur when:

All stakeholders engage in a dialogue of visions, goals and frames of action; and participate and invest in the consolidation and expansion of global partnerships for sport and development (SDC, 2005b, p. 1).

This partnership was defined in the ‘Magglingen Call to Action’, 2005, that was formulated at the end of the meetings and endorsed by over 400 participants who were in attendance, including staff from both the Canadian and the Swiss NGOs.

Evidence that coordination was lacking within the IPSDN was apparent. For example, according to the SDC, the “cross-cutting model” for SFD embodied two distinct conceptions of

how sport may be understood as a tool to complement development. First, the “development plus sport” model was one endorsed by development organizations, governments, and NGOs (SDC, 2005a; SDP IWG, 2006). The SDC identified the “development plus sport” model as one endorsed by development organizations, governments and SFD NGOs where sport is used as a tool to achieve specific development goals (e.g. promoting gender equity). The “sport plus development” model was supported by governments and sport organizations, those groups who claimed that sport should be valued in itself. In this way, sport has the ability to be used, intentionally or not, in order to “contribute to development through the formation of community structures, the promotion of income and the provision of infrastructures” (SDC, 2005, p. 19).

Upon interviewing leading government proponents of SFD from 13 developing and developed countries, the SDP IWG found that, “all respondents stressed the importance of a coordinated approach to advocacy and promotion of Sport for Development and Peace” (2006, p. 10). Thus, the coordination of both the ‘sport plus development’ model with the ‘development plus sport’ model was viewed as a critical step for advancing the SFD movement. Significantly, the session entitled ‘Roles, responsibilities and interfaces for effective partnerships’ held during the Magglingen meetings put forth its own definition of what a partnership between the two abovementioned groups would mean:

A partnership is the long-term collaboration of organisations that is based on mutual commitment and ‘core’ interest to achieve commonly defined goals to the benefit for all partners involved as well as society. This definition excludes ‘charity’ as a whole and also ‘corporate social responsibility’ when it is no more than a marketing tactic (a ‘rent-a-logo deal’) (Dettling & Lloyd, 2005, p. 2).

It was also suggested in this session that in order to maintain a sustainable relationship, partners must be transparent about their real motives for wanting to be involved in a partnership. For example, many participants noted how some SFD NGOs approached the private sector seeking

'donors' in lieu of 'partners'. As such, some panellists argued that only a 'true partnership' would enable each institution to utilize their core strengths in order to be successful (e.g. the private sector would not simply fund NGO activities, but would be able to incorporate brand building, skill transfer and marketing support into a partnership with a SFD NGO).

Before identifying the role of the IPSDN in the abilities or inabilities of Canadian and Swiss SFD NGOs to place SFD on the policy agendas of their key national sport partners, it is important to note that sport organizations and NGOs were called upon to take specific steps in lieu of the Magglingen meetings held in Switzerland in December, 2005. All sport organizations were expected to, "integrate and implement human development principles into their policies, programs and projects" (SDC, 2005a). NGOs were encouraged to identify projects that "demonstrate[d] the potential of sport for development and peace; transfer experience and knowledge; and engage other members of civil society" (SDC, 2005a). The following sections will examine the viewpoints of Canadian and the Swiss NGO pertaining to the IPSDN.

4.6.2. The Canadian NGO: Enhancing Governmental Understanding of SFD through Network Relations

For the Canadian NGO, the IPSDN's primary function was to enhance their relationships with international sport partners who also managed SFD projects in developing countries that were mostly based in Africa. In fact, the Canadian NGO signed a 'Memorandum of Understanding' (MOU) with sport organizations based in the UK and Norway who were also part of the IPSDN. According to Oscar, this MOU developed into a mini-network within the larger IPSDN, and was viewed by other Network members as an exemplary relationship between three compatible SFD organizations.

According to interviewees, the Canadian NGO's partnership with these groups was seen as valuable because it assisted them by organizing funding, providing technical support, coordinating meetings and seminars, and creating opportunities for conference participation. Staff members noted the Network had other benefits as well because, all organizations combined their knowledge about SFD, reduced the duplication of funding, and ensured that collective resources were executed in the most efficient way possible. Shelly felt that working with other like-minded organizations within the Network was useful in that there was a "collective vision" to work from and each entity was able to "rely on all aspects" of the partnership.

Canadian NGO participants felt the IPSDN was mostly an informal group of organizations formed over the Internet that did not necessarily share the same vision. Kendra was unsure as to how to define the group of organizations listed under the SFD Platform's website.

I don't know if I would call it a network because that implies that there's a bit of a formal structure to it which there really isn't. It's more a group of like-minded organizations doing like-minded work, with all the nuances and differences that go along with that.

Kendra (Director of International Programs, Canadian NGO)

For Kendra, the major objective of the Network was to create an online database of different organizations that would share information on best practices of SFD. She listed four other SFD NGOs (besides the three aforementioned entities) that the Canadian NGO informally collaborated with in the IPSDN. Gina cited the Canadian NGO's membership in the Network as critical for "furthering linkages" to increase potential partnerships in the future:

I think our role is basically to share what we do in collaboration with others. To this, sort of, International Platform, so that people who are interested in what we do or who are interested in doing the same thing, have a chance to see what's already being done out there by others. It gives others the opportunity to contact us for further linkages, even potential partnerships.

Gina (Project Officer, Canadian NGO)

Staff members argued that by partnering with like-minded organizations that were also administering SFD projects in Africa, they were able to mobilize resources in a “more creative” manner. Shelly saw the Network as a crucial means by which the Canadian NGO was able to garner more respect by the Canadian Government:

It's really helped us in our credibility with the Canadian Government, because they also have governmental agreements with these countries as well...I think the Government is seeing that, by us being in this partnership, they're getting more bang for their buck.

Shelly (Senior Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

Therefore, it was suggested by interviewees that the Canadian NGO earned more respect from the government, due in part to their efficiency in securing outside resources through their partnerships with other international organizations. As Frisby (1982) asserted: “voluntary sport organizations must continually struggle to obtain funding...[as such] their ability to acquire funds from the government and other sources could be a measure of effectiveness” (p. 63).

Oscar stressed that by being associated with prominent organizations in the IPSDN such as the UN, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and other large NGOs, the Canadian NGO not only increased its ability to secure outside sources of funding, but also augmented its credibility with the Canadian government. For Shelly, this kind of credibility meant the Canadian government would take more notice and realize: “what we're doing isn't just peanuts stuff. It really is making a global impact”. Similarly, by working with SFD organizations based in other countries, the Canadian NGO was able to secure attention from the government.

We partner with those other organizations, [and] they're in touch with their governments. When everyone meets at an international conference, there's already some linkages made, or bridges that have been built through our partnerships that can extend to our government officials. For example, the [UK sport organization] tell us that their Minister will be at this conference and we invite our Minister to the same conference. Then we can mutually enhance their comprehension of SFD. It's a growth opportunity that eventually trickles back into what happens in Canada.

- Gina (Project Officer, Canadian NGO)

The document analysis confirmed Gina's observations pertaining to the possibilities of pressures delivered by government agents over those representatives in other countries. For example, in the final report written by SDP IWG, it was noted that the government officials who were interviewed "highlighted the belief that governments can exercise a unique influence on other governments...advocacy is, therefore, a critical function" (SDP IWG, 2006, p. 64).

Moreover, the above quote provided by Gina demonstrated the way in which the IPSDN was contributing towards what Keck and Sikkink (1998) defined as a 'boomerang pattern' where: "domestic NGOs bypass their state and directly search out international allies to try to bring pressure on their states from outside" (p. 12). The authors argued fortified partnerships within such networks are crucial for this pressure to occur, particularly in the realm of policy influence. They also argued that strong partnerships within networks between NGOs and third world stakeholders provided the latter with "access, leverage, information and money" (1999, p. 13), while northern groups were supplied with necessary legitimacy in the eyes of their domestic governments. Having international contacts is needed in order to, "amplify the demands of domestic groups, pry open space for new issues, and then echo back these demands into the domestic arena" (Keck & Sikkink, 1999, p. 13). Kendra felt it was essential to generate a global awareness about SFD by working within the IPSDN, which she felt would generate a domino effect "creating awareness with our own government".

Despite the benefits of the IPSDN as noted by staff, there were certain drawbacks identified. The major concern was with the wide spectrum of SFD definitions, programs, and policies which contributed to diverging priorities for organizations within the IPSDN. Brown (1998) advocated that cooperation among organizations within a network only occurs if they are able to make "constructive use of differences in interest, power, and perspectives" (p. 236).

However, he cautioned that overcoming those differences would be a major challenge when organizational mandates stemmed from opposing value systems. Although Brem and Rutherford (2001) emphasized the strengths of the coordinated policy voice NGOs presented in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), the authors also deciphered that articulating this coordinated voice took precedence over conveying the specifics of the issue at hand. In other words, by encompassing every issue that comes under the campaign at hand, NGOs collaborating within a network run the risk of taking an approach that may be too broad (Brem & Rutherford, 2001). In other words:

When choosing who works in the policy-making fora, one must also be aware that the participants have diverse ideologies, values, operating styles, and approaches which will clash and make the decision-making environment more difficult (Jackson, 2000, p. 6).

Sage (1999) and Green and Houlihan (2004) have documented how external forces have collectively influenced sport policy and/ or policies relating to the sport industry. Sage's (1999) investigation documented how a transnational advocacy network formed as a unified coalition which had a common vision to target the Nike Corporation. He argued that one of the reasons this transnational advocacy network accomplished its goal was due to its resonance across national borders with various types of organizations (e.g. groups which formed around labour, religion, and human rights) that shared the end goal of changing Nike's corporate practices.

In comparison, Canadian staff members observed the contradictory values across the IPSDN, which led to struggles when attempting to influence policy. Gina observed many of the organizations in the Network seemed to have, "different approaches, different values, and different priorities". Shelly complained about the disconnect between the various entities within the Network when she asserted that:

There isn't much connection as well as the implementing partners and the funding partners. Something that's really important for us is to have the shared vision and values or else it's just not going to work.

Shelly (Senior Regional Officer, Canadian NGO)

For the Swiss NGO, conflicting values was only the beginning of the problems for the IPSDN, as will be demarcated in the next section.

4.6.3 The Swiss NGO: No Shared Vision in IPSDN

In comparison to the Canadian NGO, the Swiss NGO staff members were mainly disappointed with the IPSDN for a number of reasons. To a certain extent, interviewees valued the Platform's ability to encourage the online exchange of knowledge about SFD between organizations, create legitimacy for their projects, and promote their NGO and mobilize resources. However, most Swiss staff members viewed the Network as an illusory group of organizations that appeared unified in cyberspace, but not in reality.

The first problem as outlined by the Swiss interviewees was the ambiguity of coordination amongst SFD NGOs within the Network. While the objective of the IPSDN was to disseminate best practices and complement one another's SFD projects, Roger said he felt the authenticity of the Swiss NGO's programs were threatened if they shared knowledge with other SFD NGOs. I interviewed Roger during the Magglingen meetings (that he referred to as a 'conference' in the quotation below), which provided a unique opportunity to obtain his observations on the interactions:

Even between NGOs, you say, "ok let's work together," but then you don't exchange anything because you are scared that the other one is taking away all your materials and all your knowledge. At this conference, I feel a little bit obligated to ask questions to those who maybe forgot the right questions. I want to meet people, I want to share ideas, I want to feel that this is not only about promotion, about money - sure. But I would also like to say something impolite.

Roger (President/ Founder, Swiss NGO)

Kenny agreed with Roger's concerns by accusing most organizations involved in the Network of holding back their information instead of sharing knowledge. Jerome stated that he sensed no connection to the other SFD NGOs featured on the IPSDN website.

Other interviewees condemned the IPSDN website for being too big and for not being very useful. They claimed the Swiss NGO was one of the only organizations that posted information, questions, and comments on the Network's online message board. While several staff members appreciated the publicity created by the Internet Platform and the UN-endorsed International Year on Sport and Physical Education (2005), many worried about the sustainability of the Network after the initiative was over. According to Phyllis, the Swiss Government took a special interest in showcasing the Swiss NGO's programs, because they were under pressure, and didn't have many SFD projects to demonstrate their progress over the year.

Swiss interviewees portrayed a kind of tokenism that occurred due to the UN Theme Year on SFD, whereby the Swiss NGO felt exploited in order to increase nation-wide support for SFD. Staff members noted that some organizations used the Swiss NGO's projects to demonstrate the success of the theme year, but thereafter denied any requests made for funds to support these very same projects. This act of tokenism was a major concern for Jerome:

The public will say, 'UN Year of Sport' or 'UN Year of Water', what does it matter?' They have to communicate to the people why sport for development is something good, something important. And to communicate that, they have to show different projects.

Jerome (Senior Officer, Swiss NGO)

Previous research on networks warns that often networks will assemble for a given issue or cause, and then will terminate (Perrucci & Potter, 1989, p. 11), while other authors noted the termination of networks is more often a lengthy process, involving the "whittling away of strategic partners and the gradual decline in influence of the network" (Hay, 1998, p. 51). James

(1999) clarified partnerships are often created on the basis of a single event, and as such, have predetermined outcomes and needs. The termination of a partnership is thus subsequently identified in the literature as decisive and rapid (Hay, 1998; James, 1999). Therefore, the disappointment expressed by the Swiss NGO interviewees that the IPSDN may not be sustainable in the long-term demonstrated the ambiguities underlying the relationships and expectations within the IPSDN. In a way, this appeared to confirm the lack of communication amongst the entities involved in the group.

A common apprehension which emerged throughout my interviews with the Swiss NGO staff was the acknowledgement that there was fierce competition for funds amongst SFD NGOs. Many wanted to secure financial support, especially from elite sport federations. While the Canadian NGO saw partnerships between like-minded organizations as useful for accessing resources efficiently, the Swiss NGO viewed the same phenomenon very differently:

I have been one year in [Africa] on this project. And there has not been a lot of interest from other organizations who are in the same area doing the same project because everyone is fighting for funds. I mean, this is clear. So you don't want to know what the other is doing or you don't want to really get involved because we are talking about losing funds.

Kenny (Project Officer, Swiss NGO)

The competition between SFD NGOs within the IPSDN was not surprising, for often, as the literature on networks has suggested, "organizations in networks are powerful entities acting in their own self-interest" (Perrucci & Potter, 1989, p. 10). However, despite the animosity the Swiss NGO expressed towards some of the other organizations in the IPSDN, staff admitted that on the whole, the Network was valuable for exposure. Phyllis noted that by promoting their ideas about SFD during the Magglingen meetings, they were having a concerted influence on sport policy. Indeed, interviewees generally viewed the meetings as not only a direct opportunity to promote SFD policy to the sporting community in Switzerland, but globally as well. Staff

thought that the Network forced the government's attention on SFD, yet they were uncertain that concrete actions would take place in the form of policy development. Several interviewees argued that once the theme year concluded, policy actions would stagnate. Roger denied any attempt by the Swiss NGO to influence policy through its presence in the IPSDN, as he suggested their presence at the meetings was not to push any of their ideas or make any political statements. According to him, the Swiss NGO's participation was only important for interacting with others at the meetings.

There is no need for us to fight – we are not changing the world with this by coming here [to Magglingen] to present. It will not really change after this conference.

Roger (President, Swiss NGO)

The Swiss NGO was requested to make a presentation during the Magglingen meetings on one of the sessions about social inclusion through sport. During my interview with Roger, he emphasized the importance of his decision to fly-in a local African project manager that they had partnered with to Magglingen in order to explain the Swiss NGO's project and how it fostered social inclusion.

This is very important not to bring a Swiss person in to speak. I established this project, I did everything, but [African project coordinator] knows much better than I do, so she's presenting here today.

Roger (President, Swiss NGO)

The Swiss NGO's choice to use a local African project manager to represent their projects was notable, and will be further delineated in the summary section of this chapter.

In sum, the Swiss NGO's attitudes towards the Magglingen meetings were mostly dissimilar from those of the Canadian NGOs. While they recognized the opportunities presented to them through their membership in the IPSDN, Swiss staff members were openly perturbed by the approaches to SFD by other SFD NGOs in the Network. They appeared to be disheartened by

the lip service paid to the SFD movement (especially the 'UN Theme Year'), and emphasized their general distaste for what appeared to be a tokenistic cooperation during the Magglingen meetings.

Moreover, from the perspectives of the two NGOs in this study, social capital did not seem to be successfully deployed on amongst the IPSDN. Members attributed the lack of social ties to the ambiguity behind what was defined as SFD amongst the wide spectrum of NGO organizations within the IPSDN, and the conflicting values between SFD NGOs and their key national sport partners. While both Swiss and Canadian NGOs were embedded in various relationships with key national sport partners and other NGOs within the IPSDN, it appeared that power relations embedded in these relations played a major role in the abilities of SFD NGOs to influence policy. More often, it seemed that the personal ties between individuals in the SFD NGOs and key decision-makers in their key national sport partners that enabled SFD to have any influence on sport policy in both Canadian and Swiss cases.

As previously explained, the Magglingen meetings were meant to provide an opportunity for the IPSDN to connect with one another in an 'offline' context and to develop discussions on next steps for action. The fact that the local participants from SFD projects were excluded from these crucial discussions on the future of SFD should not be ignored. If these SFD NGOs were claiming to represent the voices of the participants in their projects to policy-makers; then what better way to ensure these voices were heard than by bringing the participants directly to those who were making policy decisions. Of course, there were financial barriers preventing those participants from engaging in the meetings with high-powered bureaucrats, Olympic athletes, and NGO Executive Directors in the mountains of Switzerland. However, as Ritars (2003)

pointed out, determining who an organization sends to make critical decisions on its behalf is the distinct difference between a participatory and a hierarchical organization:

Participatory organizations can send a delegate invested with decision-making authority to work with a partnership, while hierarchical organizations may send staff, who are not permitted to make decisions on behalf of the organization, or even truly empowered within that organization to make a case for a particular course of action (Ritas, 2003, p. 7).

In addition, Harvey (2001) emphasized the promotion of citizens' participation in policy decisions needs to be accompanied by 'good governance,' meaning:

Good governance implies adherence to a few central principles. Most important with regard to public policies that foster full citizenship is the promotion of participation in decision-making, given that political rights are one of the core rights of citizenship. Governance must therefore be accountable and open...Governance in the area of recreation and sport policy would be the focus of ongoing public debate, without which democratic decision making is impossible" (p. 38-39).

Significantly, Brown (1991, 1998) emphasized that NGOs are able to foster 'mutual influence' through their understanding and connections to both local participants on the ground, and the policy-makers in the national capital. As such, SFD NGOs may have the potential to improve the accountability of governments to the citizens they serve. This point will be discussed in the next chapter that will outline the conclusions of this research.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS and RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Conclusions and Recommendations

This research has attempted to build on existing theories in the realms of partnerships, networks and policy influence in the context of SFD. Examining the interactions of SFD NGOs in both partnership and network contexts was useful for exemplifying the overabundance of stakeholders within the SFD cause. The value tensions confirmed by SFD NGOs informants during interviews in their partnerships with national sport organizations and other NGOs in the IPSDN are important to consider. In this way, former research on the underpinning ideologies which shape sport policies was somewhat extended in this study (Sam, 2003; Sam & Jackson, 2004; Chalip, 1994, 1995; Houlihan, 1991, 1997; Houlihan & White, 2002; Braham, 2001).

While these examinations have gone 'above and beyond' in terms of identifying why certain ideologies penetrate into sport policy outcomes over others, this study has aimed to examine the relationship between power, politics and paradigms to a greater extent (Sam & Jackson, 2004). Indeed, the cooperative front on the surface of partnerships and networks largely ignores underlying power structures and value tensions which often impede policy promotion by the weaker entities in these relationships.

This investigation contributed to the knowledge of partnerships and networks in several ways. It has shown that theories pertaining to policy influence (e.g. Humphreys, 2004; Betsill & Corell, 2001; Bratton, 1990; Smythe & Smith, 2003) compliment theories on partnerships and networks, (e.g. Keck & Sikkink, 1999; Gordenker & Weiss, 1995; Brown & Fox, 2001; Brown, 1991, 1998; Perruci & Potter, 1989; Gray & Wood, 1991) in the realm of SFD.

The next sections will summarize the final conclusions made pertaining to each research question. This will be followed by recommendations for future research, practical recommendations for SFD NGO practitioners, and concluding remarks.

5.1 SFD Policies

The first research question focused on what Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs viewed as their key policy imperatives. This investigation uncovered various nuances as to what is encompassed by SFD policy; how SFD NGOs represented certain populations; and the lack of policy guidelines in place.

5.1.1 Similarities between Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs in SFD Policies

- SFD NGO staff were often overwhelmed by identifying what the key SFD policies were for their NGO. In many cases, discrepancies between policy documents and interviews existed when members were asked to identify these policies.
- Interviewees (particularly the Swiss) were confused about what the word ‘policy’ meant. Some associated the definition with other terms such as: guiding or operating principals, objectives, ideas, concepts, values, and topics. Further misconceptions developed in trying to distinguish between SFD ‘policies’ and SFD ‘practices’. However, it is possible that a language barrier prevented Swiss interviewees from understanding the definition, although Jerome demonstrated his understanding when he described policy as, “the output of politics”.
- The need for more concrete policy procedures when dealing with key national sport partners and other SFD NGOs was clear for both Swiss and Canadian groups. This finding coincided with other research that suggested clear policy guidelines are

imperative as NGOs are often embedded in, “complex institutional environment[s] with actors both more numerous and more powerful organizations than themselves,” (Bratton, 1990, p. 115). Other research on the campaigns of NGOs in influencing policy has stressed the need to have unambiguous strategies in place when interacting with other stakeholders in a given issue (Brem & Rutherford, 2001; Keck & Sikkink, 1998, 1999).

- The importance of social capital in promoting SFD policies to partnering organizations was important to both NGOs. For example, the Canadian NGO had members on the board of directors who also served as members of key lobby groups for Canadian sport policy change. The Sport Matters Group (2006) even voiced concerns about a perceived “secret approach to policy priority setting” taking place at the governmental levels in Canada (p. 1). The Swiss NGO’s entire partnership network appeared to be based on personal ties between its President and the leaders of each partnering sport organization. As Brown (1991, 1998) contended, these connections are central for a NGO’s survival, particularly when it comes to policy influence.
- SFD NGO members interviewed emphasized their commitment to working in ‘true partnership’ with those ‘at the grassroots’. Conversely, when it came to SFD policy and program development, there were no clear examples of how they fostered public participation, transparency, or accountability to participants.
- There was no coherent national SFD policy in place in either country.

5.1.2. Differences between Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs in SFD Policies: Canadian NGO

The following SFD policies and policy influence strategies were specific to the Canadian NGO:

- The Canadian NGO SFD policy documents exposed a wide variety of populations participating in their SFD projects including: women, individuals with HIV/AIDS, youth-at-risk, and persons with disabilities. Therefore aiming to represent more groups than the Swiss NGO, which the literature stressed as impeding the ability to articulate a clear and unified policy voice (Brem & Rutherford, 2001; Keck & Sikkink, 1998, 1999; Bratton, 1990).
- The Canadian NGO staff summarized various active strategies used to promote SFD policies to their key national sport partners. Yet, many informants discussed the difficulties of securing the attention of these partners in terms of policy influence. This contrasted with the Swiss NGO's claim that, although they also had various activities to promote their organization, they maintained to not be actively trying to obtain the attention of policy-makers.
- The idea of transferring SFD policies into the domestic arena was believed to be appropriate by many of the staff members interviewed in the Canadian NGO. Having already consulted with Aboriginal populations in British Columbia, significant progress was made in implementing SFD projects in Canada modeled after their international SFD programs. SFD program development between the Canadian NGO and Aboriginal leaders demonstrated that SFD influence was already taking place in the Canadian context. At the same time, there remained no national SFD policy (particularly one that pertained to Aboriginals) to guide this program development. This contrasted with the

Swiss NGO, as they used the same programs and SFD policies in both Switzerland and in their African project, and had been doing so within the first year of their inauguration as a NGO. For them, “every country [was] a developing country” (Swiss NGO, 2005).

- Overall, it was clear from interviews with staff members that the Canadian sport policy environment was more focused on elite sport policy in comparison to SFD policy. Comments made by interviewees pertaining to a lack of interest from the Canadian Olympic Committee and other elite sport circles on Canadian NGO’s projects confirmed this finding. This result corresponded to recent work on the high performance sport mentality that permeates throughout the Canadian sport system (Donnelly & Kidd, 2003; Green & Houlihan, 2004; Frisby et al., 2006).
- Contrastingly, the Swiss NGO staff members were seemingly unaware of the current sport climate in Switzerland. Roger claimed to be disinterested in changing sport per se, and was more concerned with changing the general social climate in Switzerland and around the world. They actively collaborated with the Swiss NOC on many projects, but it seemed that the majority of them did not ultimately see these activities as trying to change the way elite sport was played or practiced, although some claimed it to be a goal in the near future once the organization became larger in size.

5.1.3. Differences between Swiss and Canadian SFD NGOs in SFD Policies: Swiss NGO

The Swiss NGO's SFD policies appeared unique in comparison to those of the Canadian NGO by:

- Emphasizing organizational neutrality; unpaid staff; every country is 'a developing country', and building bridges through sport. Interviewees emphasized the stark contrast of these policies in terms of their narrow focus in comparison with other SFD NGOs.
- Countering a policy of neutrality with activism, which was demonstrated in interviewees arguing that the Swiss NGO was "standing up for people's rights", and that their NGO represented everyone who wanted to change the world. Although it seemed upholding their claims to impartiality did not negatively affect their abilities to place SFD on the agendas of their key sport partners. Church (2004) best explained the way in which Swiss neutrality permeates into all aspects of Swiss life:

Swiss neutrality [has become] perpetual, invoked not merely to keep out of a passing war, but serving as a continuous way of behaving, and extending to all political...relations...It has been described as both 'integral' and 'absolute', so that some Swiss believed theirs was the only true form of neutrality" (p. 208).

- Claiming to represent the people who participated in their projects, yet there appeared to be no formal chain of accountability or transparency between the Swiss NGO and SFD project participants.

5.1.4. Canadian NGO Policy Promotion Strategies

The Canadian NGO policy promotion strategies included:

- 1) Co-hosting a Roundtable held in March, 2005 with the Canadian government pertaining to how the international SFD movement could potentially be harnessed and transferred domestically to the Canadian context;

- 2) Working with Aboriginal populations in Canada to develop SFD programs which were similar to those used internationally in Africa and the Caribbean;
- 3) Conversing with the social development branch of the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games, known as '2010 Legacies Now', on SFD-related plans for the Olympics;
- 4) Hiring interns who participated in the Canadian NGO's international programs often returned to Canada to give presentations at various forums, conferences and workshops to disseminate information on SFD programs;
- 5) Developing important personal relationships with key partners, particularly national sport partners, which increased their ability to influence national sport policy through enhanced social capital (e.g. lobby group recently formed in Canada that pushes for SFD policies, administered by two individuals who are on the Canadian NGO's advisory committee);
- 6) Being invited to a workshop with various Canadian sport organizations to discuss social inclusion in high performance sport. Such occasions were seen as crucial for influencing key national sport partners.

5.1.5. Swiss Policy Promotion Strategies

The following strategies were used by the Swiss NGO to promote their ideologies and SFD policies that countered their apolitical claims. Many of these strategies were remarkably similar to those used by the Canadian NGO:

- 1) Creating a manual on their curriculum used in their SFD projects and promoting it to other NGOs and the UN.;
- 2) Conducting presentations for Swiss students to teach them about Swiss SFD values;

- 3) Holding information booths in Swiss national capital to solicit funds for African projects;
- 4) Making bi-monthly visits to the Ministry of Sport to exchanged ideas with government officials;
- 5) Providing NGO staff with media access to disseminate information about their SFD projects to the public.
- 6) Co-hosting highly popular running event (Gigathlon) with the Swiss NOC, to increase program awareness across the country.

5.2. Key National Sport Partners: Reasons for Partnering

5.2.1. Reasons for Partnering

The second research question addressed the issue of partnerships by asking who their key national sport partners were. The third research question examined the strategies used by SFD NGOs to promote SFD to their key national sport partners and also inquired about the nature of these partnerships.

5.2.2. Similarities behind Swiss and Canadian NGO's Reasons for Partnering

Although resource mobilization was previously identified as a major incentive for SFD NGOs to partner with national sport organizations, underlying reasons behind their partnerships went beyond the idea of fiscal stability. Other motivations for partnering included: developing corporate social responsibility platforms for national sport organizations, knowledge sharing and program development, legitimacy, and SFD agenda advancement.

5.2.3. Differences behind Swiss and Canadian NGO's Reasons for Partnering

The major distinction between Canadian and Swiss NGOs was the way in which their partnerships were created. While the Canadian NGO originally formed as an appendage of Canadian INSO, the Swiss NGO started as an independent entity. Although the Canadian NGO eventually developed some independence, the parent-child relationship described by staff prevailed. Therefore, some staff had difficulty describing the relationship between Canadian INSO and NGO as a 'true partnership'. Alternatively, the Swiss NGO's partners were created out of personal ties between Roger, the President, and the leaders of various national/international sport organizations. The personal level of these partnerships lead to the development of enhanced social capital and subsequently strengthened the connections and levels of trust.

5.3 Key National Sport Partners: Relationship Dynamics

5.3.1. Similarities in Relationship Dynamics

Both NGOs experienced difficulties in being misconstrued as being focused on high performance sport because it was assumed they were searching for young talented athletes in developing countries. Often their partnerships with elite sport organizations resulted in the confusion between SFD and sport development practices. Staff discussed problems with the end goals of elite sport (i.e., performance, winning) and explained how some of the values encompassed by elite sport conflicted with those of SFD. However, all interviewees attempted to outline how the two platforms complimented one another through, for example, the exchanging of ideas to improve sport on the whole and using elite athletes to publicize the SFD cause.

5.3.2. Differences in Relationship Dynamics: Canadian NGO

- Informants had difficulties determining whether INSO (International/National Sport Organization) was in fact a partner or a 'parent'. Most interviewees noted the prioritization of the high performance sport mentality over SFD interests within this relationship and in Canada in general.
- Identifying other national sport partners besides INSO was difficult for interviewees, as many were unsure as to whether or not government was viewed more as a 'partner' or simply as a 'funding body/ donor'. Partnerships with Federal Sport Department were primarily focused on programming development for their international projects, contributing to the Canadian NGO's internship programs, as well as conducting various SFD workshops.
- Value conflicts between the Canadian NGO and INSO included: a gap in understanding by Canadian INSO on what the SFD concept encompassed, differences in end goals of elite performance versus participation, the consistent prioritization of INSO's projects, and a lack of communication between both entities.

5.3.3. Differences in Relationship Dynamics: Swiss NGO

- Partnerships in the Swiss case were described as "sensitive" and their President emphasized being selective in approaching partners for resources, assistance and advice. Proven accomplishments had to be demonstrated and progress made on Swiss NGO SFD projects before asking partners for "favours". In this way, constant monitoring and evaluation of projects were necessary before approaching partners.
- Informants all felt strongly that the Swiss NGO's organizational values did not conflict with those of their key national sport partners.

- Interviewees argued that, due to the Swiss NGO's small size and because of the informality of the partnership agreement there was no need to be certain of corresponding organizational values.
- In a similar way to the Canadian NGO, informants simply felt distinct differences in the mentality of elite sport versus those present in SFD.

5.4. The Role of the IPSDN: Collaborating or Dividing?

Finally, the fourth research question investigated the role of the SFD NGOs in the IPSDN. The goal of this question was to discover how the IPSDN was constraining or enabling NGOs in terms of influencing their key sport partners. According to both Canadian and Swiss NGOs, the main functions of the IPSDN included: enhanced relationships with international sport partners who were also members of the Network, disseminated best practices amongst SFD NGOs, increased respect and legitimacy, as well as amplified attention on SFD from governments. The major roles of the SFD NGOs in the Network was to share information with each other. For the Canadian NGO, the IPSDN was viewed as mostly useful, while the Swiss NGO did not perceive the Network as favourably.

5.4.1. The Canadian NGO: Increased Credibility through presence in IPSDN

- The Canadian NGO formally partnered with two other Network member organizations under a MOU. In stark contrast to their relationship with INSO, these partnerships were identified as 'true' collaborations involving like-minded organizations.
- Staff suggested their partnership with the two other entities in the Network increased their credibility, while enabling them to mobilize external resources more efficiently. Due to their ability to secure outside resources, informants noticed increased support by the

Canadian government. This finding corresponded to Keck and Sikkink's (1998) research on the 'boomerang pattern' whereby NGOs sought out international partners in order to "bring pressure to their states from outside" (p. 12).

- Informants also related the above finding to policy influence, whereby if the governments of their partner organizations in the Network took policy actions on SFD, the Canadian government would feel obliged to take action as well.
- The major drawbacks identified by Canadian informants in being part of the IPSDN included: having a wide spectrum of SFD definitions, programs and policies which created varying priorities for entities within Network; and contradictory values that hampered collective policy influence.

5.4.2. Swiss NGO: Frustrations within IPSDN

Swiss NGO interviewees were disappointed with the IPSDN for a several reasons:

- Gaps in online and offline relationships, whereby all organizations appeared to support same cause on Internet, but not at Magglingen meetings.
- IPSDN members being deceptive in terms of sharing knowledge, best practices, amongst NGOs.
- Competition for funding between SFD NGOs within IPSDN that resulted in animosity between the Swiss NGO with respect to its policy on 'unpaid' volunteers and other NGOs who needed to secure more funds to support numerous staff.
- After the conclusion of the UN-endorsed International Year on Sport and Physical Education which tied IPSDN together, informants worried about the sustainability of IPSDN. Many interviewees felt their projects were only used 'for show' to demonstrate progress during the Theme Year.

- Despite the abovementioned frustrations with the IPSDN, interviewees viewed the Network, particularly its confluence during the Magglingen meetings, as beneficial for policy influence. They felt that Switzerland's role in particular by hosting the meetings was an important indication of the nation's support for the SFD cause.
- Although the interviewees' observations that the Magglingen meetings promoted SFD policies in Switzerland and globally, they were hesitant to predict whether any concrete policy change would take place as a result.
- Informants argued the lack of input from local participants in SFD projects during the Magglingen meetings resulted in a significant absence of local knowledge. Consequently, a potential disconnect between those on the grassroots participating in SFD projects, and policy-makers, occurred during the meetings, and within the online IPSDN.

5.4.3. Considering Possible Reasons for Differences between Canadian and Swiss NGO

It's crucial to attempt to account for the main differences between Canadian and Swiss NGO in terms of their abilities to influence the policies of their key national sport partners, as well as for their varying roles in the IPSDN. Table 5.1 attempts to discern these variations by organizing them according to micro, macro and meso units of analyses.

Due to the fact that relationships between the SFD NGOs and their partners were initially created at the individual level, and my study primarily used a socio-political framework, using a micro level of analysis to consider the differences between SFD NGOs is useful. This level incorporates individual points of view, including power, conflict and organizational roles (Babiak, 2003), which subsequently contributes towards both meso and macro perspectives. The strong personalities of some staff members captured during my interviews with Swiss NGO, for

example, in comparison with the more 'refined' responses of the Canadian NGO informants may be a reason for such different responses between the two.

Table 5.1. Possible Reasons for Differences Between Canadian and Swiss SFD NGOs

| Initial Framework | Factors Contributing to Differences |
|--|--|
| <p>Micro</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual actions & points of view | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interpersonal relationships between staff members and organizational partners - Differences in terms of status and power of certain staff members in comparison to others (e.g. some were Presidents of NGO, others were Project Officers) |
| <p>Meso</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholders in the network or NGOs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Canadian NGO solid relationships with other organizations in IPSDN - Swiss NGO used IPSDN Internet communication more frequently than other NGOs - NGOs in IPSDN had different values placed upon SFD (e.g. paid work versus unpaid, using SFD in both developed and developing countries) |
| <p>Macro</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broader environment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swiss sport system centers more on 'bottom up approach' to sport system vs. Canadian focus on elite sport - Swiss 'pioneers' of SFD, more engrained in government culture than in Canada, policies, more of Swiss government budget allocated to SFD - Swiss NGO less formalized in terms of organizational structure (younger NGO, less experience, etc.) - Social, political and cultural location of Switzerland as nation compared to Canada (e.g. strong Protestant ethic engrained in Swiss society, 'neutral' attitude towards political issues, etc.) - Two significant IPSDN meetings held in Switzerland, giving Swiss NGO 'home advantage' and perhaps more policy leverage than Canadian NGO |

Considering a meso level of analysis also magnified the variations between the two SFD NGOs. This level involves examining the structure and inner-workings of each SFD NGO.

Examining the meso level was augmented by investigating the role of these NGOs as units within a wider organizational network through their relationships as part of a large-scale social structure, that being the International Platform on Sport and Development Network. This network level of analysis enabled me to develop a macro perspective, examining anything beyond the network (for example, the sport systems in each country, SFD histories in each country, etc.) The differences between each SFD NGO on this level were described and accounted for in sections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4 which outlined Canadian and Swiss NGO contexts.

5.5. Recommendations and Contributions

5.5.1. Practical Recommendations

- 1) Throughout the UN International Year on Sport and Physical Education (2005), more than five conferences were held on SFD. While SFD NGO's expertise in implementing SFD projects makes them useful consultants during these conferences, the voices of the local participants engaged in SFD programs are rarely heard, and little action towards policy development is made on their behalf. More specific steps need to be taken to ensure that, i) concrete action in the form of policy is made during these events and, ii) participants in the projects are represented in these decision-making events.
- 2) All stakeholders in the IPSDN (and beyond), particularly SFD NGOs and (national) sport organizations, need to work together to define SFD in a common framework so that a coordinated effort amongst the global sport community can be made to further the SFD cause.
- 3) Innovative ways of monitoring and evaluating SFD NGOs need to be considered. Several interviewees (both Swiss and Canadian) told of how they were under consistent scrutiny and pressure from donors ('partners') to demonstrate the effectiveness of their

projects. The literature has demonstrated how constant monitoring and evaluation of NGO activities impedes the abilities of staff to dedicate more time to policy influence and organizational learning, while focusing exclusively on resource mobilization (Leoncio et al, 2004; Horch, 1994; Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Ebrahim, 2003a,b). Edwards (1994) asserted that NGOs have performed least impressively when they have allowed the barriers which exist in all bureaucracies to overrule their traditional values of openness, learning, flexibility and closeness to the poor. Therefore, a potential recommendation to this problem may be engaging academic institutions in order to improve the overall organizational capacities of SFD NGOs. For example, Frisby et al (1997) advocated for a "participatory action research" (PAR) framework whereby academics and women on low incomes were partnered to examine how the creation of new community networks might increase the relevancy of policies and programs for the targeted populations.

- 4) New information should be generated from research and from listening to people at the grassroots level. In partnering with SFD NGOs, academics too will benefit by getting out of the 'ivory tower' and giving back to the individuals participating in their studies. By providing both NGOs and the participants in their programs with access to independent academic advice, a new feedback loop will be created, one which does not necessarily rest upon funding being increased or cut altogether. Although cautions may arise in creating alternative forms of organizing such as the "Puppet Show approach," whereby project participants are often 'tokenistically' engaged in research (Mayo, 1997), empowerment must be "extended to account for a change in the power relationship within the organization." (Eden & Huxham, 1996, p. 528).

- 5) With a cautionary note, this research confirmed that in certain circumstances, social capital is deployed between organizations formed out of personal connections (e.g. in the Swiss case). However, social capital is difficult to measure, and where it was deployed, the Swiss NGO was not exclusively dependant on its partners for survival (although interviewees claimed the Swiss NGO did rely somewhat on partners for funding certain projects). Unfortunately, the reality of this research has demonstrated that SFD NGOs need to work on building personal relationships and connections with key players/ 'internal champions' in national sport groups and/ or in other government departments in order to get SFD policies recognized on domestic and international levels.
- 6) More practical considerations for partnerships between SFD NGOs and elite sport organizations need to be made by looking beyond the 'funding/ donor' rhetoric to examine how these diverging groups can work together in a more mutually beneficial partnership.

5.5.2. Theoretical Contributions

In various ways, this research has made a contribution to three existing strata of theories in the broad realms of: i) social capital, civil society and sport; ii) partnerships and networks in non-governmental sport organizations and, iii) in the area of critical sport policy analysis.

A variety of literature has emphasized the descriptive and conceptual omissions pertaining to research on non-profit organizations, civil society and social capital more broadly. While both Harris (1998) and Jarvie (2003) both discussed the potential links between sport and social capital, there was no mention of the potential of SFD NGOs in this context. If Brown's (1991, 1998) claims that NGO's are able to develop social capital are valid, and if sport is similarly a way to create social capital within communities and amongst individuals (Sport

Matters Group, 2004), then SFD NGOs must therefore be powerful agents of social trust, civic engagement, and civil society.

In this way, this study has advanced the ways that social capital has been defined by Putnam (1995, 2000) and Lin (1999) by considering its conception in the realm of sport, international development, and policy influence. Moreover, this research highlighted social capital's inextricable link to power relations as advocated by DeFilippis (2001). While this investigation demonstrated the ways that sport may act as a "bridge" between NGOs and their key national sport partners, it also highlighted the importance of personal ties between individuals in organizations and their abilities to influence policies. In this light, advancing the policy agendas of SFD NGOs specifically seemed to be related to their social connections with other personnel in national and international sport organizations.

This investigation also advanced theories pertaining to partnerships and networks in sport. In terms of theories on partnerships, this research demonstrated the need to consider the ways that underlying relationships between and amongst NGOs in SFD and their key national sport partners are able to shape and effect the ability of the latter to articulate unified or disconnected policy concerns. The majority of theories on partnerships consider asymmetrical relationships, value conflicts and funding issues to plague their chances of success (Gray & Wood, 1991; Babiak, 2003). However, this study highlighted the unique tensions between various groups of sport organizations that are competing for public support, policy voices and the attention of key decision makers in one policy arena. Perhaps this is distinctive in the realm of sport because these organizations are believed to be working together towards a common cause (SFD), yet, as this study confirmed, simply because these organizations are all stakeholders in sport does not mean they have common values.

Furthermore, this research has highlighted how relationships between NGOs and their partners in a network framework connect to their abilities to articulate common policy voices. Sage (1999) demonstrated how a transnational advocacy network grew within the realm of sport when various NGOs, human rights organizations, religious organizations and labour organizations coalesced around the Nike anti-sweatshop campaign to address Nike's appalling labour practices in third world countries. This research has built on his (1999) work in the realm of sport, human rights and globalization by considering how the SFD movement has been mobilized through the IPSDN. However, while Sage's (1999) work described the ways in which the various organizations in the Nike transnational advocacy network combined forces to fight for a common cause, this investigation showed how tensions between and amongst NGOs pertaining to SFD practices, policies and programs stagnated their abilities to try to work together to advance the SFD policy agenda.

5.6. Concluding Comments

5.6.1. Democratic Policy Influence

Given the emphasis this research has placed on NGOs, their democratic legitimacy is important to consider. A global network of 67 SFD NGOs may not be a democratic way of developing SFD policies because: i) they are not globally representative, and ii) it is difficult to structure an international stage where the voices of citizens will be heard (Edwards, 2001; Short, 1999). If NGOs are able to influence SFD policies through their personal relationships with key sport/ government officials, what does this say about democratic policy-making? As Otto (1996) explained, a participatory form of democracy is one that should, "underlie the accountability of NGOs to their constituencies in civil society" (p. 138). In this way, democratic policy-making

combines with partnerships based on equality and an honest realization of the core competencies of each entity involved in a partnership. In sum, what's needed is:

A more clearly defined framework of norms and values, greater attention to accountability and legitimacy within civil society, and international structures that allow for more equitable partnerships and the more honest delineation of roles (Clark, 2001, p. 24).

5.6.2. *Colonization versus Partnership*

The idea of representing the participants in SFD projects to policy-makers brings us back to the colonization/ partnership rhetoric discussed in chapter two. Stubbs (2000) claimed the "interventions of international agencies have tended to reproduce particular forms of *colonization* rather than partnership, in terms of their relationships with a range of local actors and agencies" (p. 23). In this way, were the SFD NGOs reproducing forms of colonization by imposing programs on individuals who have not participated in the design and implementation of these programs? Were they elected on behalf of the participants to represent them to policy-makers? Another important point to emphasize is the debate concerning paying staff to administer SFD projects. If staff goes unpaid, are they still viewed as imposing SFD programs on those in the third world? As Hilhorst (2002) argued:

There are those who emphasise the humanitarian spirit. This is the expression of the idea that humanitarian action is voluntary. Humanitarian crises, in this view, are the results of political failure...Humanitarian assistance, then, is not an answer to the crisis, but a civil response triggered by the humanitarian impulse to alleviate suffering (p. 196).

But is the SFD response to the social, economic and political problems in both developing and developed countries wholly altruistic? While idealists would, without hesitation, respond with an unconditional "yes," perhaps it is important to return back to the history of SFD. Sport has been viewed by various academics as an agent of the colonizing process, and has remained in most colonized countries following independence (James, 1969; Bale, 2002; Bale

and Cronin, 2003). In third world countries such as South Africa, Giulianotti (2004) warned that the current work of SFD NGO “evangelists” from the West may possibly constitute a version of “neo-colonial repositioning” (p. 357). The defining issue for Giulianotti is the fact that SFD programs continue to be brought in to save the “problem-inflicted incumbents” of the third world when such programs have yet to be proven as successful in the west itself. He argued:

It appears to be assumed [that] the young people in the old colonies may be more readily organized to receive and internalize the tendentious, self-controlling messages buried within sports (2004, p. 357).

While Giulianotti’s critique needs to be acknowledged, it should first be reiterated that the Swiss NGO was operating in both Switzerland and in Africa, while the Canadian NGO was consulting with the Canadian government and various Aboriginal groups through domestic programs. Therefore, these programs were being used (or discussions about them being used were in the early stages) in both “old colonies” and in developed nations like Canada and Switzerland. Moreover, although independent watchdogs monitoring and evaluating the impacts of SFD NGOs are sparse, the SDP IWG (2006) (the Secretariat of which is Right To Play) maintained that SFD is having a concerted effect, for example, by assisting in moving towards the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

5.6.3. Acknowledging the Underlying Value Conflicts in Partnerships for SFD

Amis and Burton (1996) pointed out a harmonization between high performance sport organizations and community/ grassroots-oriented sport groups (such as SFD NGOs) is unlikely. Even though both groups are characterized as agents of civil society (SDP IWG, 2006), assuming the values of each camp would be able to form a successful partnership is idealistic, because, as the authors explained:

It assumes a commonality of interest that, in most cases, simply does not exist. There are far more dissimilarities than similarities between, for example, an Olympic rower and the coach of a minor soccer team. Yet, because they are both part of a diverse entity called sport, they are 'rationally' thrust together in what is presumed will be a harmonious relationship. However, what is rational for one group might be quite irrational for another. Organizations and collectives exist with several different and contradictory rationalities. The likelihood of the diverse groups that make up the sporting milieu being able to collaborate and cooperate constructively is extremely remote (Amis & Burton, 1996, p. 25).

Yet, the tensions and conflicts surrounding SFD are not only in relation to elite sport. There is likewise a disagreement between those SFD NGOs working in international development, those who want to put development before sport, and those who advocate for a democratization of sport itself through increased access to sporting opportunities. What's needed is a clear definition of how these two camps may create an all-encompassing SFD policy.

5.6.4. Future Research

A possibility in working towards the two abovementioned groups may be found in the work of Harvey, Rail and Thibault (1996), as they called for an intersection between sport and social policy. Yet, at the same time, they also underlined the importance of demanding how "it is possible for a nation-state to accept a social contract increasing the democratization of sport" (p. 269)? However, connecting sport with social policies (e.g. augmenting preventative health education for HIV/AIDS) is quite different, in many senses, from democratizing sport in itself (providing more opportunities/increased access to sport and recreation). This distinction needs to be made in future research studies on SFD partnerships and policies.

Somewhat connected to this research should be other investigations projects on SFD that use a participatory policy approach model in order to capture the voices of disadvantaged citizens most ignored by the policy-making process (e.g. families, women, youth and children on low-income, the disabled, those infected with HIV/AIDS) in order to obtain an improved

understanding of the effect of SFD initiatives on these groups (Frisby et al., 2006; Keely & Scoones, 2003; Princen, 1994; Ritas, 2003). NGOs have the potential to improve the accountability of governments to the citizens they serve. More research needs to be conducted in order to assess whether this claim is true in the case of SFD NGOs. As such, in the realm of sport, more investigations need to be conducted to identify if partnerships between elite sport organizations and SFD NGOs will augment sporting conditions for marginalized populations, or will simply result in the continuance of elite sport over participation.

Prospective research also should examine whether SFD projects used in developing countries have the potential to address certain social issues in developed countries. These investigations could therefore explore policy transfer within a SFD framework (e.g. Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000).

Although relationships between competing value systems in recreation and sport literatures are nothing 'new' (e.g. Frisby et al., 2004; Babiak, 2003; Mayo, 1997), the way in which these partnerships infiltrate policy dialogues requires further investigation. More research in the area of SFD is needed to better understand the realities of NGOs, governments, sport federations, and perhaps most importantly, the participants in the SFD programs.

There is a paucity of research investigating the ways that SFD NGOs actually go about representing the needs of citizens and communities to policy-makers in organizational contexts. We need to examine how the voices of marginalized citizens and communities can be interpreted by researchers and policy-makers in ways that would improve the response of both academics and practitioners to their needs (Frisby et al., 1997; Stewart, 1997; Sam & Jackson, 2004). For example, forthcoming research needs to address key questions by sport sociologists such as Harvey, Rail and Thibault (1996), as they demanded:

In the absence of a sport world government, are transnational corporations, international sport organizations, and special-interest groups the policy makers for international sport? If yes, what kind of international regime is governing sport? Does it have any democratic legitimacy? (p. 264).

In sum, the basic aim of this thesis was to shed light on how NGOs may contribute to dialogue, and partner with elite sport entities to discern how sport and recreation policies might adopt a more participatory and inclusive orientation. The onus is on governments to move away from the burgeoning concern with putting athletes on the podium - which is particular to the Canadian context as the pressure of the 2010 Olympic Games approach - and to focus more on the voices of citizens in creating policies that promote "sport for all." Although there is much work to be done, the potential to create such an all-encompassing policy exists.

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Appendix A1– Interview Protocol for the Swiss NGO

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview that is exploring sport for development non-governmental organizations (SFD NGOs), their key national sport partners, and they way in which SFD NGOs are influencing the national sport policy agenda in Switzerland and Canada.

1. Role of Policy in SFD NGO/ Influencing Sport Policy?

1a) What are they key SFD policies of your organization? (*Probes:* How did these evolve? Why are they important?)

1b) Whose policy voices are you representing? (*Probes:* How do you go about representing these voices? How, if at all, does your SFD NGO present a SFD policy to policy-makers?)

1c) Is it important to your organization to influence sport policy in Switzerland? (*Probes:* Why or why not? Please explain. How (if at all) is your organization going about doing this? Strategies being used?)

2. Role of Policy in SFD NGO continued **IF answer to #1c & e is “YES” or “KIND OF”, continue to questions from section #3 ; IF answer is “NO”, continue to section #2**

2a): Even though you’re not trying to influence policy, does it still matter to your organization? (*Probes:* Why or why not? Please explain. Other policy-oriented activities your organization engages in?)

2b) Why aren’t you trying to influence policy? (*Probes:* Please explain. Were you previously trying? Did you give up? If so, why?)

2c) Are there other ways that your organization is trying to influence policy? (*Probes:* Do you feel these strategies may be more beneficial than trying to influence sport policy? Please explain.)

3. Key Partnerships

3a) Who are your key national sport partners? (*Probes:* Please explain. History of partnership(s)? Nature of this partnership? (i.e. tensions (sport) value conflicts, (sport) values compromised, useful partnerships, etc.) Benefits of partnering/ difficulties of partnering?

3b) What are the reasons for partnering with this these organization(s)? (*Probes:* e.g. partnering for resource mobilization, policy influence, legitimacy, etc.? How did these partnerships come about? Please explain.)

3c) How do your partnerships with other sport organizations impede or improve the dissemination of SFD policy (*Probes:* i.e. do they assist in spreading support for SFD policy? Do they foster/ impede your ability to put SFD policy on agenda of key partners?)

3d) Does your organization feel it is important to place SFD on the policy agenda of key sport partners? (*Probe:* Why or why not? Please explain).

3e) What strategies do you use in order to influence the policies of your key sport partners, if any? (*Probes:* Have these strategies changed in terms of influencing policy? If so, how? If not, why not?)

3f) What impact is your organization having in terms of influencing national sport policy? (*Probes:* Can you provide specific examples? What type of impact do you hope to have in the future and what will it take for this to occur?)

3g) What tensions/ benefits are involved in promoting SFD with national sport partners in Switzerland? (*Probes:* If no tensions, why? If tensions, how did these come about? Please explain).

4. Networks

4a) What is your role, as a SFD NGO, in the International Platform on Sport and Development (network)? (*Probes:* What other SFD NGOs do you work with in the network, if any? How does being part of this network assist your policy goals, if at all?)

4b) How does being part of this international network affect your relationships with national sport partners? (What type of impact has your involvement in this network had on your domestic relationships? Benefits / difficulties of being part of this network?)

4e) What strategies are being used by the International Platform on Sport and Development to raise awareness about sport and development, if any? (Please explain.)

Appendix A2 –Interview Protocol for the Canadian NGO

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview that is exploring sport for development non-governmental organizations (SFD NGOs), their key national sport partners, and they way in which SFD NGOs are influencing the national sport policy agenda in Switzerland and Canada.

1. Role of Policy in SFD NGO/ Influencing Sport Policy?

1a) What are they key SFD policies of your organization? (*Probes:* How did these evolve? Why are they important?)

1b) Whose policy voices are you representing? (*Probes:* How do you go about representing these voices? How, if at all, does your SFD NGO present a SFD policy to policy-makers?)

1c) Is it important to your organization to influence sport policy in Canada? (*Probes:* Why or why not? Please explain. How (if at all) is your organization going about doing this? Strategies being used?)

2. Role of Policy in SFD NGO continued **IF answer to #1c & e is “YES” or “KIND OF”, continue to questions from section #3 ; IF answer is “NO”, continue to section #2**

2a): Even though you’re not trying to influence policy, does it still matter to your organization? (*Probes:* Why or why not? Please explain. Other policy-oriented activities your organization engages in?)

2b) Why aren’t you trying to influence policy? (*Probes:* Please explain. Were you previously trying? Did you give up? If so, why?)

2c) Are there other ways that your organization is trying to influence policy? (*Probes:* Do you feel these strategies may be more beneficial than trying to influence sport policy? Please explain.)

3. Key Partnerships

3a) Who are your key national sport partners? (*Probes:* Please explain. History of partnership(s)? Nature of this partnership? (i.e. tensions (sport) value conflicts, (sport) values compromised, useful partnerships, etc.) Benefits of partnering/ difficulties of partnering?

3b) What are the reasons for partnering with this these organization(s)? (*Probes:* e.g. partnering for resource mobilization, policy influence, legitimacy, etc.? How did these partnerships come about? Please explain.)

3c) How do your partnerships with other sport organizations impede or improve the dissemination of SFD policy (*Probes:* i.e. do they assist in spreading support for SFD policy? Do they foster/ impede your ability to put SFD policy on agenda of key partners?)

3d) Does your organization feel it is important to place SFD on the policy agenda of key sport partners? (*Probe*: Why or why not? Please explain).

3e) What strategies do you use in order to influence the policies of your key sport partners, if any? (*Probes*: Have these strategies changed in terms of influencing policy? If so, how? If not, why not?)

3f) What impact is your organization having in terms of influencing national sport policy? (*Probes*: Can you provide specific examples? What type of impact do you hope to have in the future and what will it take for this to occur?)

3g) What tensions/ benefits are involved in promoting SFD with national sport partners in Canada? (*Probes*: If no tensions, why? If tensions, how did these come about? Please explain).

4. Networks

4a) What is your role, as a SFD NGO, in the International Platform on Sport and Development (network)? (*Probes*: What other SFD NGOs do you work with in the network, if any? How does being part of this network assist your policy goals, if at all?)

4b) How does being part of this international network affect your relationships with national sport partners? (What type of impact has your involvement in this network had on your domestic relationships? Benefits / difficulties of being part of this network?)

4e) What strategies are being used by the International Platform on Sport and Development to raise awareness about sport and development, if any? (Please explain.)



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Appendix B1 – Letter of Contact (Swiss)

Date

Dear SFD NGO staff member,

This letter requests your participation in an interview I will be conducting. I am a researcher in the School of Human Kinetics at the University of British Columbia. I am conducting a study that is intended to find out more about the perspectives of those who are part of non-governmental sport organizations like yours. I am also interested in better understanding how you work with your key national sport partners, how you influence sport policy in Switzerland, and how your organization interacts with others in the *International Platform on Sport and Development (IPSD)*. I received your approval to conduct an interview with you today. Given your position as described on your organization's website, you fit the criteria for participating in this study.

The goal of this letter is to request an interview with you concerning how 'The Swiss NGO' is attempting to influence sport policy through your key national sport partnerships. The interviews can take place in your office or in a location that is convenient for you. Your involvement in this study would be most helpful as the research team attempts to find out more about sport policy, interorganizational partnerships and sport for development. I have attached an information and consent sheet that gives you more information about the study and about the guidelines that this study will follow regarding confidentiality and research ethics.

If you agree to participate in this study, please proceed to the next page, which is the consent form. Please complete and return the form in the self-addressed stamped envelope within one week should you agree. Included are two copies of the consent form, the first is for you to return to the university researchers, and the other is for your records

Thank you very much for your time and for considering this request. I look forward to being in touch.

Sincerely,

Lyndsay Hayhurst
Graduate Student
University of British Columbia, Department of Human Kinetics,
Tel: , Email:



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Appendix B2 – Letter of Contact (Canadian)

Date

Dear SFD NGO staff member,

This letter requests your participation in an interview I will be conducting. I am a researcher in the School of Human Kinetics at the University of British Columbia. I am conducting a study that is intended to find out more about the perspectives of those who are part of non-governmental sport organizations like yours. I am also interested in better understanding how you work with your key national sport partners, how you influence sport policy in Switzerland, and how your organization interacts with others in the *International Platform on Sport and Development (IPSD)*. I received approval from (name to be added), a staff member in your organization, to contact you. Given your position as described on your organization's website, you fit the criteria for participating in this study.

The goal of this letter is to request an interview with you concerning how 'The Canadian NGO' is attempting to influence sport policy through your key national sport partnerships.

The interviews can take place in your office or in a location that is convenient for you. Your involvement in this study would be most helpful as the research team attempts to find out more about sport policy, interorganizational partnerships and sport for development. I have attached an information and consent sheet that gives you more information about the study and about the guidelines that this study will follow regarding confidentiality and research ethics.

If you agree to participate in this study, please proceed to the next page, which is the consent form. Please complete and return the form in the self-addressed stamped envelope within one week should you agree. Included are two copies of the consent form, the first is for you to return to the university researchers, and the other is for your records

Thank you very much for your time and for considering this request. We look forward to being in touch.

Sincerely,

Lyndsay Hayhurst
Graduate Student
University of British Columbia, Department of Human Kinetics
Tel: _____, Email: _____



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Appendix D – Consent Form (Swiss/ Canadian)

Policy-makers or Policy Takers? A Comparison of Canadian and Swiss Sport for Development Non-Governmental Organizations

CONSENT FORM

I have read the attached *Information Sheet* and understand the nature of the study as described in the *Information Sheet*,

I have a copy of the *Information Sheet* for my own records.

I understand that my participation in the study (entitled “Policy-makers or Policy Takers? A Comparison of Canadian and Swiss Sport for Development Non-Governmental Organizations”) is entirely voluntary and that I may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without jeopardy to my employment, or standing in the sport for development community. I have received a copy of the letter of initial contact, information sheet and a copy of this consent form for my own records.

I consent to participate in this study. I consent to having the interview tape recorded to ensure accuracy.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix F – Table of Codes

| Table 3.3 – Table of Codes | Note: *RQ = research question guiding code / sub-code formation |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Codes | Sub code |
| *RQ#2 & 3: 1- Partnerships | 1a- informal partnership 1a- social capital 1a - asymmetrical power relations 1a - CSR / reason for partnering with SFD NGO 1a - identification of Swiss NGO partners 1a - influencing policy change of partner orgs. 1a - monitor and evaluate / legitimize to secure funding 1a - participatory/ partnership with the people (grassroots) 1a - partners representing NGO 1a - partners supporting ideas (policies) of Swiss NGO 1a - Reasons for partnering - funding/ resource mobilization 1a - Reasons for partnering - knowledge sharing with partners 1a - Reasons for partnering - legitimacy created through partnerships 1a - sensitive partnership 1a - Value conflict - elite searching 1a - Value conflict - SFD/ elite sport 1a - Value conflict/ tension in partnership - general 1b - creating dialogue between partner orgs. of SFD NGO 1b - history of partnership 1b - identification of Cdn NGO partners 1b - influencing policy change of partner orgs. 1b - monitor and evaluation/ legitimize to secure funding 1b - organizational status 1b - participatory/ partnership with the people (grassroots) 1b - partnering on programs 1b - power relations with partners - asymmetrical 1b - Reasons for partnering - legitimacy 1b - Reasons for partnering - politics/ agenda advancement 1b - Reasons for partnering - resource mobilization 1b - Reasons for partnering - similar values/ principles 1b - Reasons for partnership difficulties 1b - sensitive partnership 1b - similar values SFD and elite 1b - transparency in partnerships 1b - Value conflict - SFD/ elite sport |
| *RQ#4: 2- Networks | 2a- orgs. work with in IPSD network 2a- pressure within network to deliver results 2a- UN Year of SFD/ global movement 2a - policy influence through IPSD/ presence at conference 2a - benefits of being part of IPSD network 2a - compete for funding with other institutions in IPSD network 2a - difficulties with IPSD network 2a - funding with IPSD network 2a - Internet promotion through IPSD network 2a - knowledge/experience sharing, learning from other orgs. in network 2a - legitimacy being part of IPSD network 2a - no policy influence through presence in network/ conference |

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| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2a - not working together within network 2a - part of network good for exposure 2a - using IPSD to showcase success of SFD 2a - value conflicts in network 2b - shared values within network/ importance of 2b - benefits being part of IPSD network 2b - definition of IPSD 2b - difficulties with IPSD network 2b - increased access to developing countries through network 2b - increased efficiency working in network 2b - knowledge/ experience sharing, learning from others 2b - lack of participation in IPSD from key stakeholders 2b - legitimacy being part of IPSD network 2b - mini-networks within IPSD 2b - no policy influence through presence in network 2b - not working together within network 2b - orgs. work with in IPSD network 2b - part of network good for exposure 2b - policy influence through IPSD 2b - pressure within network to deliver results 2b - reason for partnering with others in IPSD network 2b - resource mobilization through network presence 2b - UN Year of SFD/ global movement |
| <p>*RQ #1</p> <p>3- Policy</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3a - direct policy influence 3a - indirect policy influence 3a - not trying to influence policy 3a - policy influence impact 3a - policy influence strategies 3a - policy influence through media 3a - policy influence through partnerships 3a - promotion of policy 3a - SFD Policy - participation 3a - Third World/ First World SFD relationship 3a - who being represented by SFD NGO 3a - policy-makers contact with 3b - direct policy influence 3b - indirect policy influence 3b - influencing/ promoting policy through partnerships 3b - national sport policy/ SFD policy 3b - policy-makers / contact with 3b - policy influence impact 3b - policy influence strategies 3b - policy influence through international work 3b - policy influence through social capital 3b - promotion of policy 3b - SFD organizational values 3b - SFD policy - sustainable programs 3b - Third World/ First World SFD relationship 3b - who being represented by SFD NGO |
| <p>*RQ #1,2,3 &4:</p> <p>4 – Power, ideology & politics of NGO</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4a - politically neutral 4a - power of partnerships 4a - institutionalization of NGO 4b - org power relates to government in power 4b - politically active |