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VALUE OF SPORT IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

This paper draws on a large body of knowledge presented as an initial draft for the 'Case for Sport' that was prepared in collaboration with Sport and Recreation South Africa, which is in the process of being finalised. Selected research evidence builds the 'case' by showing the significance of sport-related impacts and effects within five domains, namely: nation-building and social cohesion, addressing various aspects of social transformation, health-related benefits, positive educational outcomes and economic benefits. The substantiation of such benefits contribute to the argument of the significance of sport (in the broad sense) in the post-Apartheid South African context (post 1994). The findings support global, regional and national sport-related effects at multiple levels and span different sectors of influence. Main arguments take cognisance of the complexity and contextual realities, and present critical reflections as not to over-estimate the positive effects or uncritical acceptance of findings.

Keywords: Sport; Health; Education; Economy; Social issues; Nation-building.

INTRODUCTION

South Africa in the post-Apartheid era (1948-1994) is considered an emerging market and middle-income country. In 2016, South Africa's GDP (Gross Domestic Product) was 294.8 billion US$ compared to that of the USA (18.57 trillion US$), Australia (1.205 trillion US$) and Kenya (billion 70.53 US$) (Trading Economics, 2017a). The Gini coefficient is used to measure equality and inequality within or between populations where a measure of zero means total equality (same income) and the measure of one, total inequality. Socio-economically, South Africa is an unequal society with a Gini coefficient (income inequality) of 0.68, and the proportion of persons living in extreme poverty (below the 2015 Food Poverty Line of R441 per person per month) (Statistics South Africa, 2017a).

South Africa's 2016 unemployment rate of 26.7% places South Africa among the worst ten countries in the world, whilst the youth unemployment rate averaged 51.93% from 2013 until 2017 (Trading Economics, 2017b). Youth unemployment (individuals between the age of 15 and 35 years) is even more severe and measured 38.2% at the beginning of 2018 (Daniel, 2018).

A high percentage of impoverished youth demonstrate diverse patterns of anti-social and health-related risk behaviours. Nearly a third of women have children before they reach the age of 20 (Philander, 2017). South Africa has a high crime rate and has the 11th highest prisoner population in the world with 292 prisoners per 100,000 people (Free Business Tech, 2015). Racial divides still exist as legacy of the Apartheid era that often finds expression in political

strife and community-level violence. Peaceful co-existence and a national consciousness remained a quest since the Mandela era where sport featured prominently in a reconciliation narrative.

Poverty is multi-faceted and presents profiles of poor health and a low educational status. A Lancet study published online in January 2019, reported a global increase in the prevalence of obesity for girls (an increase of 5-6%) and for boys (an increase of 7-8%), whilst for women the increase was 14.9% and for men the increase was 10.8% in the same period (Swinburn *et al.,* 2019). A gendered pattern emerged in South Africa. The Healthy Activity Kids South Africa (HAKSA) 2018 Report card reported that 16.1% of girls and 6.1% of boys aged 15 to 19 years were overweight, whilst there was a prevalence of overweight of 9.1% among 3- to 5-year old children (Draper *et al*., 2018). Overweight and obesity is considered a devastating disease and contributes to multiple health problems. A study of the Medical Research Council reports that 61% of the South African population are at risk for developing cardio-vascular disease, osteoarthritis and chronic kidney disease in addition to cancer and diabetes (Malan, 2014). Lifestyle diseases place a heavy burden on the public health care budget, which in 2014, was 8.8% of GDP and 14.2% of the total health expenditure, which amounts to R167.6 billion of South African government spending of which a large proportion goes towards treating non-communicable diseases (Makombo, 2017).

A World Health Organisation's study on Global Ageing and Adult Health in six low and medium income countries (including South Africa), reports an overall prevalence of high sedentary behaviour (8.3%) with unemployment and urban residence as the most important socio-demographic correlates (Koyanagi *et al.,* 2018). There are insufficient levels of health-enhancing physical activity among all age groups with a decline during early adolescence. In South Africa, inactivity is high with 43% adolescents and 74.6% adults leading sedentary lives (Strydom, 2013). Contributing factors to this state of affairs include a compromised physical education as a school subject, low levels of motor proficiency, high levels of screen time, increased technology use (social media), locality and lack of access to recreation facilities, safety and increased transport to school (Pienaar *et al*., 2015; Stroebel *et al*., 2016). The reduction of school time for physical activity and lack of basic resources at most public schools (lower socio-economic strata) contributed to a narrow focus on educational outcomes relating to sport-related participation.

The following section provides research evidence on the impact of different dimensions and sectors of sport as they relate to positive change within five identifiable sectors associated with nation-building, social transformation, health, education and economic development.

NATION BUILDING

Nation building relates to multi-levelled social processes inclusive of identity construction emanating from everyday interactions and political symbolism encapsulated by national symbols often displayed at sport mega events (Department of Arts and Culture, 2012). Assessing nation building and collective behaviour identified as expressions of solidarity, associated for instance with winning national teams or hosting mega sport events, are challenging and often framed by political rhetoric and propaganda. Politically marginalised voices are absent from dominant narratives of proclaimed nationhood and global citizenship (Black, 2007). The hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup by South Africa, made minimal sustainable inroads in bridging the gender, class and racial divides in the strife for equality within a human rights framework. However, increased social integration and community pride

were reported among the positive social outcomes for South Africans associated with hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Cubizolles, 2015).

The hosting of mega sport events may generate meaningful social, cultural and symbolic capital, especially in showcasing national identity markers and creating national pride and acclaim for featuring as a sporting nation (Grix & Carmichael, 2012). By hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup, South Africa featured as an African nation primarily, and as such, could counter effectively negative perceptions of Afro-pessimism (Haferburg, 2011). Equally proclaimed for nation building is the hosting and scaling of indigenous or traditional games, such as promoting diversity and sharing culture at Indigenous Games Festivals in South Africa (Maralack, 2014).

Research demonstrates the integrative role of sport clubs at community level where membership facilitates a sense of belonging, social capital and fostering of collective identity development across diverse ethnic and cultural groups (Walseth, 2006). Club sport in many cases provides the glue for community life and integration of marginalised members into team and group activities with positive effects of friendship formation and bridging divides within the wider community (Skinner *et al*., 2008). Similar findings were reported for the *Siyadlala* community sport mass participation programme organised from community hubs, as well as for the Active Community Clubs Programme as part of the Australia Sport Outreach Programme (ASOP) (Burnett & Hollander, 2006). In addition to bonding social capital, relations of trust evidenced in bridging and linking social capital were established between the Active Community Club and external stakeholders to access funding and job opportunities for community members (Burnett, 2006).

Specially designed Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) programmes, such as the Football4Peace project contributed in bridging entrenched hostility in Israel (Palestinians and Jews) reduced the social distance and changed their attitudes towards the 'other' (Sugden, 2015). Supporting evidence on social bonding and bridging comes from research in refugee camps of Somali refugees in Australia (Spaaij, 2012).

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Social transformation is associated with positive social change that entails a multi-faceted process that features human and community development and empowerment within a human justice framework. In democratic South Africa, a transformation charter guide set targets for radical social transformation in sport that will enable disenfranchised populations (rural youth, women and people with disabilities) to find representation in sport teams and decision-making positions (De Coning, 2015; SRSA, 2017).

Despite post-Apartheid restructuring for the purposes of the integration of sport structures, the social and legal changes within South African society set a new road map for a transformed sport architecture. Change was a slow process and the persisting ***social stratification*** patterns continued in its presentation of a nexus of ***race-ethnicity-class*** as layered disenfranchisement. National sport team demographics were slow to change as reported by the South African Rugby Union that invested R500m in 2014 for racial transformation in rugby (*Eyewitness News*, 2015). However, it is estimated that 50% of the national team that will compete at the 2019 Rugby World Cup in Japan, will be black players selected on merit (*Sport24*, 2018).

Providing access and formal sport participation to children and youth from impoverished households rendered positive results. For instance, the provision of such activities at 181 MOD

(Mass participation; Opportunity and access; Development and growth established) Centres established in 2010 across the Western Cape Province, increased the participation rate to 29% (with 40,000 participants at primary and high schools). This nearly triples the national average of 10% and delivered positive social outcomes (De Coning, 2015; Western Cape Government, 2017). Unemployed youth mostly act as coaches in various community sport programmes or delivering voluntary (or paid) services for Non-Government (sport) Organsations (NGOs). Income-generation is essential for their survival. In 2006, an independent impact study showed that 43.7% of the activity coordinators' stipends in the *Siyadlala* programme, contributed significantly to their household survival (Burnett & Hollander, 2006). Sustained access to income-generation was a key outcome of the GIZ/YDF (Youth Development through Football) programme implemented from 2007 to 2014 as part of the 2010 FIFA legacy, where 38.2% of the coaches reported that their employability status improved (Burnett & Hollander, 2014).

A baseline study on ***gender***, participation and leadership in southern Africa found a relatively high level of female sport participation (46%) with fairly low levels in some sports, like judo, basketball and athletics (33-38%), as well as in boxing and football (10-17%) (Fasting *et al*., 2014a). In South Africa, gender transformation has accelerated across multiple sports and management structures since the previous status report in 2004 (Burnett, 2004), yet participation and leadership inequalities are still observed (SRSA, 2017). Globally and locally, remaining barriers relate to cultural influences, lack of multiple resources, hegemonic male structures and practices from playground domination by boys to leadership positions occupied by men (Fasting *et al*., 2014b; Ogunniyi, 2015).

In South Africa, the national ***disability*** rate is 7.5%, and is more prevalent among females compared to males (8.3% and 6.5% respectively) who face multiple barriers, including stigma (Statistics South Africa, 2017b). Since the inception of the Paralympic Games in 1948, the amazing feats of Paralympians changed the medical model (focus on impairments) to cross into the realm of the 'normal' (Wolbring, 2012). Sport did much to reduce the stigma associated with disability as evidenced by the media exposure of star athletes with disabilities and the Commonwealth Games as inclusive event for differently abled athletes (Silva & Howe, 2012).

Measuring the impact of reduction in criminality and ***'social ills'*** is complicated and research needs to establish clearly causality between social outcomes and programme mechanisms, processes and experiences (Coalter, 2015). Morris *et al*. (2004) reviewed 175 sport programmes for the Australian Institute of Criminology and reported positive results for youth at risk associated with: (1) relief from boredom and depression; (2) reduce risk taking by offering novel and outdoor adventure activities; (3) foster friendships and peer support; (4) positive youth engagement and role modelling. Prime crime-time scheduling of sport events, such as the Midnight Basketball (USA), rendered positive results reported within the first year of implementation, namely: (1) reduced crime rates by 30% in the target area; (2) created a safe haven for participants and fans; (3) channelled the energy of gang members in a positive direction; and (4) significantly improved the educational and career aspirations of those participating in the programme (Farrell *et al*., 1996). A decline between of 28.56% and 37.06% of various categories of criminal incidents were also reported by a study of the AMANDLA Edufootball's in Khayelitsha (Western Cape) (De Coning, 2015). The *Siyadlala* programme equally registered a 15% overall reduction in criminal activities of youth participants (Burnett & Hollander, 2006).

The dark side of elite sport participation associated with deviant social behaviour is evidenced in an ethos of celebrating masculinity and win-at-all costs philosophy. This partially explains the excessive use of alcohol performance enhancing substances to provide athletes

with a competitive advancement (Momaya *et al*., 2015). Controlling excessive alcohol consumption at club level poses challenges to the sports fraternity – from school, community to elite levels (Kingsland *et al*., 2015).

In community settings, youth health-related risk behaviour is a complex social issue associated with sexual risk taking, low socio-economic situations (in transactional sex), low power in sexual relationships, low self-esteem and socialisation practices (Rocca *et al*., 2010). Evidence suggests that sport participation reduces such risk behaviours when supported within family and community cultures, inclusive of the reduction of substance abuse and sexually risk behaviours (Wild *et al*., 2014). Reducing substance abuse through regular sport participation is reported in a cross-sectional survey of nationally representative samples of 13-15 year olds in eight African countries and in a study undertaken at 39 disadvantaged schools in Cape Town (Peltzer, 2010).

HEALTH

Health is considered a fundamental human right and "a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (WHO, 2017: online). At the core of the health of an individual, is regular health-inducing physical activity that is key to disease prevention and proclaimed as a human right to well-being (Swinburn *et al.,* 2019). Physical inactivity is considered to be the fourth leading factor in global mortality, accounting for about 14.2 million deaths annually of individuals between the ages of 30 and 69 years (about 10% of the total mortality figure) (Kohl *et al*., 2012; ISCA, 2015). It is viewed as the main contributing factor for the prevalence of 34% obesity among South African females (Swinburn *et al*., 2019: 23). Physical inactivity is a significant contributor to preventable non-communicable disease with the cumulative lost output of the latter in developing countries from 2011 to 2025, which is estimated to be US$ 7 trillion (Xuereb, n.d.). In 2013 physical inactivity cost health-care systems worldwide INT$ 53.8 billion with an unequally distributed economic burden within poorer countries and a high level of unmet health needs associated with morbidity and mortality (Swinburn *et al*., 2019).

The relationship between health and physical activity follows a two-pronged approach with research evidence confirming quality of life benefits and studies reporting the relative risk of death (mortality) and a wide spectrum of disease profiles associated with physical inactivity (Bailey *et al*., 2013). Four main conditions have been selected for reporting research evidence.

Regular physical exercise holds significant benefits and just 30 minutes moderate-to-vigorous physical activity (MVPA) may positively affect an individual's life expectancy regardless of age, gender or cardiovascular disease risk (Wen *et al*., 2011). Burning 1,000kcal per week can reduce all-cause mortality by 20-30% (Myers *et al*., 2004). Sedentary middle-aged women are 52% more likely to die than their active counterparts, and have double the risk for cardiovascular disease and a 29% increase in cancer-related mortality (Hu *et al*., 2004).

Physical activity (with prescribed intensity, duration and frequency) reduces negative effects of risk factors associated with overweight and chronic life style diseases. There is substantive evidence of a positive association between physical activity and *cardio-metabolic health* among children. Prescribed health-inducing physical activity is an important protective factor that contributes to lower risk of coronary heart disease, heart failure, type 2 diabetes, hypertension, stroke, some cancers, osteoporosis and obesity (Strydom, 2013). In sub-Saharan Africa, ischemic heart disease and inactivity-related disease profiles are rising to such an extent that the World Health Organisation (WHO) has projected an approximate figure of 600,000

deaths by 2030 and recommended early and aggressive interventions (Monti *et al*., 2015). Sustained activity participation also reduces health risks, social stigma and poor self-esteem associated with weight gain and obesity.

Regular physical activity and sport participation by children and youth contribute to bone mineral content and density in adulthood that prevent the onset of osteoporosis (Chalkley *et al*., 2015). There is strong scientific evidence that prescribed levels and dosages of physical activity may reduce the risk of non-communicable diseases such as coronary heart disease, type 2 diabetes, breast and colon cancer and increase the life expectancy globally by 0.68 (range -.41-0.95) years (Lee *et al*., 2012). Research substantiates the efficacy of an active lifestyle and healthy diet to prevent or delay T2DM in adults with a 58% positive effect in the intervention (experimental) group, 39% more effective than pharmacological intervention alone and 46% effect as single intervention in the reduction of disease progression (Johnson *et al*., 2010; Bailey & Reeves, 2013).

Bailey and Reeves (2013) refer to extensive scientific evidence of the positive effect of exercise and sport programmes on ***mental health*** (depression and anxiety), particularly for youth who experience social isolation, substance abuse and social problems at their homes, schools or work. Different settings and interventions relate to differential or, in some cases, no change from baseline measurements. In a study conducted in post-civil war Uganda, an eleventh week sport-for-development intervention packaged in a competitive football league, did not yield an improvement in the physical fitness levels of participants and had a negative effect on the mental health of participating boys (Richards *et al*., 2014). In some instances, researchers were unable to establish causality between a physical activity programme and cognitive enhancement, but could trance improvements in physical self-perceptions linked to enhanced self-esteem (Lubans *et al*., 2016). According to UNAIDS (2013), risky sexual behaviour among youth is a concern in Africa with a decline in condom use. Young people experience high levels of rejection, depression and stress, especially those living with HIV and AIDS as indicated in the study of Fort Hare students (Kalipa *et al*., 2014). There is robust evidence reports that sport participation fosters resilience among high-risk youth and marginalised hard to reach populations (Bailey & Reeves, 2013).

The saving on ***health care costs*** is significant. In South Africa, physical inactivity is estimated at about 2.5% of the annual health-care budget (Lambert & Kolbe-Alexander, 2006). A significant saving for South African aging population may be that an increase of 20% in the cardiorespiratory fitness should extend the time of independency by as much as 8.6 years, reducing the number of people requiring residential care by as much as 66% (Strydom, 2013).

EDUCATION

Education entails a socialisation process of informal and/or formal structured learning directed at individuals (students) to acquire knowledge, skills, values and behaviours. Particularly, formal education focuses on producing life-long (self-directed) inquiry and positive outcomes that would be meaningful to individuals and their families, communities and society (UNESCO, 2017).

In South Africa, the socio-economic realities and pro-poor policies of the South African Government contributed to the free provision of basic education to 87.7% of all public schools providing formal education to 77.2% of all learners in 2015. This comes at a high cost and entails 20.4% of total government spending and 6.5% of the GDP (EMIS, 2016; UNESCO, 2017). The spending does not translate in quality education for South Africa, which is

evidenced in a high dropout rate and 'repeaters', especially in Grade 10 (21.0%) (DBE, 2016). The majority of reasons for non-attendance relate to poverty (42.3%), poor academic performance (58.4%) or behavioural issues (12.1%) or illness (3.8%) (DBE, 2016).

It is widely proclaimed that sport can play a meaningful role in formal and informal educational settings as explained by the human capital model or holistic approach that refers to psychological, social, moral, physical and cognitive benefits (Bailey *et al*., 2013; Bailey *et al*., 2015). Physical capital relates to 'health' with the focus on physical education and the acquisition of an adequate level of motor proficiency (Laukkanen *et al*., 2014). Multiple studies conducted over more than a decade report significant evidence of regular physical activity as an effective coping mechanism and strategy in managing life stress. The provision of, and access of individuals to good quality and an appropriate active lifestyle may reduce the onset of negative psychological states and contribute to mood enhancement, improvement of self-esteem, self-efficacy and provide opportunities for self-evaluation and reflection (Petruzzello *et al*., 1991; Bailey & Reeves, 2013).

There is a substantial body of research that identified sport participation and learning in sport with positive youth development that can contribute to the development of 40 identifiable, yet interlinked, development assets including pro-social behaviours, positive social relationships, positive peer influences, healthy adult role models and safe spaces (Wells & Arthur-Banning, 2008). However, for such positive outcomes to be achieved, programmes and interventions necessitate a particular learning environment, leadership and mechanisms that may facilitate and foster pro-social learning and behaviour (Coakley, 2011). Youth sport programmes can contribute significantly to positive youth development (PYD), if they have purposively constructed learning experiences and skilful facilitation that allows for positive socialisation. For girls, sport participation can have clear spin-offs in forming a positive body image related to physical competency and psychological well-being (Greenleaf *et al*., 2009). Multiple soft skills also include the acceptance of personal responsibility, positive communication, an ethic of care, loyalty, adaptability (such as in multi-cultural settings) and discipline (acceptance of rules) are highly valued in society and in the world of work (Camiré *et al*., 2012).

There is evidence that peer-instruction transfers positively from school-based learning to community sport (Hastie *et al*., 2011). Exposure to teamwork also improves social interaction, communication and leadership (Brock *et al*., 2009). The development of pro-social or normative behaviour and a reduction in anti-social behaviour is synonymous with well-designed and executed sport programmes with sport as a site and microcosm to transfer positive social values. Having access to social networks is an effective survival strategy and reduces the risk factors associated with social exclusion and poverty (Ekholm, 2013). Positive socialisation influences ensure the generation of supportive networks to combat multiple societal 'ills' such as HIV prevention and management (Campbell *et al*., 2002).

Some cross-sectional studies illustrate a positive correlation between participation in sport, physical activity and academic success in mathematics, reading and acuity relating to a threshold of the level of physical fitness (Coe *et al*., 2006). A systemic review with a methodological quality assessment by an international expert panel found significant benefits on cognitive performance, and particularly relating to mathematics and to the intervention effects of physical activity (Singh *et al*., 2014). Similar results were reported by other researchers, who commented on the role of physical education in improving classroom behaviour (Álvarez-Bueno *et al*., 2017). Positive academic results thus relate to the effects of

physical activity levels due to improved cognition, improved concentration, task completion and processing of information.

Improved health/fitness reduces absenteeism from school (Eveland-Sayers *et al*., 2009). Similar findings of improved academic performance due to an improved health status were reported on South African schools at multiple levels and among university students (Du Toit *et al*., 2011). Soft skills and attitudes mentioned under individual capital, such as self-determination, discipline, time management, goal-setting, problem-solving and decision-making ability, attest to the formative value of positive sport experiences and can contribute to success in life and in the work environment (Dworkin *et al*., 2003). German economists postulated that individuals who participated in sport, especially at competitive levels, display advanced levels of self-confidence, tenacity, motivation, self-control and responsibility. These are life skills that they transfer to other spheres of life, including to their careers (Bailey *et al*., 2013). Active sport participation translates into an equivalent to an additional year of schooling or an equivalent to 1.5 years of additional work experience (Rooth, 2011). The value of physical education and school sport participation to the holistic development of children and youth, in addition to preparing them for the future and for being active citizens, remain to a large extent untapped (Ferkel *et al*., 2017).

ECONOMY

Hundreds of world championships and multi-sport events take place annually across the world that affects world and national economies (Sportcal, 2016). Statistical data directly and indirectly relate to the sport industry sectors, such as tourism, employment opportunities and earnings from the selling of broadcasting rights. The evidence base speaks to three main themes associated with sport, namely event hosting, employment creation and volunteerism as cost saving enterprise.

Sponsorship and brand equity play a key role in successful national teams and popular commercialised sports. In South Africa, the national Springbok team holds a high brand value and co-exists as national sport with soccer that holds the highest brand equity on the African continent - a 72% share compared to Nigeria (26%) and Kenya (2%) (Gurdan, 2014). South African athletes and teams are important in brand building and attract sport sponsorship, should they be successful in international sport events.

FIFA™ (*Fédération Internationale de Football Association*) and the Olympic Games are rated as the most valuable brands within the sport industry that also holds high equity brand value for national competition sporting events, estimated to be around US$348 million and USD$160 respectively, related to the amount of revenue generated per day of the event (Ozanian, 2013). For the 2016 Rio Olympics, TV companies paid more than US$4 billion to screen the 19-day event, accounting for a combined market value of over US$1.5trillion (*Independent*, 2016).

South Africa's sport sponsorship figures are relatively pale against global sport markets, but still contribute significantly to the national sport economy. Media impact during the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, the total in-home audience was 2.2 billion people of which 28 million were South African viewers reaching about 57% of the total population (FIFA.com, 2010). Multiple sources of revenue fill the coffers of popular national sports. For 2015/6, the South African Football Association declared a total asset of 205.3 million Rand, a sponsorship income of 142 million Rand and earnings from TV rights of 99 million Rand (SAFA, 2016).

Since the 2012 London Olympic Games, social media has skyrocketed and became a golden opportunity for brand building (Miah, 2012). At the 2016 Rio Olympics, social media hubs were provided and a live page featuring trending topics, social highlights and precious data (Whatman, 2016).

The ***hosting of mega sporting events***, such as the Olympic Games (summer and winter) and Football World Cup also come at high costs for host nations, especially for infrastructure development. In some instances, tax payers had to bear the brunt of high infrastructure costs, such as building world class stadia as was the case of the Olympic Games in 2004 (Athens) and 2016 (Rio), which to a large extent remain under-utilised in the post-event era and continue to be a financial burden for local governments. However, iconic buildings and stadia influence city architecture and serve as visiting cards and tourist attractions (Ahlfeldt & Maennig, 2010). Olympic legacies of durable effect lie in areas of infrastructure development associated with urban renewal, upgraded transportation, communications, housing and sport facilities, which perpetuates the international brand in attracting tourists to (ex) host cities as preferred destinations (Kidd, 2013). The economic impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup is estimated at US$5 billion and contributed US$509 million to real GDP, although the R11.7 billion in (costly) stadia created 66,000 new construction jobs with R2.2 billion in wages going to low-income households (SRSA, 2010; De Aragao, 2015). Evidence is lacking regarding whether these workers found sustainable employment after 2010 and to what extent the skill transfer benefitted them and their household in the end.

In South Africa, local events contribute to a city's economy, such as the Cape Argus Pic 'n Pay Cycle Tour that, according to the Western Cape Sectorial Accounting Matrix, delivers approximately R131 million in visitor spending, creates one out of 400 local employment opportunities and delivers multiple regional benefits (Saayman *et al*., 2008).

Despite criticism on the 'real' economic impact of major sporting events, visitor-orientated ***sport tourism*** seems to produce the most tangible economic benefits (Hodur & Leistritz, 2006). It seems that the length of stay and consumer satisfaction play a key role in foreign participants' decision to stay on in host countries and cities and engage in recreational activities (Raya, 2012). In 2014, annual sport-related spending in South Africa is estimated as being in excess of R3 billion with inevitable spikes during a sport mega event like the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Sportcal, 2014).

About 950,000 ***volunteers*** provided key services to the organisers at 530 major multi-sport games and world championships held in 556 cities from 84 countries over eight years (2007-2014) that were attended by about 88 million spectators (*Independent*, 2012; Sportcal, 2014). For the 2016 Rio Olympics, 240,000 people applied for the 70,000 volunteer positions (Flueckiger, 2015) compared to about 240,000 applications for 90,000 volunteer positions for 2020 Tokyo Olympic Game Makers (Velasco, 2013).

The 2010 World Cup, the 15,000 volunteer spaces were filled by those who applied and underwent training in the different metropole-based centres (Brand South Africa, 2009). Volunteerism provides key human resources for sport participation, an industry that rests largely on the services of parents, ex-athletes and people volunteering their services to run youth sport and even sport federations.

CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

The selected material in this paper presents sound research between interventions and programme effects. Due to the selective nature of the material to 'build a case for sport', it did

not report on the negative or often unintended consequences of elite sport or less successful programmes. For this reason, it should be considered with care that sport indeed is not a panacea for all social ills, but can make a difference when programmes are specially designed to deliver positive social behavioural change within safe spaces and enabling environments under the supervision of caring and well-trained facilitators. It should be taken into account that broader cultural influences, community dynamics and family socialisation practices may positively contribute to desirable social change or be a negative influence. Social change, especially at community and societal levels depends on the entrenched cultural practices, ideologies and existing social fault lines and stratification. Also, the sustainability of effects are questionable, such as in the case of nation-building that is constructed around international and national events that may create moments of overestimated national identity formation but may not last in the presence of political unrest or economic uncertainty.

Educational programmes may have positive effects when they are well-designed, adequately resourced and professionally delivered, monitored and evaluated so as to ensure quality and innovation, whilst addressing challenges in a pragmatic way. The focus of education is on life-long learning, an optimal learning climate and mechanisms that will ensure the transfer of knowledge, competencies and skills from sport to real life situations and *vice versa*.

Similarly, health benefits from regular physical activity are related to adequate nutrition, dosage and intensity in addition to safeguarding against possible injury. By acknowledging the value of health-induced physical activity, advocacy, innovative partnerships and preventative strategies built into more formal programmes (physical education, recreation programmes and sport), the health-related impact should be scientifically established despite global forecasts that still need contextual validation and application. Care should be taken not to ignore the scope of the effects or uncritically extrapolated findings. For instance, finding scientific support to tie into the reduction of health-care savings could be problematic. Effects might be much more moderate than the WHO's estimate of a cumulative lost output in developing countries associated with NCDs from 2011 to 2025 of US$7 trillion versus the overall cost of US$170 billion to scale up action by implementing a set of interventions (Xuereb, n.d.).

Multiplier calculations pose challenges for economic value projections, such as the political will, buy-in of multiple partners, opportunities for leveraging effects and cost-effective allocation and management of resources for sustainable and optimal, meaningful impact within the sport-related sectors and broader society. It is widely recognised that infrastructure development in terms of large stadia might be more of a national liability than asset, which contributes to the resistance, or inability of countries and cities to host mega sport events (Tichaawa *et al*., 2018). As Coalter (2015) rightly observed, sport can make a difference to some people in some circumstances, sometimes depending on context and evidence-based research, taking into account theoretical underpinnings, robust methodology and validated findings.

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