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Published in:

Bulletin of Latin American Research

DOI:

[10.1111/blar.12921](https://doi.org/10.1111/blar.12921)

Publication date:

2019

Citation for published version (APA):

Hall, G., & Reis, A. (2019). A Case Study of a Sport-for-Development Programme in Brazil. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 38(3), 317-332. <https://doi.org/10.1111/blar.12921>

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A Case Study of a Sport-for-Development Programme in Brazil

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This article examines the ‘Sport Works’ narrative of sport-for-development practitioners of an inter-organisational sport-for-development (SfD) programme utilising rugby to foster positive social transformation in Brazil. In doing so, we address an under-representation of practitioners who are often seen as subjugated voices in SfD programmes. The paper also addresses an under-representation of Brazil as a research site in SfD literature. Following several site visits and interviews with practitioners, our data concludes that despite a novel context of Brazil and the alternative values to football offered through the sport of rugby, practitioners and programme managers maintain dominant narratives of social transformation through sport without clear monitoring and evaluation.

Keywords: Brazil, positive youth development, Rio Olympics, rugby, sport for development, sports studies.

This paper examines a multi-state inter-organisational sport-for-development (SfD) programme utilising rugby to foster positive development in Brazil. We focus on the ‘sport works’ discourse to understand why sport is seen as a development tool and how sport ‘transforms’ individual participants and communities. Specifically, we explore the managers’ and ‘street bureaucrats’ (coaches’) experiences of, and assumptions about sport’s transformative potential, based on values believed to be associated with the sport of rugby. The aim is to develop an understanding of ‘everyday’ dominant narratives employed throughout the programme of how and why sport works for participants and their community.

This paper contributes to the SfD literature by addressing an under-representation of ‘street bureaucrats’ and managers, building on Harris and Adams (2016); under-representation of Brazil, and more broadly Latin America as a research site (Schulenkorf, Sherry and Rowe, 2016); and an over-representation of football SfD programmes (see Schulenkorf et al., 2016). To achieve the aims, three research questions guide this study: (a) What is unique about rugby as a social and development

activity? (b) How and why does rugby 'transform' individual participants and, (c) To what extent are individual and social transformations evidenced in achieving the programmes' outcomes? To answer these questions, it is important to acknowledge how SfD programmes (generally and in a Brazilian context) create conditions for achieving effective social change, and to challenge (established) 'everyday' narratives in SfD literature and practice.

Sport-for-Development

Sport remains one of the most visible institutions for producing positive social change (Kidd, 2008). Moreover, the notion that sport inevitably leads to positive outcomes in a wide range of social issues and individual development is observed in the assumptions and 'sport works' narrative of SfD programmes (e.g. Coalter, 2015; Coakley, 2016), often employed by government and transnational organisations (see Reis, Vieira and de Sousa-Mast, 2016). Since the 1990s, the SfD 'movement' has shifted from a marginalised to a significant strategy for governments and transnational organisations to achieve social development goals (Kidd, 2008; Reis et al., 2016). In 2010 the United Nations reaffirmed the efficacy of sport in achieving its Millennium Development Goals because SfD promotes education and peace, and promotes cooperation, solidarity, health and social inclusion.

While SfD programmes vary in focus (e.g. sport and disability, sport and gender) they can be distinguished through a commonly employed typology anchored in programme-specific outcomes (see Coalter, 2007, Kidd, 2008). *Sport Development* programmes' primary aims are to raise a sport's profile, develop infrastructure, enhance coaching and provide equipment to increase participation and develop sport skills. There is an implicit assumption that sport has inherent developmental properties for participants. *Sport plus* programmes (e.g. Mathare Youth Sport Association in Nairobi) are often longer-term projects. Their primary aims are to produce sustainable sport-focused organisations and programmes; any social benefits are a by-product of the programme (e.g. character development, leadership). *Plus sport* programmes use sport's popularity to attract young people to education programmes. These programmes are characterised by short-term outcomes (e.g. HIV/AIDs education and behaviour change; campaigns to challenge attitudes towards stigmatised groups), and are more important than the sport's longer-term development. Here, sport plays a secondary role to development outcomes. Boundaries between *sport plus* and *plus sport* programmes are not clear, as outcomes are dictated by each organisation's values, visions and practices, as well as local needs. As Coalter (2010: 298) notes, 'sport is mostly a vitally important *necessary*, but not *sufficient* condition for the achievement of certain outcomes'.

Developing Coalter's (2007) typology, Hartmann and Kwauk (2011), drawing on critical theory, provide a superordinate conceptual summary of SfD programmes, identifying two dominant forms of SfD programme. *Dominant vision* programmes assume sport is an effective tool for the development of life skills, social knowledge, values and leadership qualities. Combined, these attributes provide individuals, typically populations deemed 'at risk', with an ability to successfully participate in modern social life. In this approach, individuals are transformed from potential 'deviants' to model citizens, providing social capital (e.g. entering the workforce) for disaffected communities and groups, implicitly implying social mobility. Through the democratisation of sport to the masses, they are able to reconcile their social welfare debt and enhance their sense

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of social responsibility contributing to overall social and economic stability. As Hartmann and Kwauk (2011: 291) summarise, the dominant vision is about resocialising youth to produce self-governing productive citizens that can contribute to society; it is a reproductive vision of established social relations.

Second, *transformative vision* programmes achieve social transformations by channelling the energies of sport towards more radical visions of development. Interventionist programmes recognise that sporting practices are socially constructed and, therefore, set within an equally constructed hierarchy of power, privilege and dominance. Sport in these programmes must be interwoven with other social change-orientated initiatives. Thus, sport in this model becomes part of a broader strategy where participants are repositioned as active participants, changing their world and transforming society.

Sport and Sport for Development in Brazil

Although Brazil, like other nations, has also emphasised a positive relationship between sport and progressive social, individual and economic development, it has its own socio-historical relationship with sport. In what was termed the eugenic and hygienist 'era' (Castellani Filho, 1994) in the early twentieth century sport promotion in Brazil sat within health policies aimed at instructing individuals about the 'vicious habits of the body' and preventive care (David, 2003). A 'sport is good for you' narrative was used to help solve problems associated with poor urban sanitation and limited access to quality health care, making individuals responsible for healthy living conditions and limiting the state's constitutional duty. From the 1930s, sport was aimed at character-building, particularly the teaching of discipline and 'team spirit'. This period was the first in Brazil's history where the state became fully responsible for regulating and controlling sports entities (Deccache-Maia, 2006). The government acknowledged sport as an instrument for legitimising dominant ideologies, in this case the dictatorial government project (Bueno, 2008). Such state-based regulation still predominates (Knijnik and Tavares, 2012) and is a distinctive factor when analysing SfD programmes in Brazil (Reis et al., 2016). Subsequently, the military regime (initiated in 1964) used high performance sports, particularly football (Bueno, 2008), as a diversion to distract the population from domestic issues: the infamous 'bread and circus' approach (Soares Filho, 2010).

It is important to note that these developments, from the eugenic, hygienist and disciplinary importance given to physical activity and sport, led to the emergence of a unique model of sports management and governance. First, the state delegates the task of directing physical activity and sport programmes to 'experts' with sufficient 'scientific' and/or practical knowledge in the field, typically the military or former athletes who became 'sports professionals'. Although legislation regulating such practice did not emerge until the late 1990s, the volunteer nature of most sporting clubs and programmes found in countries such as the UK was not common in urban Brazil and has had significant implications for developing and managing SfD programmes to date. Second, the inclusion of sport as a social right in the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 was an important historical moment in how sports programmes are managed. The problem, however, lies in operationalising this constitutional right and developing policies that contribute to making it effectively available to all, with physical activity, recreation, sport, and active leisure in general being reduced in Brazilian public policies to high performance sport practice (Barbosa Matias et al., 2015). Again, the volunteerism that characterises much grassroots sport organisations around the world is formally 'prohibited' with this Act, and the environment for SfD programmes to operate in is constrained, particularly financially.

Within this context of a highly state-controlled policy and practice environment, the then recently established Ministry of Sport launched a National Sport Policy which guides all national and most regional policies and interventions in the field of sport in Brazil (Ministério do Esporte, 2005). In fact, two of the major programmes (Segundo Tempo and Esporte e Lazer na Cidade) funded by the Ministry of Sport across the country fall within the SfD model. And, like other international SfD programmes, they have been criticised for not achieving their purported social benefits (de Moraes et al., 2017). Knijnik and Tavares (2012), for instance, argue that there is a significant gap between what is proposed in the policy and what happens on the ground. In addition, unlike some international examples (cf. Coalter, 2007), there is no systematic assessment in place to monitor or evaluate its effectiveness in reaching its aims, nor are any measures in this direction embedded within the programme. It is therefore difficult to support any claims of success beyond the 'figures game'. The Esporte e Lazer na Cidade programme's sub-projects, such as 'Healthy Life', a leisure-time physical activity project for the elderly, exemplify this ambiguity (Rossi Junior et al., 2014). These two brief examples of the national scenario of SfD programmes in Brazil highlight the complexities associated with a historical context that created an environment where the SfD discourse is fully embraced, but where implementation occurs in what seems to be a unique, and arguably dysfunctional, fashion (Reis et al., 2016).

'Lack of Evidence' Discourse

Despite the popularity of sport as a development tool, evidence that sport produces extensive positive change remains anecdotal (Coalter, 2015). Subsequently, a 'lack of evidence' discourse in the field has emerged in the literature (Nichols, Giles and Sethna, 2011) specifically concerning underlying assumptions, as well as the monitoring, evaluation and reliability of evidence produced by SfD programmes (Harris and Adams, 2016). Nichols et al. (2011) believed the lack of evidence discourse might stem from the priorities of funders (usually Global North organisations), unequal partnerships and the subjugation of the practitioner knowledge and feedback. Developing this line of thinking, Harris and Adams (2016) suggest that lack of evidence discourses have emerged as a result of how programmes and evidence are conceptualised, ill-defined outcomes, lack of attention to the processes underlying how SfD programmes work, and the role of the street practitioner in implementing and monitoring SfD programmes. For example, multiple conceptualisations emerge because the power and interest of organisations can differ, influencing how programmes are conceived, implemented and evidenced. Such practical conflicts can be exaggerated when SfD programmes are loose multi-partnership arrangements, and might also be sport evangelists who set unrealistic outcomes, produce evidence-based justifications of the programme post hoc, and whose evidence is increasingly met with scepticism about reliability (Kidd, 2011; Harris and Adams, 2016). According to Nichols et al. (2011) and Harris and Adams (2016), practitioners (street bureaucrats) make a limited contribution to the formation of SfD programmes relative to funders and stakeholders because they are a 'docile body accepting and carrying out evidence in line with dominant discourses' (p. 105), presumably embedded in a programme's narratives and funder priorities. Consequently, multiple conceptualisations of what an SfD is emerge around assumptions of what constitutes evidence within and between organisations delivering SfD programmes. Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) note that evidence surrounding a programme's impact

upon individuals and communities are packaged and delivered by those implementing and evaluating the programme. For programmes to have a broader impact and influence disadvantaged groups who are typically the target of SfD programmes, they must therefore be properly conceptualised and theorised by all involved (Harris and Adams, 2016).

Given the lack of ‘street bureaucrats’ and programme managers’ voices, they represent an important lacuna in our broader understanding of how important SfD discourses are validated, resisted or maintained. As such, managers and ‘street bureaucrats’ are under-privileged as stakeholders. For the SfD literature to move forward, according to Harris and Adams (2016), empirical research is needed in situating the practicalities of dynamics between multi-organisation collaborations, in monitoring and evaluating SfD programmes, and specifically those who deliver the programmes. Developing evidence and analysis of ‘street bureaucrats’ everyday discourses can enrich our understanding of SfD assumptions and practices and how they are embedded within broader everyday populist mantras of ‘sport works’.

Football and Sport for Development

Our study addresses the over-representation of football in SfD programmes identified by Schulenkorf et al. (2016). As Darnell et al. (2016) point out, over-reliance on football reflects a narrow perspective of sport and can promote traditional sporting values (e.g. competition and patriarchy) that are not typically part of SfD assumptions as described above. Moreover, Darnell et al. (2016: 4–5) argue that because SfD programmes are not necessarily apolitical and value-free, using football as the main choice of development activity might constitute a form of cultural hegemony by positioning football organisations as key stakeholders in SfD activity, while also promoting traditional sporting (and masculine) values not typically associated with SfD, such as competition, dominance and patriarchy.

While rugby offers an alternative to football, it is unlikely to be dissimilar to structures found in football. For example, rugby still promotes competition and other sporting traditions found in football, such as competition. While we encourage the use of opportunities for participants to engage with different sports, we assert that the use of traditional popular European team-focused sports reproduces and assumes the same ‘sport works’ narrative in development contexts. In short, rugby will still speak a universal language of sport as a popular and universal activity. It will still be used as a ‘pacifying’ experience for youth prone to negative coercion and for instilling morals and values in an attempt to produce a resilient youth in the face of marginalisation (Darnell et al., 2016). Moreover, rugby, like other European team sports, implements a hierarchical and categorised ability, by gender, for example, and is unlikely to lead to egalitarian and inclusive outcomes in the same way as football might not (Darnell et al., 2016). While these are not inherently negative, we examine how practitioners construct rugby as an alternative to football.

Context of the Study

Try Rugby is an inter-organisational multi-state SfD programme (a typical set up in Brazil, see Reis et al., 2016) that leveraged the sport of rugby’s inclusion in the list of Olympic sports in the Rio 2016 Olympic Games. The objectives of the

programme attempt to utilise the sport of rugby as a social development tool in low-income communities across different states in Brazil. This project is the most ambitious programme in Brazil, attempting the greatest public reach and expansion of the sport of rugby, while encouraging participants to live more active and healthy lifestyles through the sport of rugby. Try Rugby's explicit mission statements and objectives are:

- a) to grow the sport of rugby in Brazil in the lead-up to Rio 2016;
- b) to use rugby as a tool to support the social inclusion of 'at risk' or disadvantaged young people in Brazil and the development of valuable skills, such as leadership;
- c) to build links between the twelve Premiership Rugby clubs in the UK and SESI centres in Brazil to co-create resources and share best practice in the use of rugby for social inclusion and the development of young people;
- d) to share knowledge and best practice in rugby with teachers, coaches and young volunteers creating a sustainable workforce. (Premiership Rugby, 2016a)

The programme is a collaborative venture between three organisations, namely Premiership Rugby, the British Council (acting as programme manager in Brazil, as well as managing the partnership between SESI and Premiership Rugby) and Serviço Social da Indústria (SESI), Brazil. Premiership Rugby manages the professional rugby union league in England based in Twickenham, London. As part of the programme, Premiership Rugby was involved with establishing a skill development pathway for participants, provided rugby coaches to deliver rugby sessions (e.g. ball handling skills, laws of the game) and trained local Brazilian teachers to coach rugby. While Premiership Rugby has its own method for training participants, the methods also encourage coaches to instil the core character-building attributes of World Rugby's playing charter, namely integrity, passion, solidarity, discipline and respect. Few coaches arrive with any knowledge of Portuguese and learn the language during their term. Our visits suggested that the majority of teachers were unable to speak English either and, as such, language barriers were common.

SESI is a network of parastatal institutions maintained and managed by industry workers. Its main objective is to promote the development of citizens in every state in Brazil by enhancing employees' and their dependents' quality of life. SESI achieves this by providing services in core life domains, namely education, health, leisure, culture and promoting citizenship. The size and quality of SESI units varies between sites and states, and in some cases it was unclear if SESI was present in all units of the programme. In Rio de Janeiro, for instance, one participating school in the Cantagalo favela appeared to have been contacted by the coach rather than by SESI or the British Council, but it is understood that Sistema FIRJAN (the Industry Federation of the State of Rio de Janeiro of which SESI is a member) oversaw Premiership Rugby's activities to engage with schools and learning facilities in Rio's favelas.

By 2014, the programme had introduced rugby to 24 sites across Minas Gerais, Santa Catarina, and São Paulo. By its fourth year in 2016, the programme was reaching 18,000 participants every week, and nearly 70,000 individuals through various workshops, as well as training over 350 volunteers and teachers to deliver tag rugby and referee rugby games (Premiership Rugby, 2016b). Since our field trip in 2015 the project has expanded into Rio de Janeiro where it works alongside Sistema FIRJAN going into favelas, and they are now developing the programme in Colombia and the United States.

Data Collection and Analysis

Following an invitation from Premiership Rugby, nine unstructured interviews were conducted in total and included six Premiership Rugby coaches, one SESI-São Paulo administrator, and two British Council programme managers. The authors faced restrictions when accessing people to interview. While not detracting from our objective of accessing 'street bureaucrats' and managers, this limited our ability to generate broader perspectives and experiences about the programme. As such, we supplemented some of our data with Try Rugby documentation and press releases. Interviews were anchored around our core questions, namely (a) What is unique about sport, and in particular rugby, as a social and development activity? (b) How and why does rugby 'transform' individual participants and communities?, and (c) To what extent are such personal and social transformations evidenced in achieving the programmes' outcomes? This allowed conversations to develop naturally and an 'everyday' narrative to emerge through our conversations.

Since we were aware that we would have limited access to coaches and managers, we adopted a methodological framework based on discursive psychology. Broadly, discursive patterns can be maintained by a few people and so we felt that while our sample size was small, it was satisfactory for our purposes, and typically discursive psychology involves ten or conversations or less (see Potter and Wetherell, 1987: 161). Our research approach assumes that knowledge, beliefs and attitudes are not separate from our discourse; discourse is both constructed and constructive of a world that is true for the speaker and is situated by the context (Wiggins and Potter, 2007). While we were unable to employ a pure form of discourse analysis (without an interviewer influencing the situation), we attempted to create as natural a conversation as possible under the given circumstances in the informal research site settings provided. The interviews were recorded and transcribed and conversations lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. All participants were anonymised and given pseudonyms. Since we were more interested in the broader patterns of discourse rather than the micro-analysis of language practice and repertoires typical of thematic discourse analysis, data was analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) inductive thematic analysis framework. Briefly, the aim of thematic analysis is not to simply summarise data, but to identify and interpret key features and patterns in the discourse guided by the research questions. Selected data extracts that best represented the three questions that guided our data collection process are presented in the next section.

Results and Discussion

Across data, two dominant themes were identified. The two themes suggested tension between partner organisations concerning promoting social development outcomes as in *plus sport* programmes (Coalter, 2007) or promoting rugby and its values (i.e. *sport development* programmes: Kidd, 2008). For example, where rugby is promoted as a development tool its values and potential to produce social change dominated the narrative of managers and street bureaucrats, and this was often juxtaposed with the sport of football.

Sport as a Development Tool

In this theme we find evidence for an underlying assumption across all street bureaucrats and managers that 'sport works' as a development tool for participants and communities; sport has inherent developmental values that can impact society in the future. In our study, these assumptions are best emphasised through three sub-themes.

Rugby as a Vehicle for Building Discipline

During data collection, rugby's core principles are reified as a sport that imbued qualities that demonstrated how sport is good for an individual's character and for society. Subsequently, the sport of rugby is an opportunity to facilitate cultural transformation in Brazil in a way that football could not achieve. But, as narratives evolved, it became clearer that despite the fundamental belief in sport's ability to produce individual change, societal transformation was not a specific target nor an outcome of the programme. Rather, these broader societal changes are an eventual future outcome of having reached many young people through the programme. In other words, social transformation is achieved through instilling into young people the social responsibility and discipline achieved by exposing them to rugby's core values, and in particular by juxtaposing rugby and football. At a pre-field trip public event in March 2014 in London, Marcus (Area Director SESI) mentioned:

We want rugby to succeed in Brazil [...] become big[ger] than football because there is no discipline in football. In rugby, the players are respectful to the referee and listen [...] We see more discipline in our children already [...] and by the whistle is teaching respect and discipline [...] using rugby we can make a more social[ly] responsible person.

Similarly, while Try Rugby was still to establish itself fully in Rio de Janeiro schools, the set up of programme delivery was far more challenging for the organisations relative to SESI units in São Paulo due to the poverty, violence and outdoor space problems to be overcome in some areas targeted for implementation. In a discussion of the challenges experienced and expected in establishing Try Rugby in Rio de Janeiro, Christian (Senior Coach, Premiership Rugby) said:

It will be harder in Rio. Schools don't even open sometimes so it will be hard to really embed into communities. Rio's more violent, too and so I expect the children to be more wild [...] I can speak the language now and I have a whistle. They learn [...] the whistle is a signal to stop, move, respond. They learn to respect me quickly and [...] it gives me an opportunity to talk to them about what respect means [...] Some of them are from broken homes and don't have dads. No one teaches them these things and it's part of my job as well as teaching them rugby. Without rules they will go through life thinking they can do what they want [...] They hear the whistle a few times and start to associate that with me wanting their attention. If they don't understand I can just stand there in silence until they realise I want their attention and respect. It gives me a chance to talk and what the rules will be like from now on.

It is clear from the extracts above that rugby and sport more broadly are seen as a positive character-building opportunity coupled with developing the sport of rugby. Of

particular importance in this programme is the emphasis on the prop of a whistle in learning rugby's values and the participants' relationship with their sport educator. As such, like many educational institutions, sport is an additional vehicle for social control through character-building and encouraging responsibility for one's behaviour and actions. While the behaviours targeted lead to positive development in the children, it is unclear if it is assumed that the recipients of behaviour change through the programme are without discipline or whether they have fewer of these behavioural traits than those in more advantaged environments. The intentions of Try Rugby are, therefore, expected to provide participants with a moral 'compass' and enable them to become responsible citizens. We presume, then, that in achieving this outcome from introducing rugby and its values to communities, participants will be able to reproduce and embed these principles into broader society in future, achieving social transformation of a more disciplined society. Such an emphasis confirms Hartmann and Kwauk's (2011) criticism of many SfD programmes reproducing *Dominant Vision* discourses, where programmes attempt to recalibrate youth (whether it is the main priority or not) to enhance their sense of self and reconcile an economic debt to society in future.

However, when interviews tried to elicit an explanation of how exactly exposing many individuals to rugby's values can transform communities, it was more difficult across all organisations involved to articulate the programme's ability to produce social change (e.g. tolerance of differences in communities). Rather, as described earlier, there is no clear pathway to improving society in whatever form other than the expectation that reaching many people and providing them with positive experiences may contribute to a more positive community. One explanation is offered by a senior coach, Christian:

Those that play will all obviously know each other, but already I can see now in the favelas some of these kids with rugby balls being asked if they play rugby now and they are really proud to be recognised in the streets as someone cool in the community when before they were just another poor kid running round. They don't get respect at home sometimes and for the community to see them this way must be rewarding and hopefully spur them on to keep playing sports in a positive environment for them [...] if we have a bunch of happy kids getting respect then you kind of hope you reach a critical mass at some point in the future where they are the older ones passing on their knowledge of rugby and its values.

Despite the positive intentions of the programme, in the above extracts we learn that, in line with the dominant vision approach (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011), programme providers are attempting a behaviour change initiative on the assumption that participants have underdeveloped values, are identified as 'at risk' (from joining gangs), and should be recalibrated with rugby's core values, particularly in Rio de Janeiro communities.

Embodying Values of Rugby

Despite the potential for rugby to develop social responsibility as described previously, the values of rugby were also discussed in a way where it was an educational opportunity in an academic sense offering broader soft skills. While these were often coupled with instilling morals and values already described in the previous section, the emphasis in these contexts was on the vocational skills developed through participating in rugby. For example, at a British Council public event to announce the expansion of the programme

to Rio de Janeiro, social change outcomes were de-emphasised by the British Council in favour of emphasising the opportunity for upskilling its participants through fun and trying new things, which aligns with their organisational goals. For one manager, having young people try a new sport may inspire them to stay out of trouble and to learn more about the world and how life skills might be relevant beyond the sporting arena:

it's [rugby] fun [...] it can keep children out of trouble. If they can learn a bit of English through sports, learning to count in English [...] just become aware of something they don't see all the time, rugby or English maybe they can be inspired to learn more. [...] leadership, maybe team skills, but the values of rugby are most important because they can use them in real life. They [the values] fit with our goals and other projects. (John, Area Manager, British Council)

As the programme expanded to Rio de Janeiro similar 'upskilling' and 'learning events' rationales were reproduced by Try Rugby coaches. And while the skills described resembled some of the targeted traits for development (respect and responsibility) mentioned previously, they were nonetheless reframed as skill sets founded upon rugby's core values. This repackaging of character-building into life skills is perhaps best demonstrated in a press release about the expansion of Try Rugby to Rio de Janeiro where the values of rugby can provide life skills for everyday life:

our objective is to increase the growth and awareness of rugby, but as important is the objective to effect social change in hard to reach areas. We want to find people who are at risk and try to help them, and we are so lucky that rugby has these core values. They are fantastic values not just for the sport, but for life, and we always get the kids to think about how the ideas of discipline, respect, solidarity, integrity, passion, and teamwork can affect them on and off the pitch [...] respect for their family, respect for their team and respect for themselves as well. They are skills for life and rugby is one of the best vehicles to educate them. (Premiership Rugby, 2016b)

While in the previous sub-theme rugby was assumed to develop the character of individuals, the above extracts develop and reframe these opportunities as educational opportunities to enhance the self. Rugby is, therefore, a socialising opportunity to develop one's character and life skills, which might provide an individual with enough social capital to enhance their status and sense of self in the community. This 'formulaic' pathway assumed in the programme is demonstrated in one case study provided by a coach who was asked how they evaluate and monitor the programme to know they are changing participants' lives positively. The following extract describes an individual who was bullied for being overweight, but the self-enhancing outcomes of participating in rugby were assumed to be part of his personal transformation in character and standing in his immediate community. Christian explained:

I remember this one kid who was fat. He never got picked for football other than in goal and he said he was bullied for being fat. We turned up and got him into rugby, he had no confidence at all for a few sessions. So, I took him aside as an example and explained to everyone that his body is a tool and his weight is his best tool in rugby. When the kids saw him breaking

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tackles after introducing them to contact he transformed overnight. The kids always argued who had him on the team and the bullying stopped [...] the kid was just full of confidence.

While the above extract provides a positive and successful transformation as a result of the Try Rugby programme for one individual regarding his self-esteem, this was a common way of assessing how the values of rugby and the programme creating social change. As positive as this is, there was little evidence to suggest any broader social change despite efforts to record number of participants and gender balance to showcase the programme's reach across Brazil. Where cases have been put forward, such positive examples of individuals who appear to have undergone their own personal transformation does not necessarily suggest broader social change. As such, the transformation process of participants is ambiguous and unlikely to be proven to have taken place until several years later.

Reimagining Sporting Habits

In this theme, we find evidence for a more traditional sport development (Kidd, 2008) discourse where the sport was being developed and introduced to enable rugby's growth and acceptance in Brazil, especially with the Rio 2016 Summer Olympics featuring rugby. In general, this theme focused on positive language about diversifying sporting practices in Brazil through rugby, whether being exposed to rugby or influenced by ambassadors of rugby. However, in most examples, many of the sport development goals often re-emphasised the additional development outcomes proposed in the previous theme.

Developing New Sporting Practices

Suggestions that rugby has values over and above what football can offer are developed through the development of sport across Brazil to challenge popular notions of football. In the following example, there is some provisional evidence that role models in rugby are being seen as important in influencing behaviours in younger people. When visiting a SESI school in São Paulo, Fernando (manager, SESI) emphasised rugby as a vehicle for changing Brazilian sporting practices away from football through role models:

The programme is an opportunity for kids in our SESI unit to experience rugby. You got to be part of a club to play it and live in a certain area in São Paulo. So if kids play rugby they make the sport grow and maybe changing sports in Brazil as an alternative to football – they [kids] copy footballers and they should copy rugby players.

Despite the focus on raising awareness of rugby, and producing mass participation, developing the sport will produce new talent while improving quality of life for participants. As Massimo (manager, SESI) mentions:

We want to offer new opportunities of practices in sports for our young people because we believe in sport as a tool for education. Through the democratisation of access to sport, we have the opportunity to reveal new talents contributing to strengthening the national sport and to improve people's quality of life.

Legitimising the Importance of Rugby

While the importance of cultural transformation through sport is a constant feature in Try Rugby, the following press release statement by Premiership Rugby describes their reason for introducing rugby in Brazil in terms of leveraging the inclusion of rugby as an Olympic sport:

Rugby will be part of the Olympic programme for the first time in 2016. Therefore, this is a crucial time to develop a project like this, not only for those taking part in the sport: but also for general awareness and knowledge for the entire population. This innovative programme uses the strength of rugby and knowledge, infrastructure and expertise of each partner to deploy Premiership Rugby's world-class coaching staff into Brazilian communities to engage with children and young people to deliver health, education and social outcomes whilst promoting the growth of rugby union at the same time. (James, Premiership Rugby)

Understandably, the Olympics provided an opportunity to justify promoting Premiership Rugby and its goals (raise awareness of the sport of rugby) in Brazil. For example, while the programme does not require a mega-event to facilitate social change, it is likely that its leveraging of the Rio 2016 Olympics facilitated its legitimacy as a successful and attractive project, as well as providing the necessary propulsion to expand the programme to other states in Brazil.

During a site visit to a SESI unit in São Paulo one SESI coordinator discussed the impact of the project in developing the sport. For example, when Fernando was asked about the rationale for choosing the sport of rugby to develop through SESI units, the emphasis was on offering an alternative sport away from football and enriching children's education through something different:

they don't know what it [rugby] is. Rugby has core values that isn't so visible in football. We have goals to get children involved in sports as part of body pedagogy. If you look at rugby, it has similar goals. It would be good to show them rugby at the Olympics and that it is not just football or volleyball they can play. Having so many people play rugby already is our own mega-event.

Developing Rugby through its Ambassadors

While each organisation had reformist rhetoric, by focusing on youth the programme appears to be following other dominant vision programmes that build a rhetoric of development of youth for future generations and educating the uneducated. Specifically, when asked about the benefits of developing rugby in Brazil, the dominant discourse typically swayed between rugby as a positive alternative and its inherent developmental qualities. Typically, coaches were emphasised as a source of developing rugby and its values, and it is here that we see some attempts to explain how developing the sport of rugby transforms individuals through its ambassadors, the coaches. As Peter (Junior Coach, Premiership Rugby) details:

We don't do it directly [transfer the programme's goals]. [...] I am a mentor as well as a coach [...] I have to teach them rugby but think about the values

of rugby too. You have to understand everyone is different and if they are doing their best you feel responsible because sometimes we will be the only role model for them. I try to teach them how to eat for performance, and play for learning and fun.

The difficulty in articulating a system for assessing the success of the transference of sport skills to social skills might be due to the lack of a shared conceptual model on how to deliver their objectives related to social change. When asked about what sort of guidelines are provided to coaches, Christian explained:

In teaching rugby using premiership rugby model it's expected that any life skills learnt are an outcome from just engaging in rugby through their methodology [...] You can't really teach these things or say it's because of rugby, but the more I can communicate with them why the values of rugby are important and how it works in real life the better. I use a lot of personal experiences with them too.

Conversations with the coaches highlight that there are no structured systems for developing social change other than a belief system that learning rugby-specific skills and being a good role model will produce the change identified in the programme outcomes. Furthermore, the coaches use their position as surrogate role models to instil values of rugby and life. Such insight implies a sense of legitimate authority between the participants and coaches who impart the knowledge of how to live a disciplined, integral, valuable life to those disadvantaged members of society who may need to more fully understand discipline and how to behave appropriately.

Conclusions

This study highlights several issues surrounding the rationale, delivery and evaluation of a Sfd programme. It is apparent that the programme is a typical example of a dominant vision of sport (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011), and specifically *sport development* (Kidd, 2008) and *sport plus* (Coalter, 2007). Despite the positive social goals of the programme, findings suggest that any positive changes have occurred only in a few individual cases. All organisations, nonetheless, have a shared conceptual basis for the project, namely that rugby, and sport in general, will have a positive effect on participants – sport is good. For that reason, it is important to achieve as many participants as possible as a marker of success. This was best exemplified by a SESI manager who described the programme as a 'mega-event'. Evidence demonstrated that for coaches, part of their aim was to 'recalibrate' the participants using the core values of rugby, an idea also found in the dominant vision for Sfd programmes. There were no other initiatives interwoven with Try Rugby to achieve their broader aims, and any perceived transformations were solely left to coaches delivering sport-specific skills and teaching the values of rugby to instil the appropriate character, mind and skill set that are popular in positive youth development literature.

Notably, there was conceptual confusion in the media extracts and in our dialogues with coaches and strategic managers in all three organisations regarding beneficiaries. As described earlier, all organisations supported the objectives of encouraging awareness of rugby to an 'entire population' and promoting social inclusion, but at the same time only delivering important social change benefits to specific demographics, namely young

people 'at risk', to the exclusion of, for instance, older populations. This was particularly highlighted in conversations with coaches whose focus was on delivering rugby in schools (while training some teachers in rugby) and achieving participatory targets. Presumably, adult populations will benefit from the re-socialisation of younger people (and coaches) as they enter the labour force, become parents themselves and mentor others in rugby's values. Given that the practice of sport exists within a commodified global sports order, the evidence suggests that Try Rugby is encouraging a reproduction of traditional SfD structures and hierarchies rather than attempting a meaningful and sustainable social transformation that enhances quality of life for everyone. While instilling values is a positive intention, what is being nonetheless prescribed are (Western) notions of good citizenship.

Regarding how the programme achieves its goals, we found that all organisations involved have a poorly demarcated understanding on how change occurs other than as a by-product of being taught sport-specific skills. Our evidence suggests that the coaches are the most important asset in providing any knowledge transfer regarding sport-specific life skills and even then, these are structured around vague terminology and analogies. This contrast between managers and coaches is highlighted in data reporting the coaches' experiences in delivering the programme and the managers' understanding of evaluating the project. For example, coaches are expected to find novel ways to impart the values of rugby amongst the rugby-specific skills with no framework or alternative pedagogical approach. Managers, however, appear to evaluate the success of the programme based on unique case studies, as well as demographic and participatory data. In other words, there is no conceptual link between design, delivery and evaluation other than in terms of rugby-specific skills.

Overall, our study has demonstrated that examining street bureaucrats, in our study at least, are active in repeating dominant 'sport works' repertoires. Rather than being subjugated bodies, coaches were important assets in structuring the belief that sport is a successful development tool, and were active in feeding back evidence to stakeholders through unique case studies. With the exception of impressive reach and participation numbers across Brazil, the evidence available of any social or behaviour change is minimal, but the rhetoric that sport is a driver of social change is evident in discourse associated with the programme. This is important given the significance placed on sport as a driver for regeneration and social transformations. If SfD programmes adopt such a rhetoric, how will they deliver these goals if they cannot evidence any real social change? As our study shows, the sport works discourse is dominant and it is unclear how calls for understanding the voices of practitioners (see Harris and Adams, 2016), programmes situated in novel research sites and/or different sports to football will show anything beyond the prevailing dominant discourse.

Finally, if SfD programmes are to be successful, they must have clearly defined evaluations that align with their objectives. Try Rugby has one clearly defined goal relating to mass participation which is captured through standardised reporting of the number of participants. While reporting of large(r) numbers is considered a positive outcome, if the programmes are delivering one or two case studies/talented players, there are, according to their own reported numbers, thousands of children who might not be experiencing any significant benefit. In other words, the programme is successful in achieving participation, while upholding populist mantra about sport's ability to transform individuals and communities without supporting its broader social change outcomes. Significantly, it also reinforces a dominant vision for SfD programmes without critically reflecting upon their own practices and the consequences of such reproduction. The positive language

employed in SfD programmes now supports an industry based on sport as a legitimate solution to social problems (cf. Kidd, 2008). Moreover, it has also become an industry that is self-confirming in its ability to produce tangible outcomes, even if evidencing the success in achieving these social change outcomes does not matter. The positive sport rhetoric only further reproduces sporting practices organised around individuals and communities to achieve socially acceptable goals (e.g. developing good character to produce future workers with market value) in an already economically and socially unequal neoliberal society. However, as social scientists who also capitalise, academically at least, on critiquing interventions for not achieving their broad goals and objectives, we might need to consider our own ability to produce social change. The challenge we pose ourselves and our colleagues now is to, through research and robust data, provide solutions to SfD programmes that can be implemented to enact the positive social change we expect to see from SfD programmes like Try Rugby.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Premiership Rugby, Serviço Social da Indústria, and the British Council for their invitations to visit their events, sites, and interview coaches and coordinators. Travel to conduct site visits was funded by Aberystwyth University's University Research Fund, 2015.

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