

Solveig Straume

'Sport for all' in new settings

A study of the Norwegian Confederation of Sports'
Sport for All projects in Tanzania in the 1980s
and Zimbabwe in the 1990

DISSERTATION FROM THE NORWEGIAN SCHOOL OF SPORT SCIENCES • 2013

ISBN nr 978-82-502-0494-2

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would not have been possible without a scholarship from the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (NIH), and I am very grateful for being given the opportunity and the privilege to conduct a study like this.

However fun and inspiring it has been though, it is good to acknowledge that a long journey of my doctoral work has finally come to an end. In that respect many people deserve thanks for helping me on the way.

First of all, I would like to thank Matti Goksøyr at NIH who has been my supervisor for many years now. Matti's enjoyable lectures were one of the main reasons why I chose sports history as a subject area for my master project where he also was my supervisor. Matti has challenged me to think. He has rarely given me "the answer", but shown that he believes in my abilities to find them, which I have (although frustrated at times) appreciated greatly. Additionally, Matti sees the value of a good cup of coffee and talking about real things. Thanks for that!

I also want to thank my co-advisor Sunniva Engh, who is the development history expert, and has contributed with perspectives and parallels that I would not have seen as easily on my own.

I am indebted to my informants in Tanzania and Zimbabwe as well as the ones at home. Thank you for your generous time, for sharing your stories with me, for making me feel welcome in your communities, offices and homes. My study would never have turned out the same if it hadn't been for you. A special thanks to Cyprian Maro for arranging so much for me during my second stay in Dar es Salaam. Living in Tabata Mawensi surely added to my Dar experience.

During my period at NIH, I was part of the Department of Cultural and Social Studies (SKS). My colleagues there, involved in a variety of disciplines have been a great inspiration for me in the process of writing this dissertation. SKS's research seminars were particularly rewarding for me as life as the only PhD-student in sport history could be a bit lonesome at times. Particularly I would like to thank Kari Steen-Johnsen (now at the Institute for Social Research) for kick-starting me and co-writing Paper II with me. Also, I want to thank Britt Vold and the current head of SKS, Dag Vidar Hanstad, for organising practical things for me in the end of my time at NIH, and for financial support from SKS for the research project which forms the basis of my Paper IV.

Bjørn Omar Evju and the Office of International Development Assistance in NIF deserve special thanks. First, for giving me full access to the NIF archives, second, for financially supporting the research project forming the last part of the study, third, for assisting us in Zimbabwe. Thanks also Bjørn Omar for generously sharing knowledge, thoughts and information about the NIF projects that you have been part of the last couple of decades.

During the last couple of years, and specifically in the Zimbabwean case, I have been lucky to work closely with Anders Hasselgård, himself a PhD student at NIH working with issues within the area of Sport for Development and Peace. Thank you Anders for excellent

cooperation, I hope we'll continue sparing on this area which we know holds a lot of potential.

Luckily, my supervisor Matti has been eager to provide for regular encounters between sports historians in the NIH system. The history group, consisting of Espen Andersen, Frode Fretland, Anders Hasselgård, Gaute Heyerdal, Finn Olstad, and Oskar Solenes, deserves thanks for inspiring and challenging academic feedback, not so inspiring, but of course challenging enough, quiz' on football and ice skating results, as well as encouragement in the form of 'You'll get there!' and 'We've all been there!' Thanks!

Fellow current and former PhD students at NIH deserve a thousand thanks. (Unfortunately I've been there so long that I've 'outlived' several sets of students...) In particular thanks to the ones at SKS: Jens, Trygve, Gaute, Per Øystein, Anders, Thor Christian, Prisca, Shiho and Annika. Also the 'regulars' at the 3'rd floor should be mentioned: Elsa, Hilde, Per, Ingunn, Marthe, Tynke and all the rest of you: Thanks for a good amount of fruitful discussions as well as nonsense that have made my academic life enjoyable.

A number of people deserve thanks for practical assistance during the process: the Royal Norwegian Embassies in Dar es Salaam and Harare for opening their archives, the staff at the archives in Norad for granting me access and assisting me in retrieving documentation, staff at the NIH library, at the NIH printing office and at the printing office at Molde University College.

During my period as a PhD student my feet has been firmly planted in two different sport practices: the theoretical one through my studies, and the practical one, through playing volleyball. Playing volleyball almost every day and most weekends during the season may not be the best strategy for PhD progression. However, being involved in an arena far from academic measurements has been extremely rewarding for me. Thanks to my team mates for great and memorable times!

A new chapter has started for me in Molde and at Molde University College. I would like to thank my new colleagues there for support in the last part of writing my dissertation. I look forward to continue my academic journey at HiMolde!

Finally, I want to thank my family. First my parents for always being there for me, for giving me freedom in childhood and for always supporting and believing in me. My mom ones said to me that she thought it was probably sad for me that they weren't more academic... I'm so grateful you're not! Thanks to my siblings and their families and to my in-laws for always being there for us and for reminding me of what really matters.

For what really matters is here and now. To the two most important people in my life: my husband Ole Martin; thanks for your patience, for supporting me, for building our house and for always prioritising us; our beautiful daughter Oline; thanks for the sunshine you bring into our life every day. I love you both to bits!

Molde, 14 June 2013

Solveig Straume

ABSTRACT

This study is an examination of the Norwegian Confederation of Sports' (NIF) Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) engagement in Tanzania and Zimbabwe from its inception in the early 1980s until 2000. The main research question is: *How can the Norwegian Confederation of Sports' involvement in SDP from the early 1980s to 2000 be understood?* Through two different cases, Tanzania and Zimbabwe respectively, I show how NIF has argued for its SDP engagement, through analysing the formal discourses of the projects

The dissertation consists of four papers. Paper I investigates the underlying motivation for NIF to become involved in SDP in the early 1980s. Through the empirical data several motives for involving in SDP were identified. The protagonists argued that NIF was in a forward position in sports compared to the situation in the developing world and therefore had something to offer. They also emphasised that such an initiative would contribute to sports by showing the positive sides of sports rather than the negative aspects that were often highlighted. Other dominating arguments included the anticipated potential for societal development inherent in SDP, and the building of a welfare state with a special emphasis on health benefits. The main reason that NIF was able to implement *Sport for All* seems, however, to have been the current changes in Norwegian development aid strategies focussed on neo-liberalism that made funds available for private organisations with development projects. Further, public aid priorities were more or less fixed, and thus were required to be met by the new aid actors. This was reflected in the public documents: the rhetoric used in the SDP discussions was clearly in line with the development aid jargon at the time. Hence, also an SDP project could see the light of day.

Paper II discusses the donor–recipient relationship in an SDP context, and identifies potential dilemmas occurring when aiming to give aid on the recipient's terms which was stated to be one objective of the project in Tanzania. It was pointed out that a common understanding of the role of the aid actors is necessary in donor–recipient relationships which aim to be on the terms of the recipient, and showed that the uncertainty of the participant's role essentially affected the outcome of the *Sport for All* project in Tanzania. Through two different examples it was demonstrated that as an aid donor, NIF's role varied slightly. However, on a general basis, NIF was clearly in control of the Tanzanian project throughout its various phases. There was support for this through interviews with Tanzanians where *Sport for All* was perceived as a Norwegian project in Tanzania rather than as a project managed by the Tanzanians themselves. Thus, it was argued that a contradiction between the discourse of equality and the actual practice was evident. It was further demonstrated that donor–recipient relationships are power relationships which are complex and unclear to the involved parties, and shown that NIF's role was shaped through a web of power relationships. Finally, it was concluded that in the case of NIF's project in Tanzania, although it had a mass sport philosophy and operated at the grass roots level, an association with the state authorities was unavoidable as its Tanzanian counterpart the National Sport Council (NSC) was closely connected to the state. Meeting the requirements of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad) and simultaneously the demands of NSC was an apparent challenge, but of crucial importance to NIF. Together, the resources, the lack of aid experience, and NIF's own ideology were factors that constrained it as an efficient aid agent on the terms of the recipient.

Paper III addresses the issue of emphasising women in development aid (which was part of the aid jargon at the time) and thus one of the main aims of the Norwegian project in

Tanzania. It was argued that aiding women through *Sport for All* was a creation of needs as there was a conception within NIF that Tanzanian women needed SDP. It was further indicated that SDP would essentially liberate Tanzanian women. Reference to Norwegian policies and priorities became evident here as discussions as to whether this focus fitted Tanzanian society at the time was not an issue. Tanzanian interviewees indicated that the emphasis on women was somehow unfamiliar in Tanzanian society at the time, and pointed out that the need for sports somehow seemed more important from a Norwegian than a Tanzanian point of view. Further it was discussed whether sport was a suitable tool for reaching the women of Dar es Salaam. It was demonstrated that on several occasions NIF organised activities which were considered unfitting for women in Dar es Salaam, and thus it was argued that it may not have been a suitable tool at the time. Finally, it was suggested that when two apparently progressive liberal and democratic Western ideals were transferred to a society unfamiliar with them, they generated a cultural clash. The discrepancy between the ideals of recipient orientation and emphasis on women was questioned, and it was demonstrated that in the case of the *Sport for All*, NIF acted with a certain naïvety.

Paper IV studies NIF's production of discourse in their cooperation with the Sport and Recreation Commission of Zimbabwe (SRC). Discourses represented NIF's SDP reality, gave meaning to their SDP engagement and set fundamental conditions when they developed and implemented their SDP policies. In the analysis, two power-effects arising from the discourse formation produced by NIF throughout the Zimbabwean project were identified. The first, *manageable development*, meant that NIF viewed SDP through the lens of a Norwegian sports model and hence neglected alternative knowledge and solutions (to the lack of sports development). The second, *temporal segregation*, meant that NIF described SRC on a different temporal stage than its own and consequently de-politicised the underdevelopment of sports. These are power-effects because NIF positioned itself to define possible and valid solutions to develop sports in Zimbabwe. It was also demonstrated that throughout the Zimbabwean project, the formal discourse changed from a top-down to a bottom-up discourse. Despite this, trusteeship was present throughout the Zimbabwean project since it was NIF which set the terms of the aid and that it was NIF's own ideas, politics and intentions that were being reproduced in the formal discourse. Eventually it was argued that it might be insufficient only to analyse the formal discourse in development interventions as development policies and language does not necessarily reflect development practice. Therefore, it was suggested that SDP research in the future needs to relate to the structure versus agency debate within development studies and examine how development policies developed by the donor are translated and given meaning by the recipients in the local context where they are being implemented.

On the basis of the above, the study concludes that throughout the period of my study, NIF had clear ideas and visions about its SDP engagement. This was evident when it came to defining what the SDP should entail, which areas and target groups were important to emphasise and prioritise, and how the sports organisations were best managed. Consequently, NIF acted as trustees in regard to the Tanzanian and Zimbabwean recipients, which from the outset had little choice but to accept the terms that were given by the Norwegian donors.

Subsequently, the central topic of the dissertation has been to illuminate the challenges of SDP projects dealing with different sides of a relationship which, from the outset, is asymmetrical in terms of power.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

COE	Council of Europe
CSDP	Community Sport Development Program
CSO	Civil society organisation
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GO	Governmental organisation
IGO	International governmental organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOC	International Olympic Committee
KUD	Ministry of Education and Church Affairs
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NFF	Norwegian Football Federation
NIEO	New Economic World Order
NIF	Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports
NIH	Norwegian School of Sport Sciences
NOC	Norwegian Confederation of Sports
Norad	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NSC	Tanzanian National Sport Council
PE	Physical Education
RF	Swedish Sports Confederation
SAP	Structural adjustment programmes
SCORE	Sport Coaches' OutReach
SDP	Sport for Development and Peace
SFA	Sport for all
SFD	Sport for Development
SRC	Sports and Recreation Commission of Zimbabwe
STUI	Government office of sport and youth
UD	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WID	Women in Development

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	i
ABSTRACT.....	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF PAPERS	viii
PREFACE.....	1
CHAPTER 1 – SPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA.....	2
Historiography of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP)	4
Aims and Limitations.....	10
Periodization.....	11
Research questions	11
Key concepts	13
The organisation of the dissertation	15
CHAPTER 2 – METHODOLOGY	16
Historical ethnography	16
My own role.....	18
The research process	18
Written sources	20
Oral sources	23
Analytical approach	26
The Papers	27
Ethical considerations	27
CHAPTER 3 – THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND AID STRATEGY	29
Theories and historians.....	29
Conceptualising development	30
The birth of development aid	32
Development as modernisation and industrialisation.....	34
Development as dependency.....	36
Neo-Liberalism and Conditionality.....	40
Rethinking the ‘development project’	44
The post-colonial critique of development.....	47
The donor–recipient relationship in development aid.....	49
The use of the theoretical perspectives in the papers	52

CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	53
The papers	53
How may Norwegian involvement in SDP be understood?.....	57
Dominant perspectives in development: SDP as modernisation and neo-liberalism	58
Critical perspectives on SDP	63
CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION AND FINAL REMARKS.....	73
BIBLIOGRAPHY	75
THE PAPERS	86

LIST OF PAPERS

Paper I:

Straume, Solveig. "Sport is in lack of everything here! Norwegian Sport for All to Tanzania in the early 1980s." *Stadion* 36 (2010): 177–198.

Paper II:

Straume, Solveig and Kari Steen-Johnsen. "On the terms of the recipients? Norwegian sports development aid to Tanzania in the 1980s." *The International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 47, 1 (2012): 95–112.

Paper III:

Straume, Solveig, "Norwegian naivety meets Tanzanian reality: The case of the Norwegian sports development aid programme, Sport for All, in Dar es Salaam in the 1980s." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, 11 (2012): 1577–1599.

Paper IV:

Straume, Solveig and Anders Hasselgård. "'They need to get the feeling that these are their ideas': Trusteeship in Norwegian Sport for Development to Zimbabwe." *The International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* (2013), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2013.813866>

PREFACE

My journey towards this dissertation started back in 2000. Triggered by the desire to travel and eager to change a small bit of the world, I ended up in Bapong, a village in the North-west province in South Africa. My assignment, commissioned by the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) in cooperation with the South African non-governmental organisation (NGO) Sport Coaches' OutReach (SCORE) was as easy as it was difficult: to make sure that Physical Education (PE) was being implemented and taught in the primary schools of Bapong and, together with local volunteers, to organise afternoon activities for the children. As I had a two-week's experience of working with people with disabilities, I was given the additional responsibility of running activities in a special school, at a juvenile penitentiary and in an old-peoples home (!). Needless to say, the task was challenging. Being a twenty-two year old white Norwegian girl in spandex, with knowledge of sport but with minor formal pedagogical skills, working in an environment with black African teachers, most of them twice my age with minor or no interest (or skills) in PE, proved difficult. Several times a week I found myself alone in the sports ground with the children, who participated in whichever activities I initiated, with the greatest enthusiasm. However, the interests of the teachers and the local volunteers, my target groups, seemed to be close to nil. Although I was frustrated with the lack of engagement from the teachers at times, I could easily see that there were other, presumably more important priorities to be dealt with in Bapong. Unemployment, school drop-outs, poverty, the ugly face of racism, violence, crime, sexual abuse and alcoholism were all every-day challenges to be dealt with. Slowly, being an evangelist of sports felt rather odd. Not because sports or the children were less meaningful to me, but because my naïvety met the realities of Bapong. Maybe it took more than me and a football to change the world after all?

Ultimately, the experiences and questions I brought home were a lot more extensive than what I suspect that I left in Bapong. Coming home, I was fortunate to be given the chance to study the phenomenon of which I had been a part. Although the topic was sometimes dismantled, the core questions stayed the same. What is development? Why sports? Who decides what constitutes good sports development? Where is the politics in this? And why is this important? In this lies the rationale for this study. My aim has never been to thoroughly evaluate NIFs engagement in Africa. Nor do I intend to criticise the genuine work of individuals who, like me, hoped to change a little part of the world through sports.

CHAPTER 1 – SPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

During the course of the last decade there has been growing interest among a variety of governmental (GO) and non-governmental (NGO) organisations on the area of Sport, Development and Peace (SDP). This interest stems from the anticipated ability of SDP to positively influence the lives of individuals and groups in different societies, and a key feature of the field is thus the belief that in simple, low-cost and effective ways sport has the ability to influence a broad range of development objectives with strong links to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).¹ The United Nations (UN) has been credited for accelerating the SDP sector as from the year 2000.² This was particularly evident after 2005, declared by the UN to be its *International Year of Sport and Physical Education*. Consequently, large international organisations such as UNICEF and the Red Cross, sports organisations such as FIFA and the International Olympic Committee (IOC), multinational corporations such as Adidas and Nike, and smaller private organisations are all concerned with SDP.³ At the time of writing, there are 438 organisations registered on the International Platform on Sport and Development,⁴ the total having nearly doubled in only two years.⁵

As SDP has established and expanded in practice, interest of researchers in various academic disciplines seeing the analytical potential of SDP is growing accordingly. As the papers in this dissertation illustrate, the recent attraction of SDP issues in academia has made the literature evolve from comprising of analyses of contemporary situations and projects to include more critical analyses of SDP, particularly in theoretical literature regarding sport and social interventions.⁶ An important contribution to SDP as a research field was the

¹ United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace, *Sport as a Tool for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals*, 2003. Accessed October 23, 2012. Available at: http://www.un.org/sport2005/resources/task_force.pdf

² In 2001, a Special Adviser on Sport for Development and Peace was appointed and assisted by the United Nations Office of Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP). This provided an entry point to the UN system with regard to SDP. In the following year, the UN Secretary General convened a United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace with the objective of reviewing activities involving sport within the UN system, resulting in the 2003 report.

³ Elaborated in Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom, "Sport and Development: Mapping the Field," in *Sport and International Development*, ed. Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). Also in Anders Hasselgård and Solveig Straume, "Utvikling til Idrett eller Idrett til Utvikling: NIF som Bistandsaktør," in *Norsk Idrett: Indre Spenning og Ytre Press*, ed. Dag Vidar Hanstad et al. (Oslo: Akilles, 2011)

⁴ International Platform on Sport and Development, *All Organisations*, 2012. Accessed October 25, 2012. Available at: http://www.sportanddev.org/en/connect/organisations/organisations_list/

⁵ In a study report to the UN-Habitat it was found that 231 organisations were registered at the sport and development platform in October 2010. In: Prisca Bruno Massao and Solveig Straume, *Urban Youth and Sport for Development* (Nairobi: UN-Habitat, 2012)

⁶ For instance: David R. Black, "The Ambiguities of Development: Implications for 'Development through Sport'," *Sport in Society* 13, 1 (2010); Fred Coalter, "Sport-for-development: Going Beyond the Boundary?," *Sport in Society* 13, 6 (2010); Simon C. Darnell, "Playing with Race: Right to Play and the Production of

publication *Sport and International Development* edited by Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom in 2009.⁷ This treatise had the objective of placing 'sport-in-development on the map in the development literature, and to position it within the larger international development debates',⁸ where sport has traditionally been largely absent. The idea of placing SDP with the wider international development movement has been an issue for several researchers, as was seen for instance through a 2011 special issue of *Third World Quarterly* edited by Simon C. Darnell and David R. Black, entirely devoted to mainstreaming sport into international development studies.⁹ Nevertheless, most research on SDP takes place within established sport forums (mostly sport journals within the social sciences). Levermore and Beacom postulates that the time is ripe to move beyond 'mapping the territory'¹⁰ of SDP. An important contribution in doing so is Simon Darnell's 2012 publication *Sport for Development and Peace: A critical sociology*.¹¹ Darnell draws on recent empirical literature, analyses social and political implications of tying sport to development, and questions the perception that sport offers a solution to enduring development issues. Additionally, two 2012 publications add to the expanding SDP literature mostly by continuing, however, to map the territory of

Whiteness in "Development through Sport", *Sport in Society* 10, 4 (2007); Simon C. Darnell, "Power, Politics and "Sport for Development and Peace": Investigating the Utility of Sport for International Development," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 27 (2010); Simon C. Darnell, "Sport, Race and Bio-politics: Encounters With Difference in "Sport for Development and Peace" Internships," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 34, 4 (2010); Simon C. Darnell and Lyndsay Hayhurst, "Hegemony, Postcolonialism and Sport-For-Development: A Response to Lindsey and Grattan," *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4, 1 (2012); Richard Giulianotti, "Human Rights, Globalization and Sentiment Education: The Case of Sport," *Sport in Society* 7, 3 (2004); Richard Giulianotti, "Sport, Transnational Peacemaking, and Global Civil Society: Exploring the Reflective Discourses of "Sport, Development, and Peace" Project Officials," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 35, 1 (2011); Andrew M. Guest, "The Diffusion of Development-Through-Sport: Analysing the History and Practice of the Olympic Movement's Grassroots Outreach to Africa" *Sport in Society* 12, 10 (2009); Douglas Hartmann and Christina Kwauk, "Sport and Development: An Overview, Critique and Reconstruction," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 35, 3 (2011); Lyndsay M. C. Hayhurst, "The Power to Shape Policy: Charting Sport for Development and Peace Policy Discourses," *International Journal of Sport Policy* 1, 2 (2009); Iain Lindsey and Alan Grattan, "An 'International Movement': Decentring Sport-For-Development within Zambian Communities," *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4, 1 (2012). Also the relatively recent publication, *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development* edited by Barrie Houlihan and Mick Green, (London: Routledge, 2011) shows the tendency of the emerging interest in the field as five papers are dedicated to analyses of SDP interventions.

⁷ Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom, eds. *Sport and International Development* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁸ Lorna Read and Jerry Bingham, preface to *Sport and International Development*, ed. Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), xiii.

⁹ *Third World Quarterly* 32, 3 (2011)

¹⁰ Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom, "Reassessing Sport-For-Development: Moving Beyond 'Mapping the Territory'," *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4, 1 (2012): 125.

¹¹ Simon Darnell, *Sport for Development and Peace: A Critical Sociology* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012)

SDP and aiming to provide an insight into what may be achieved through sport interventions in developing societies.¹²

Nevertheless, despite its current popularity, the field of SDP has a considerably longer history. As Andrew Guest argues in his analyses of the Olympic Movement's development engagement: 'the idea of using sport as a tool for international development has an appeal that has endured in varying forms for more than a century'.¹³ Through this dissertation I aim to illuminate one part of this history, by investigating the Norwegian involvement in SDP from its beginning in the early 1980s till the end of the century.

I continue this chapter by outlining the historiography of SDP, and thereby identify gaps in the research which this dissertation aims to address. Further, I proceed to discuss the aims and limitations of the dissertation, including periodization and the research questions. I then go on to highlight some key concepts utilised in the dissertation before concluding the chapter with an outline of how the dissertation is organised.

Historiography of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP)

In Norway, the historical field of development aid has traditionally comprised a substantial body of research, mostly in the form of MA and PhD theses.¹⁴ Also in the recent years, several works concerning the history of development aid post-World War II have been published.¹⁵ When narrowing this down even further, such as to the area of SDP, related literature is scarce. So far, most of what has been written on the field of SDP in Norway

¹² Robert J. Schinke and Stephanie J. Hanrahan, eds. *Sport for Development, Peace, and Social Justice* (Morgantown WV: West Virginia University, 2012) and Keith Gilbert and Will Bennett, eds. *Sport, Peace and Development* (Champaign, Illinois: Common Ground Publishing, 2012). The latter publication particularly emphasises the role of sport in peace making and reconciliation projects.

¹³ Guest, "The Diffusion of Development-Through-Sport": 1336.

¹⁴ Jarle Simensen, "Writing the History of Development Aid; A Norwegian Example. Some Reflections on Methods and Results", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 32, 2 (2007). Among the pioneering contributions on Norwegian development aid was the PhD thesis' of Arne Martin Klausen, "Kerala Fishermen and the Indo-Norwegian Pilot Project," (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 1968) and Helge Pharo, "Hjelp til Selvhjelp: Det Indisk-Norske Fiskeriprojektets Historie 1952-72," (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 1988).

¹⁵ For instance, a comprehensive three-volume work on the history of Norwegian development aid Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad) and published in 2003: Jarle Simensen, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 1; 1952-1975; Norge Møter den Tredje Verden* (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2003); Arild Engelsen Ruud and Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 2; 1975-1989; Vekst, Velvilje og Utfordringer*, (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2003); Frode Liland and Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 3; 1989-2002; På Bred Front*, (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2003). As well as a two-volume publication edited by Helge Pharo and Monika Phole Fraser, *The Aid Rush: Aid Regimes in Northern Europe during the Cold War, (Volume I and II)*, (Oslo: Unipub, 2008). Historian Terje Tvedt also has several publications regarding the history of Norwegian development aid. For instance: Terje Tvedt, *Bilder av "de Andre": Om Utviklingslandene i Bistandsperioden* (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1990); Terje Tvedt, *Angels of Mercy or Development Diplomats: NGOs and Foreign Aid*, (Oxford: James Curry Ltd.: 1998); Terje Tvedt, *Verdensbilder og Selvbilder. Om Utviklingslandene i Bistandsepoken*. 3rd ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2002); Terje Tvedt, *Utviklingshjelp, Utenrikspolitik og Makt: Den Norske Modellen*, 2nd ed. (Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk, 2009).

comprises of a few MA theses' with more or less historical content.¹⁶ In literature concerning the history of general Norwegian development aid sport is largely absent.¹⁷ Neither is SDP particularly emphasised in Norwegian sports history literature.¹⁸ Internationally, a few researchers have addressed SDP issues from a historical point of view. Among these are Aaron Beacom's analysis of the motives behind sport and development assistance,¹⁹ John Bale and Joe Sang's book about Kenyan running which also touches upon foreign sports aid,²⁰ Henning Eichberg's analysis of the Danish sport assistance to Tanzania in the 1980s and 90s,²¹ Andrew Guest's analysis of the Olympic Movement's grassroots outreach to Africa,²² and Ian Henry and Mansour Al-Tauqi's analysis of the development of Olympic Solidarity.²³

Although as a research field SDP is expanding rapidly, there is still a research gap regarding its history. Consequently, this gap, or lack of historical literature 'creates the impression that [sport] development interventions are a relatively recent phenomenon and misses long established characteristics of the process that help to explain its current challenges, in particular, the management of relations between the donors and recipients'.²⁴ This dissertation addresses this research gap by investigating the Norwegian Confederation of Sports' involvement in SDP in Tanzania in the 1980s and in Zimbabwe in the 1990s.

In the papers I argue that SDP interventions can be traced commencing in the interwar period, with a special emphasis on the sports aid given in the Cold War period. However, a broader definition of SDP reveals a long history of development initiatives involving sport

¹⁶ For instance: Anders Hasselgård, "Norges Fotballforbund i Norsk Utviklings- og Utenrikspolitikk: Den Norske Fotballmodellen" (Master thesis, University of Oslo, 2008); Mads Roser, "NIF som Bistandsaktør; Utvikling av- eller gjennom Idrett?" (Master thesis, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 2011); Solveig Straume, "Norsk Idrett som Bistand: "Kva låg til grunn for den Norske Idrettsbistanden fram til Oppstarten i Tanzania i 1983?" (Master thesis, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 2005); Sendeu Titus M. Tenga, "The Norwegian Sport for All Project in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 1984-90: An Evaluation of the Training Programmes" (Master thesis, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 1994)

¹⁷ As is the case with the publications in note 15.

¹⁸ Neither Stein Tønnesson, *Norsk Idretts Historie; Folkehelse, Trim, Stjerner 1939-1986* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1986), nor Matti Goksøy, *Historien om Norsk Idrett* (Oslo: Abstrakt Forlag, 2008) or Rune Slagstad, (*Sporten: En Idéhistorisk Studie* (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2008) emphasises sports development aid to any extent although they are all relatively detailed in their descriptions of the idea and development of sports in Norway.

¹⁹ Aaron Beacom, "A Question of Motives: Reciprocity, Sport and Development Assistance" *European Sport Management Quarterly* 7, 1 (2007)

²⁰ John Bale and Joe Sang, *Kenyan Running: Movement Culture, Geography and Global Change* (London: Frank Cass, 1996)

²¹ Henning Eichberg, "From sport export to politics of recognition: experiences from the cooperation between Denmark and Tanzania," *European Journal for Sport and Society* 5, 1 (2008)

²² Guest, "The diffusion of development-through-sport"

²³ Ian Henry and Mansour Al-Tauqi, "The Development of Olympic Solidarity: West and non-West (Core and Periphery) Relations in the Olympic World," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, 3 (2008)

²⁴ Beacom, "A Question of Motives", 83. A similar point is made in: Roger Levermore, "Sport: A new Engine of Development?" *Progress in Development Studies* 8, 2 (2008)

rooted in the colonial experience (particularly the British Empire) and in international relations. As Beacom points out, such a broad definition shows that SDP has played a significant role in establishing international sports competitions, particularly with reference to the Olympic Movement.²⁵ Consequently, I find it useful to divide the history of SDP in different phases. First, the utilisation of sports in the colonial scene in the 1800s and 1900s; second, SDP as a means to establish international sports competition in the early 1900s onwards; third, SDP as political strategies during the Cold War; fourth (and overlapping the former) SDP as part of the social development agenda from the 1980s onwards; and finally SDP as a more or less established actor on the international development agenda in the 2000s. It is, however, important to emphasise that although it may be useful to divide the history of SDP into different phases, such a coarse division may potentially be reductionist. Although I do not make local distinctions in the following text, I do not rule out the fact that there have been local differences in how sport was implemented, exported or adopted. I am, of course, also aware that African sport, its institutional environments and stratifications are marked by diversity. This is evident throughout the continent, between countries in the same regions, and even locally. Thus, it is fallacious to speak of Africa and African sport as homogeneous groups. It is important to be aware of this diversity in the following discussion and throughout this dissertation. With this in mind, I will continue presenting the history of the (broad) SDP field.

Several historians and social scientists have investigated the relationship between colonialism and the diffusion of modern sports.²⁶ As Maguire states, 'the diffusion of sport out of its British/European heartland was closely connected to an intensified global spurt (1870–1920). Its standardisation, organisational development and global diffusion reflected and reinforced the global processes that were being powered by the West'.²⁷ A common justification of colonialism was the perception that such intervention contributed to the organic growth of international society, and therefore, the colonial experience served to

²⁵ Beacom, "A Question of Motives"

²⁶ For instance: Allen Guttman, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); James A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (London: Frank Cass, 1998); and Brian Stoddart, "Sport, Cultural Imperialism and Colonial Response in the British Empire," *Sport in Society* 9, 5 (2006). As S.W. Pope argues: 'Imperial historians differentiate between what was essentially two British Empires – one, a formal one constituted by various commercial and political outposts; and another more informal one, comprising cultural relationships (involving the spread of sports such as football cricket and rugby)'. In: S.W. Pope, "Imperialism," in *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, ed. S.W. Pope and John Nauright (London: Routledge, 2010), 232.

²⁷ Joseph Maguire, *Power and Global Sport: Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance* (London: Routledge, 2005), 3.

civilise and modernise the colonies. As James A. Mangan points out with reference to the late British author Phillip Mason: "The Victorians believed that they had something to offer the world: "they were all missionaries in a sense (...) bringing something which would 'improve the native'".²⁸ The same rhetoric was evident in the context of sports where colonialist practices attempted to replace what was perceived as barbaric and uncivilised forms of local customs by civilised forms of Western modern sport practices which, it was believed, would essentially influence the entire development of man.²⁹ As Richard Giulianotti sharply puts it: 'Cultural genocide arose in the deliberate supplanting of non-Western body cultures with imperial games'.³⁰

Although it can be argued that the Olympic Movement has been much more focused on the development *of* rather than development *through* sport, it has been credited for accelerating the field of SDP. This has been particularly evident in recent years and events where SDP issues (such as the London 2012 international sports legacy program, *International Inspiration*³¹) have been brought onto the agenda. However, the SDP engagement of the Olympic Movement may be traced much farther back.³² Since its inception in the late 1800s, the Olympic Movement has ambitiously endeavoured to 'place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity'.³³ The founder of the modern Olympics, baron Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937), was a French aristocrat of his time, and although 'he was far more cosmopolitan than most of his countrymen (...) [he] believed that France had a "civilizing mission" in Africa',³⁴ and that sports could be an instrument to accomplish this sacred mission. Guttmann states that to Coubertin and the

²⁸ James A. Mangan, "Ethics and Ethnocentricity: Imperial Education in British Tropical Africa," in *Sport in Africa: Essays in social history*, ed. William J. Baker and James A. Mangan (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1987), 138.

²⁹ This was ultimately the ideal on which modern sports were founded in the first place. Growing from the British public schools system and further developing in the universities and colleges, sports were part of civilisation and upbringing of British gentlemen. Elaborated in Holt, *Sport and the British*.

³⁰ Giulianotti, "Human Rights", 358.

³¹ For information on the *International Inspiration* programme, see: <http://www.london2012.com/join-in/education/international-inspiration/>

³² Beacom draws the link between the colonial relations and the British engagement with the Olympic Movement 'where detailed commentary on "intervention" is evident in the lead-up to the 1912 Stockholm Games (...) relating to the rights of the colonies and dominions, to enter equestrian teams for competition at the Games' (p. 85). The British Empire's influence on the respective colonies' participation at the Games persisted throughout the colonial period. Consequently, Beacom concludes that 'insofar as early willingness to assist [in sports] is concerned, it related to the wider feeling of paternalistic responsibility to protect the interests of junior partners in the wider imperial family' (p. 85). In: Beacom, "A Question of Motives".

³³ International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*, 2011. Accessed November 29, 2012. Available at: http://www.olympic.org/Documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf, 10.

³⁴ Guttmann, *Games and Empires*, 124.

Olympic Movement, Africa was a persistent point of interest in order to achieve its ambitious goals to promote *Olympism* as a universal ideal.³⁵ In the early 1920s, Coubertin took the initiative to appoint a committee that was to investigate ways in which the modern Olympic Games could be brought to the continent.³⁶ In order to do this, it was assumed that Africans needed to be brought modern sports, and so it was decided to initiate the biennial *African Games*. Attempts to host the *African Games* both in Algiers in 1925 and in Alexandria, Egypt in 1929 were made by Coubertin in cooperation with the Egyptian International Olympic Committee (IOC) member Angelo Bolanaki. However, for the Algiers Games, massive financial and organisational problems were an obstacle to the Games, and in Egypt the Games were vetoed by British and French colonial administrators. As Baker points out such a 'large gathering of black Africans seemed both too expensive and potentially explosive'.³⁷ Colonial powers were wary of the idea, suspecting the unifying aspect of sport among African people would cause them to assert their independence. Although several related sports competitions (often arranged by the respective hosts' colonial administrators) were held throughout the continent in the years to come, only after independence in the 1960s, did the *African Games* take place in its 'original' form.

A direct effort from the IOC to aid the developing countries in sports matters was the establishment of the Olympic Solidarity programme in 1973. Olympic Solidarity was committed to distribute financial and technical aid to national Olympic committees of developing countries, particularly those with the greatest needs so that they could develop their own sport structures and accelerate in international sports.³⁸ The initiation of aid in the shape of sports in the Olympic Movement was a direct result of pressure from the Soviet Union in the late 1950s as a countermeasure to the dominating role played by the conservative Western elites in the IOC. A resolution by the Soviet Olympic Committee in 1961 proposed helping the development of amateur sports in Africa, Asia and Latin America. When the IOC chose only to adopt a recommendation of the resolution to form an Olympic

³⁵ Guest, "The Diffusion of Development-Through-Sport". The universalism is manifested in the first fundamental principle of the Olympic Movement: 'Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles'. In: International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*, 10.

³⁶ Guttmann states that Coubertin had been anxious to involve Africa in the Olympic Movement as this effort was believed to be 'the final battle... in sport's conquest of the world', Coubertin: quoted in Guttmann, *Games and Empires*, 124.

³⁷ William J. Baker, "Political Games: The meaning of International Sport for Independent Africa," in *Sport in Africa: Essays in social history*, ed. William J. Baker and James A. Mangan (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1987), 274.

³⁸ Henry and Al-Tauqi, "The Development of Olympic Solidarity".

Aid Fund, the Soviet Olympic Committee responded with intensifying its own aid, mostly by sending coaches and sports experts to developing countries.³⁹ Thus, it joined the 'trend' of post-World War II initiatives where the use of sports in development aid became 'a tool in the Cold War battle for the hearts, minds, and political and economic support of the newly independent post-colonial states in Africa and Asia on the part of the USA and USSR'.⁴⁰

These initiatives of politically motivated aid⁴¹ continued to escalate. As decolonization increased throughout the African continent in the 1960s, so did aiding initiatives involving sports. The reasons for this were that the sports arena was believed to provide a particular opportunity to exercise influence in these newly independent states. In an era of the Cold War and ideological struggle, any effort to spread ideology was useful, and states on both sides tried to exert such influence in the midst of the conflict.⁴² As Riordan illustrates in regard to the Soviet assistance to Africa it clearly had a political agenda: 'Much of this aid (...) is said to be given free of charge. Sometimes the sports contact is used as a prelude to political contacts. After all, "Sporting ties are one way of establishing contacts between states even when diplomatic relations are absent"'.⁴³ And further; 'Communist leaders evidently regard sport as an important weapon in "the battle for people's minds" (...) such sporting aid is seen as an effective means of demonstrating the possibilities of "the socialist path of development"'.⁴⁴ Similarly, US sports aid to African countries was largely politically motivated. Mostly it was undertaken by the Peace Corps, a philanthropic organisation founded in 1961, shaped by a cold war mentality.⁴⁵ Bale and Sang point out that although the initiators of sport programmes through the Peace Corps consisted of well-meaning amateurs, the director was well aware that sport programs 'possess a unique ability to transcend political differences and thus gain access in countries with which official relations are strained or even non-existent'.⁴⁶

³⁹ Baruch A. Hazan, "Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion: The Soviet Union in Africa," in *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, ed. William J. Baker and James A. Mangan (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1987).

⁴⁰ Henry and Al-Tauqi, "The Development of Olympic Solidarity", 355.

⁴¹ Obviously it might be problematic to draw the line to political aid here, as we may very well argue that any aid given in the shape of sport – even today – is politically motivated.

⁴² Elaborated for instance in: Peter Beck, "The most Effective means of Communication in the Modern World? British Sport and National Prestige," in *Sport and International Relations: An emerging relationship*, ed. Roger Levermore and Adrian Budd (London: Routledge, 2004); Hazan, "Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion" and James Riordan, *Sport, Politics and Communism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991)

⁴³ Riordan, *Sport, Politics and Communism*, 133.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁴⁵ Bale and Sang, *Kenyan Running*.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 114.

These early SDP initiatives were to a large extent oriented towards the elites. Sending top coaches and instructors to recipient countries to assist in developing talented athletes as well as offering training in high standard facilities in the donor countries for these athletes was common practice. Over the years, an extensive focus on facility-building in the recipient countries prevailed, and in the developing world one could eventually find top modern stadiums and arenas for the benefit of elite sports and for public state events.⁴⁷ This was clearly in line with general development practices at the time which, as seen in Chapter 3, to a large extent emphasised modernisation and infrastructure.

In *A survey of the needs of sports development cooperation in Africa* from 1987, Puranaho and Vuolle found that by and large, modern African states requested assistance in the form of training, coaching and material aid, and that the development of competitive sports was emphasised strongly by the respondent.⁴⁸ Thus, the focus on elite sports outlined above seems to have been consistent with the expectations of modern African states. As the papers in this dissertation show, when NIF entered the field of development aid it clearly opposed the type of sports assistance that had previously been given as it embraced a different type of SDP, focussing on grass root initiatives and *sport for all*, meaning that SDP was meant to benefit the entire population, and not just a few talented athletes.⁴⁹

Aims and Limitations

The focus of this dissertation is on how Norwegian involvement in SDP commenced and evolved in the 1980s and 1990s. More specifically the focus is how NIF first got involved in SDP in Tanzania and its rationales for choosing to emphasise SDP. Since the focus has been on NIF, I have not studied other Norwegian SDP projects or programmes initiated during this period,⁵⁰ and hence, when referring to the Norwegian involvement, I mean specifically NIF's involvement in SDP, with support from the Norwegian government.

⁴⁷ Soviet aid is further elaborated in Riordan, *Sport, Politics and Communism*. Similar types of sports assistance with a focus on the elites were given by Western allies, such as the USA (mostly through the Peace Corps), Great Britain, China and (West) Germany. This is further detailed, for instance in Baker, "Political Games" and Bale and Sang's, *Kenyan Running*.

⁴⁸ Kari Puranaho and Pauli Vuolle, *A Survey of the Needs of Sports Development Cooperation in Africa* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University Printing Office, 1987)

⁴⁹ A discussion of 'sport for all' policies with relevance to the Norwegian involvement in SDP is presented in Paper I. For further reading regarding the development of 'sport for all' policies see for instance Barrie Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994) and Nils Asle Bergsgard et al., *Sport Policy: a Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change* (Amsterdam: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007).

⁵⁰ For instance Olympic Aid (now Right to Play), Christian Sports Contact (CHRISC), the Norwegian Football Federations own development projects or the Norway Cup's involvement with the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSAs) in Kenya.

Additionally, simultaneously to the first Norwegian SDP initiative, Sweden and Finland initiated Sport for All projects in Tanzania similar to the Norwegian project. Denmark was also initiating projects in Tanzania, but in contrast to the other Nordic countries, Danish assistance took the form of specific cultural cooperation, or as Henning Eichberg illustrates, a cultural barter, at the local level.⁵¹ Although a comparison of the Nordic projects (and specifically between the Norwegian/Swedish/Finnish projects versus the Danish project) would be interesting, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Periodization

The period of my study is from the early 1980s until approximately 2000. It is useful to further divide this period in two phases, from 1980 to 1990 and from 1990 to 2000. The choice of the early 1980s as a starting point is self-explanatory as this was when NIF started their cooperation with the Tanzanian National Sport Council (NSC), and thus the very beginning of Norwegian involvement in SDP. The cooperation between NIF and NSC lasted until 1990. The period 1980-1990 is hereafter referred to as the first period. The second period, 1990-2000, concerns the first decade of the cooperation between NIF and the Zimbabwe Sports and Recreation Commission (SRC).

While the period 1980–2000 is the focal point of the dissertation, the main discussion at the end of the dissertation nevertheless involves topics that are currently debated within the SDP field.

Research questions

The aim of the study has been to analyse in a systematic way which motives and argumentations were present within NIF for initiating and being involved in SDP in Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Therefore, the main research question is:

How can the Norwegian Confederation of Sports' involvement in SDP from the early 1980s to 2000 be understood?

In investigating the main empirical issue, I have posed relevant sub-questions such as: What were the causes of the NIF interest in development? Who had the idea of using sport in

⁵¹ Henning Eichberg, "Bodily Democracy and Development through Sport – Towards Intercultural Recognition," *Forum for Idræt*, 1 (2010). The Danish project in Tanzania has been analysed in several publications by Henning Eichberg. An attempt to compare or at least illuminate the differences between the various Nordic projects in Tanzania was also made in Niels Leth-Pedersen, Marianne Hornbæk Jensen and Lars Bo Jørgensen, *Idræt og U-landsarbejde* (København: Danmarks Højskole for Legemsøvelser, 1989)

development? How and why did NIF select the countries and projects that it did? What were the aims of the involvement? What did NIF plan to contribute with? What did it, in fact, contribute? How were the recipients included in the planning of the projects? How were the recipients included in the implementation of the projects? How long did the aid-cooperation go on for? What were the strategies when NIF moved its SDP engagement to Zimbabwe?

Specifically, this dissertation addresses issues concerning how an SDP intervention initiated by the donor is perceived by the recipient, and which power relations may become visible in SDP. Each of the papers in the dissertation addresses questions related to this. The specific research questions associated with each of the papers are as follows:

- Paper I:
 - *What characterized the arguments for NIF to initiate an SDP project in Africa in the 1980's?*
- Paper II:
 - *What is the nature of the dilemmas arising in donor–recipient relationships that aim to be on the terms of the recipient?*
 - *What are the possibilities and constraints of civil society organizations (CSOs) as agents for SDP?*
- Paper III:
 - *Which conceptions of Tanzanian women were manifest within NIF as donors of the SDP?*
 - *Why was sports considered a suitable tool in reaching the women of Dar es Salaam?*
 - *Which dilemmas may occur when aiming to create social changes – like specifically emphasising women in sports activities – in an environment with considerable contrasts to the donors?*
- Paper IV:
 - *Which power-effects arise from the discourse formation produced by NIF throughout the project?*
 - *How did changes in the formal discourse throughout the project affect the notion of trusteeship?*

Key concepts

Sport history teaches us that the concept of 'sports' has meant different things to different people at different times and in different cultures and societies.⁵² Literature concerning the characteristics of the phenomenon of 'sports' and its various meanings has been put forward by a variety of researchers, ranging from historians such as Allen Guttmann and James A. Mangan,⁵³ social scientists such as Joseph Maguire,⁵⁴ and philosophers such as Johan Huizinga.⁵⁵ In the context of international development, the concept of sport needs to be broadly defined 'to include all types of organized physical activity that may serve as a tool for development and peace'.⁵⁶

Sport for Development and Peace (SDP)

A pet child has many names, as has also been the case when speaking of sport and international development. Over the years rhetoric has shifted from 'sports development aid', 'sports aid' and 'sports development assistance', to 'sport *through* development', 'sport-*in*-development', 'sport *for* development', 'sport *and* development' and, more recently, 'Sport for Development and Peace' (SDP). As the field has grown considerably in recent years, the need to establish a common conception has risen. Consequently, the latter of the above concepts, Sport for Development and Peace, or SDP, seems to be the term mostly used.⁵⁷ In my papers I have shifted from using 'sports development aid' or 'sports aid' (in Papers I, II and III) to Sport for Development and Peace. My rationale for this is that at the time of the Tanzanian programme 'sports development aid' or 'sports aid' were the common terms in use. However as there seems to be a consensus about the common denominator in the field today, in the final paper and the dissertation I use the term 'Sport for Development and Peace' with its abbreviation SDP.

Building on this, it is useful to distinguish between 'sport development' and 'sport for development'. The former implies the development and diffusion of sport itself, or 'programmes designed to assist those engaged in organized sport – athletes, coaches, officials,

⁵² Peter N. Searns, foreword to *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, ed. S.W. Pope and John Nauright (London: Routledge, 2010), x–xv.

⁵³ For instance Guttmann, *Games and Empires*; Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004) and Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*.

⁵⁴ For instance Maguire, *Power and Global Sport* and Joseph Maguire, *Global Sport; Identities, Societies, Civilizations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999)

⁵⁵ Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Nature* (London: Temple Smith, 1970)

⁵⁶ Read and Bingham, preface, xiv.

⁵⁷ This was somewhat 'established' in Bruce Kidd's article "A New Social Movement: Sport for Development and Peace," *Sport in Society*, 11 (2008).

administrators – and to strengthen the infrastructure of facilities and institutions within which organized sport takes place'.⁵⁸ The latter implies using sport as a tool in development work as 'it seeks out those who are not already involved, and it is unconcerned about whether participants ever become involved in organized training and competition'.⁵⁹ Fred Coalter makes similar distinctions and identifies these respectively as 'sport plus' (sport development) and 'plus sport' (sport for development) projects:

Sport plus programmes, gives primacy to the development of sustainable sports organizations, programmes and development pathways. However, even within organizations sport is also used to address a number of broader social issues. (...) *plus sport* programmes give primacy to social and health programmes where sport is used, especially its ability to bring together a large number of young people, to achieve some of their objectives. Short-term outcomes (e.g. HIV/AIDS education and, much more ambitiously, behavioral change) are more important than the longer-term sustainable development of sport.⁶⁰

It is important to keep in mind that although these two approaches (sport development/sport plus and sport for development/plus sport) can be distinguished from each other and have differences in their focus, scope and impact, they relate to each other and are likely to occur simultaneously.

The developing world

Rhetorical change has also been evident in the development aid discourse. From 'developing country' (*U-land* in Norwegian), 'developing world' or the 'Third World' being legitimate descriptions, one is now better off talking about the 'Partner' or the 'cooperating country'.⁶¹ Also, the term 'Global South' is commonly used, applying both to geographical (the southern hemisphere) and socio-economical divides between nations. Some writers, in order to 'remind us that the economically less developed countries make up the majority of the world's population, and possess rich cultural traditions that are far more widely upheld than those of westernized states'⁶² used the terms the 'Majority' – or 'Two-Thirds World' as opposed to the 'Minority World'. Thus, a wide range of potential terms occur within the field of developing studies.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 371.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 373.

⁶⁰ Fred Coalter, "Sport-in-development: Accountability or Development?," in *Sport and International Development*, ed. Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 58 (my italics)

⁶¹ Simensen, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie I*.

⁶² Tess Kay, "Sport and International Development. Introduction: The Unproven Remedy," in *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development* ed. Barrie Houlihan and Mick Green, (London: Routledge, 2011), 282.

Throughout the dissertation I have consistently used the term 'developing country', 'developing world' or the 'Third World'. I have done this for the same reasons as the above, as this is a historical analysis, and also that these were the common terms in use at the time of the interventions in my study.

Donor vs. recipient

As indicated above, in development aid rhetoric the terms 'donor' and 'recipient' are somewhat outmoded and now replaced by the more politically correct term 'partnership'. In Norway, this transition towards use of the term 'partnership' came in the late 1990s, and was intended to show in a direct manner that the aid relationship was one with equal partners.⁶³

Throughout the dissertation I have chosen to use the terms 'donor' and 'recipient' when referring to the parties of development aid interventions. I do not use the word 'partnership' as it somehow downplays the power inequalities present in the relationship. I am aware that the term 'recipient' somehow denotes passivity and inactivity but I still choose to use this term, since, at the time of the cases presented in this study, the conceptual pair 'donor' and 'recipient' were the common terms in use.⁶⁴

The organisation of the dissertation

The dissertation is organised as follows: In Chapter 2, the methodology of the study and its analysis is outlined. Issues relating to the field of historical ethnographic studies are discussed with particular emphasis on understanding 'the other side' of an aid relationship. Chapter 3 provides an outline of theoretical perspectives on 'development' as well as aid strategies, and how development aid is framed within what seems to be a common understanding of what 'development' is or should be. Chapter 4 provides the results of the study and opens up a broader reflection based on the analyses. Finally, in Chapter 5, I present my conclusion and final remarks.

⁶³ Simensen, *Norsk utviklingshjelps historie I*.

⁶⁴ The complexity of the donor–recipient relationship is further discussed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 2 – METHODOLOGY

This chapter is structured in the following way. First, I discuss issues related to the field of historical ethnographic studies, with an emphasis on understanding ‘the other side’ of an aid relationship. Second, I outline the execution of my particular research project. Last, I discuss the analytical approach and some ethical considerations.

Historical ethnography

How is it possible for an outsider to understand how someone who experiences the world in a different way than your own, think, feel and perceive? Is it possible that from my Norwegian perspective, I can understand how the SDP was experienced by people in Dar es Salaam way back in time? To answer questions such as these, anthropologist Clifford Geertz distinguished between analytical concepts which he termed 'experience-near' and 'experience-distant'. An 'experience-near' concept was one which someone 'might himself naturally and effortlessly use to define what he or his fellows see, feel, think, imagine and so on, and which he would readily understand when similarly applied by others'.⁶⁵ Geertz argued that people use the 'experience-near' concepts naturally and unconsciously without even recognizing that they are concepts as 'ideas and the realities they inform are naturally and indissolubly bound up together'.⁶⁶ He went on to state that the ethnographer cannot 'perceive what his informants perceive. What he perceives, and that uncertainly enough, is what they perceive "with"'.⁶⁷ 'Experience-distant' concepts on the other hand were 'one that specialists (...) employ to forward their scientific, philosophical or practical aims'.⁶⁸ or in other words, how we, as researchers view *their* ways of life through *our* 'experience-distant' concepts. Geertz argued that it was at the meeting point between the two concepts, through applying hermeneutic principles and interpretation, that one could begin to understand 'the native's point of view'.

Important concerns in this regard are raised by the Tanzanian historian Hamad S. Ndee in his criticism of the inadequacies of researchers without having sufficient knowledge attempt to analyse 'alien' cultures. As he states:

studies of the history of sport in Africa are, more often than not, written from the 'European' (Western) perspective, that is, from the point of view of modern members of the former colonizing powers (...) it does remain a fact that however sympathetic

⁶⁵ Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge; Further Essays in Social Anthropology* (New York: Basic, 1983), 57.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

and sensitive the modern Western observer might wish to be, he or she remains 'trapped' to some degree within a specific ethnocentric cultural perspective.⁶⁹

In line with this, cultural historian Peter Burke argues that no matter how culturally relativist one attempts to be, we cannot avoid looking at the past from a particular point of view. Although the history itself is objective, the researcher is subjective, and thus the ideal of objective historical writing is an illusion.

Our minds do not reflect reality directly. We perceive the world only through a network of conversations, schemata and stereotypes, a network which varies from one culture to another.(...) [for instance] our understandings of conflicts is surely enhanced by a presentation of opposite viewpoints, rather than by an attempt (...) to articulate a consensus.⁷⁰

In relation to studying development aid, historian Jarle Simensen argues that in working with the source material, one will find that single interviews and reports are not always representative of the aid. Development aid is a relationship between a donor and a recipient, and, he claims, this imbalance will also characterise the source material. 'The one who receives a gift is careful with criticism, and the donor needs to take diplomatic precautions in order not to harm the good cause'.⁷¹ Similarly, historian Terje Tvedt states that the field of development aid politics in Norway rests on a peculiar foundation: 'It vegetates on the system's ability to present itself as a guardian of the poor'.⁷² Further, Norwegian development aid has been characterised by what he defines as the 'Goodness Regime', meaning that giving aid is an expression of acts or policies that are believed to be inherently good, which in turn has made it extremely hard to criticize.⁷³ Tvedt further claims that the history of development aid is based on an institutionalisation of the interaction between acting subjects and objects that mainly has common stated goals.⁷⁴ Since development aid is normative, it is insufficient only to base one's findings on the acting subjects' sources, since these will, he claims, say little about – no less avoid – real problems on the ground. Tvedt thus reasons that in order to

⁶⁹ Hamad S. Ndee, "Prologue: Sport, Culture and Society in Tanzania from an African Perspective," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, 5 (2010)

⁷⁰ Peter Burke, *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 6.

⁷¹ Simensen, *Norsk utviklingshjelps historie 1*, 18–19.

⁷² Terje Tvedt, "Utviklingshjelp og det Nasjonale Godhetsregimet," *Horisont* 1 (2007), 64. Tvedt argues that Norwegian political debates on development aid usually focusses on how much money that should or should not be granted, rather than thorough, balanced and fact-oriented debates on what development aid has achieved so far and what it may achieve in the future.

⁷³ Tvedt further argues that the 'Goodness Regime' has influenced the Norwegian self-image as a bearer of values and norms which are often mistaken to be universal values. Hence, a particular language with specific concepts, understandings and forms of communications has been created. In Tvedt, *Utviklingshjelp, Utenrikspolitikk og Makt*.

⁷⁴ Tvedt, *Verdensbilder og Selvbilder*.

understand what development aid is really about, one must combine historical source studies with different types of ‘cultural studies’ on how the development apparatus works. ‘One cannot escape the type of knowledge that historians with a blind faith in source criticism rarely understands the value of – the knowledge and ability to observe the social conventions, codes and identity markers of the system’.⁷⁵

My own role

Working with this study, aiming to understand the rationale of the Norwegian involvement in SDP, and in particular attempting to understand the recipient side of the aid, it has been important for me to keep the above perspectives in mind. Although the ideal of objective historical writing has been an aim, it is evident that the end product is a result of my interpretations of a reality based on sources available.

The research process

The aim of this study has been to investigate *how* Norwegian SDP engagement can be understood. I have attempted to illuminate this by asking questions such as *why* NIF initiated an SDP project in Tanzania in the 1980s, and later in Zimbabwe in the 1990s, and *how* the aid was perceived by the recipients. When *how* and *why* questions are posed, and when the focus is on contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context, case studies is generally the preferred method.⁷⁶ My study is within the field of sports history, however dealing with relatively recent events. As Yin points out, historical methods and case studies may intersect:

The distinctive contribution of the historical method is dealing with the ‘dead’ past – that is, when no relevant persons are alive to report, even retrospectively what occurred, and when an investigator must rely on primary documents, secondary documents, and cultural and physical artefacts as the main sources of evidence. Histories can, of course, be done about contemporary events; in this situation, the method begins to overlap with that of the case study.⁷⁷

This study reports two individual and supplementary case studies that cover Norwegian SDP from 1983 until 2000. *Case I* covers the first Norwegian SDP engagement in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. A project, known as *Sport for All* ran from 1983 to 1990, during which time NIF aimed to implement common ideas rooted in the Norwegian sports movement. Throughout the project, NIF had a team of so-called sports experts deployed in Dar es Salaam. In co-operation with the Tanzanian National Sport Council (NSC) these sport experts were

⁷⁵ Ibid., 157.

⁷⁶ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4th ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009)

⁷⁷ Ibid., 11.

supervising the project, training local personnel, further developing the already existing Tanzanian sports organisation, providing new and used sports equipment imported from Norway to Tanzania, and making sure that the target groups (women, children and disabled) were reached. During the period of the Tanzanian project an estimated 12 million NOK had been granted, of which Norad contributed 80 per cent and NIF the remaining 20 per cent.⁷⁸ In *Case I*, I asked *why* NIF saw the necessity of starting an SDP project in Tanzania, *how* this initiative was perceived by the Tanzanian recipients and *whether* the *Sport for All* was a suitable approach in reaching the Tanzanian target groups at the time.

After reducing activity in the Tanzanian *Sport for All* project in 1989–90, NIF moved its engagement further south, and in 1991 it commenced support for the Zimbabwe Sport and Recreation Commission (SRC) through an SDP project. The NIF/SRC cooperation, which in fact is still operative, can be divided in two phases – 1991 to 1999, and 2000 to date.⁷⁹ It is the first phase that forms the basis of *Case II*. As in Tanzania, a Norwegian sport expert was working in Zimbabwe with the objective that together with SRC, of contributing to the development of mass-sport structures and systems throughout the country, and to implement the idea of 'sport for all'. Within the concept of 'all', the emphasis was on children, women, the disabled, refugees and other disadvantaged groups, especially within the black majority community. In the long-run, the project was intended to contribute to broader social development such as a focus on democracy, human rights and gender issues. Hence, the focus of the cooperation was both the development *of* and *through* sport. During the period of the Zimbabwean *Sport for All* project, 80 per cent – approximately 6, 5 million NOK – had been granted by Norad.⁸⁰ In *Case II*, we asked *how* NIF implemented the project in Zimbabwe, *how* the concept of 'sport for all' corresponded with Zimbabwean ideas, and also *how* the initiative was perceived by the Zimbabwean recipients. A particular emphasis in *Case II* was put on the relationship between the NIF and the Zimbabwe Sports and Recreation Commission (SRC), especially when it came to the development of policies.

⁷⁸ Elaborated in Papers I and II.

⁷⁹ In 1999/2000 NIF further developed its *Sport for All* project in Zimbabwe, and divided it into two different projects specifically aimed at reaching the target groups – women and disabled persons. The projects known as *Sport for the differently abled* (later *Sport for All the Visually Impaired; Zimbabwe*) commenced in 1999 and *Sport for Women; Zimbabwe* commenced in 2000. These projects aimed at further developing and spread organisational and sports competence of the *Sport for All* project to focus specifically on women, girls and visually impaired.

⁸⁰ NIF, "Vedr. Søknað 1997 – ZIB610/ZAM604/BSA614," File 94/2130-31, Box, 443.1 NIF. (Oslo: Norad Archives, 1996) and Norad, "Beslutningsdokument enkeltavtaleorganisasjoner," File 97/5872-8. (Oslo: Norad Archives, 1997).

In case study research, a distinction is often made between 'intrinsic' case studies, which seek a better understanding of a unique case, and 'instrumental' case studies that provide insight into an issue or refinement of theory.⁸¹ Both cases in this study fall into the latter category since they seek to identify central dilemmas within SDP that are relevant outside the context of the specific case. As individual case studies, no explicit comparison is made between the two, or with other cases. Also, the two cases studied here were framed within specific historical and national contexts. Nonetheless, the two cases constitute the early history of NIFs SDP engagement, and consequently they are related.

Although empirical results of this study cannot be generalised to other contexts, the use of single cases does not, however, exclude generalisation. For case study research 'the mode of generalization is *analytic* generalization [as opposed to statistical generalisation], in which a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study'.⁸² The use of theoretical propositions particularly concerning the dynamics of power in the donor–recipient relationship guided both the data collection and the analysis of the data. Thus, with this in mind, although the dilemmas brought up in the study may be relevant outside the context of the specific cases, generalisation has not been the objective of the study.

Written sources

One of the main tasks in historical research regard the selection of primary evidence. As Polley explains: 'Unless we have evidence from the time that we are studying, we cannot conduct historical research'.⁸³ According to sport historians Gary Osmond and Murray Phillips, the large body of historians has traditionally relied heavily on written evidence and regarded non-written material as extras and peripheral to the discipline.⁸⁴ However, the centrality of primary written sources, they argue, 'is sweating under the spotlight of critical re-evaluations of the traditional empirical-analytical model of history production'.⁸⁵ This includes embracing other sources, primary and secondary, such as written documents, oral information, visual representations and audio-visual materials. In effect, Osmond and Phillips

⁸¹ Robert E. Stake, "Qualitative Case Studies," in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3rd ed. ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005)

⁸² Yin, *Case Study Research*, 38.

⁸³ Martin Polley, *Sports History: A Practical Guide* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 76.

⁸⁴ Gary Osmond and Murray Phillips, "Sources," in *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, ed. S.W. Pope and John Nauright (London: Routledge, 2010), 34–50.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

postulate, (sports) history 'will be richer, closely connected to other academic disciplines, and more engaging for a larger readership'.⁸⁶

This study was carried out through a combination of archives and documentary research, supplemented by a series of interviews. Additionally, media articles from selected periods of the Norwegian SDP engagement were used.

Archive material

Public archives at Norad, at the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Dar es Salaam and at the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Harare were visited and scrutinised and form the empirical base of the study. None of these held much information about NIFs SDP engagement despite the fact that it had been supported over a substantial period. This was particularly evident in the early days of NIF's engagement the 1980s. However, as NIF became a more professional aid actor throughout the 1990s, the written document material grew accordingly. The lack of information in the official archives is interesting as it illustrates the general lack of discussion of the SDP in the Norwegian public sphere.⁸⁷ An additional explanation is that the aid project was carried out through an NGO, NIF, and therefore Norad did not have all that much to do with it apart from providing the funding and carrying out some form of review at some points.⁸⁸

An important source of written material has been the comprehensive archive at NIF. Although not formally systematised⁸⁹ the NIF archive held a variety of material from the beginning of the SDP discussions in the early 1980s, through the Tanzanian project, and of the Zimbabwean project to date. The majority of written sources comprised policy documents, project plans, applications to Norad and project reports written by the representatives in the field. Minutes from meetings, personal and formal correspondence as well as official brochures and information material concerning the projects comprise a large part of the archive sources.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 46.

⁸⁷ This point is discussed in Paper I.

⁸⁸ This has been found to be the case in other NGO-led projects with Norad funding – the main body of archive material was with the NGO, not with Norad. For example, Therese Berg Alfsen, "Norwegian Development Aid to Civil Society; The Norwegian Bar Association's Legal Aid Project in Nepal" (Master thesis, University of Oslo, 2008)

⁸⁹ For instance, the NIF archive material from the Tanzania programme comprised three large cardboard boxes with documents (a few of them in ring binders) that I read and systematised. The archive material from the Zimbabwean project comprised a large number of ring binders where documents were systematised according to date.

As Simensen points out, from the African side the state archives are not easily accessible.⁹⁰ There are both practical reasons for this as well as problems with research permission. For this reason I did not try to obtain access to any African archives. However, both the archives of the Norwegian embassies and the NIFs archives held material relating to local authorities and the recipients. This was particularly evident in the NIF archives through material produced by NIF representatives in Tanzania.

Newspapers

For *Case I* magazine and newspaper articles from selected periods have been utilised. These date from the time of the first Norwegian SDP seminar in the Norwegian city of Trondheim in September 1980, an article series, *Idrett og u-land* (sports and developing countries) in the liberal daily newspaper *Dagbladet* in April 1981, and publications during the week of the *Norway Cup*⁹¹ in July 1981. The newspaper articles were stored on microfilm at the library of the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (NIH). Also, I undertook article searches through the *Retriever* database⁹² using several combinations of the key words: sport, development aid, Tanzania, women, girls and NIF.

The archives of the NIF included a collection of newspaper articles. These contained featured articles from several Norwegian newspapers.⁹³ Material from *Daily News*, a Tanzanian newspaper in English was found in the NIF archives and collected by the NIF representatives in Dar es Salaam. Most of the articles were from the initial days of the pilot project (March and April 1983). The official launch of the *Sport for All* in March 1984, when a Norwegian delegation including Crown Princess Sonja and the NIF General Secretary Ole Jacob Bangstad were visiting Dar es Salaam, was included in this material. Additionally material from April 1987 when NIF extended its cooperation with the NSC was also found. Most of the magazines that had featured articles regarding Norwegian SDP engagement in Tanzania were sports related.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Simensen, "Writing the History of Development Aid".

⁹¹ The *Norway Cup* is an annual international football tournament for children and youth held in Oslo, Norway. The first tournament was held in 1972, and since then it has grown to becoming one of the world's largest tournaments of its kind.

⁹² *Retriever* is an electronic database that provides news monitoring in the Nordic countries. The company works in close collaboration with several media houses, and thus offers searches in newspapers.

⁹³ Including: *Aftenposten*, *Arbeiderbladet*, *Dagbladet*, *Ny Tid*, *VG*, *Vårt Land* and *Østlandets Blad*.

⁹⁴ Among these were: *Kroppsøving*, *Volleyball*, *Grasrota*.

Oral sources

As historian Richard T. Griffiths points out it is 'unlikely that research in the archives of Western donors will offer too much to the debates on the impact of aid on the recipients'.⁹⁵ Therefore, oral sources have been of crucial importance to this study. Oral sources have the advantage of being close to the subject of study and consequently provide information that does not appear in the written material. Hence, they can complement written sources. They are also helpful in tracking down other sources, both oral and written, and thus be important sources of knowledge.⁹⁶ As Simensen points out in regard to development aid studies, 'interviews provide the main direct intake to the local point of view for a foreign researcher'.⁹⁷ However, obvious methodological problems can appear in the interview situation. Firstly, this concerns the subject's memory especially in regard to normative attitudes and opinions in the past. Secondly, it concerns the interaction between the interviewer and the informants, their roles, and how these may influence the conversation.⁹⁸

The latter issue is evident in the study of development aid, and particularly in interviewing recipients. Simensen points out that a recurrent dilemma in interviewing these is that of representation. 'A special problem in aid interviewing is that the informants, especially government officials, will have in mind the effect on future grants'.⁹⁹ Consequently, the interviews are characterised by the informants saying what he or she thinks that the researcher wants to hear in order to be given grants later.

This dilemma was experienced several times during interviews where I had to explicitly emphasise my role as a researcher and not as a representative, neither of NIF nor any other development organisation. A few times I experienced that informants started out as extremely positive towards the Norwegian SDP engagement because they thought that I represented NIF. However, as my role as researcher was clarified characteristics were less positive. This possible source of error was taken into consideration when utilising and analysing the interviews in this study.

⁹⁵ Richard T. Griffiths, "Development Aid. Some Reference Points for Historical Research," in *The Aid Rush: Aid Regimes in Northern Europe during the Cold War. Volume 1*, ed. Helge Ø. Pharo and Monica Phole Fraser (Oslo: Unipub, 2008), 41.

⁹⁶ Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann, eds. *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing 2nd* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009)

⁹⁷ Simensen, "Writing the history of development aid," 171.

⁹⁸ For instance, elaborated in Kvale and Brinkmann, *InterViews* and Knut Kjeldstadli, *Fortida er ikke hva den Engang var: En Innføring i Historiefaget* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1999)

⁹⁹ Simensen, "Writing the history of development aid," 171.

The informants and interviews

During the research project, two field trips to Dar es Salaam and one to Harare were carried out. All field trips resulted in several interviews with people involved in the Norwegian SDP engagement. A combination of sampling procedures was employed to assure the inclusion of relevant perspectives both by recipients and donors. This included purposive selection and snowball sampling.¹⁰⁰

Case I

The trips to Dar es Salaam were carried out during two weeks in June 2007, and for four weeks in April/May 2009. This resulted in 13 interviews with persons who had been involved in the *Sport for All* programme from the Tanzania. Interviews were conducted with people who had been programme participants and administrators during the *Sport for All*, previous and current employees at the NSC, netball and football sports officers, a previous minister at the Ministry of Culture and Youth, and a university professor. Most of the interviewees had been involved in Tanzanian sports since the early 1980s and were still involved at the time of the interview. Many had held different positions in Tanzanian sports, and hence provided valuable information as they were able to view the Norwegian involvement from different angles. For instance, one informant who had been involved with the *Sport for All* as a programme participant at a teacher training course held a high position in the NSC at the time of the study.

It is important to emphasise that in my study these informants represent the recipient group of the aid. Consequently, the informants are at the official rather than grass roots level. As Griffiths points out, in aid relations, conflicts may occur defining actors, and "marginalised groups" were unlikely to be among the movers and shakers of local power hierarchies, upon whose cooperation the viability of the project often depended'.¹⁰¹ Thus, although the grass roots supposedly were the main recipients of the Norwegian SDP to Tanzania, these were not the 'movers and shakers' of the aid. When speaking of the Tanzanian recipients in *Case I*, these are mainly represented by the NSC or by people of other public institutions.

The informants were mostly identified on the basis of the archive sources. A few were also identified through other informants and interviewed during my stay in Tanzania. As the

¹⁰⁰ David Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction* (London: Sage, 2001)

¹⁰¹ Griffiths, "Development Aid", 40.

Sport for All was initiated almost 30 years ago, I was curious as to whether I would be able to track down people that had been engaged in the programme. At times it was hard to get in touch with potential informants. However, with assistance from Tanzanian friends and other informants I was able to get in touch with several people relevant to the study.

Case II

A one-week field trip to Harare was undertaken by Anders Hasselgård and myself in February 2012. This resulted in 16 interviews with Zimbabwean informants who had been or still were involved in the NIF/SRC cooperation. The Zimbabwean informants ranged from people in the SRC leadership, other staff at the SRC head office, province coordinators, community coaches, some who had been involved in the SRC/NIF cooperation in its initial days as well as representatives from the Zimbabwean Football Federation and Zimbabwe National Paralympic Committee. We were able to get in touch with the SRC leadership through the NIF, which also provided us with several names of other potential informants. Subsequently, further informants were identified by snowball and purposive sampling.

As the main foci of the interviews in Zimbabwe was on how the SDP discourse was being translated, given meaning, and consequently implemented in Zimbabwe, it was important to interview a variety of people involved in the project. The voices of coaches and district coordinators involved in the practical implementation of the project thus provide important perspectives. These were supplemented with interviews with Norwegian volunteers working with the SRC in the practical implementation of the projects as is described below.

The Norwegian informants

In Norway, 18 people were identified and interviewed. In regard to *Case I*, interviews were conducted with staff from NIF who had been in the lead of initiating the project in Tanzania, as well as those who had held leading positions in NIF at the time of the project. Further, people who had worked with the *Sport for All* in Tanzania were interviewed as well as some employees from Norad and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' that had been working in Tanzania at the time of the project. Concerning *Case II*, particular important Norwegian informants included the head of the Department of Development Cooperation in NIF as well as people who had a particular knowledge of the cooperation between NIF and the SRC. Some of these had been working in Zimbabwe in the 1990s. As mentioned above, in Zimbabwe we also interviewed five Norwegian volunteers working with the SRC in or

around Harare. These informants provided important information with their hands-on experiences in working with the recipients.

Norwegian involvement in SDP is represented by relatively few people. Hence, much of the information from the interviews was relevant for both cases. The Norwegian informants were initially identified through archive sources and further through snowballing.

The interviews

A semi-structured format was utilised in all interviews in Tanzania and Zimbabwe. This way common themes and topics could be taken up in the interviews, allowing for flexibility in discussing issues that were brought up as the research progressed. All interviews with non-Norwegian informants were conducted in English. Consequently both the informants and myself used our second language. This could result in constraints regarding translations from Swahili, Shona or Ndebele and Norwegian to English respectively. I chose not to use native speaking translators for the interviews. First, both the Tanzanian and Zimbabwean informants spoke English fluently. (In Tanzania English is the second official language spoken in higher education, in Zimbabwe English is one of three official languages). Secondly, I wanted to avoid possible misunderstandings that could have occurred if a third party was to translate. Thus, English was the natural choice as it was a common denominator in terms of language. Interviews lasted between 15 and 140 minutes, and all were recorded in full with permission from the informants, and later transcribed. Formal analysis of data was conducted as the transcriptions were completed. I had a holistic approach to the data analysis, since a central issue related to how the interview data could supplement the written sources.

Analytical approach

In analysing the documentary sources I utilised the core principles of external and internal source criticism elaborated in Kjeldstadli.¹⁰² These include inquiries such as: *How* was the source located? *What* type of source is it? *When* was the source produced (date)? *Where* and by *whom* was it produced (localization and authorship)? What was the *intention* of the source in its present time? *What* does it say (interpretation)? and finally *What is the evidential value* of its contents (credibility)?

¹⁰² Kjeldstadli, *Fortida er ikke hva den Engang var*.

The Papers

Two of the four papers in this dissertation have been co-authored with colleagues. Paper II was written in collaboration with Kari Steen-Johnsen. I carried out the data collection and wrote the first draft of the paper, while Kari Steen-Johnsen contributed greatly in the conceptualisation and analysis of the paper. Hence, I am first author and mainly responsible for the result. Paper IV was written together with Anders Hasselgård, a fellow PhD-student working with issues on SPD at NIH. Our cooperation is a result of an effort to combine our projects in this relatively new field of research.¹⁰³ The data collection and the analysis of the data and the writing process were carried out by both authors, in close collaboration.¹⁰⁴

The sources for each paper are as follows:

- Paper I is based on archive material, in particular NIF documents and newspaper articles.
- Paper II is based on documentary material as well as interviews with people on the recipient side in Tanzania.
- Paper III is based on documentary material and interviews both with people on the recipient side in Tanzania and from the Norwegian donor side.
- Paper IV is based on documentary material as well as interviews both with people on the recipient side in Zimbabwe and from the Norwegian donor side.

Ethical considerations

In my study, ethical considerations mainly regard the interview situation. However, as Kvale and Brinkmann point out, ethical considerations are not only limited to the interview per se, but are integrated into each part of the research situation.¹⁰⁵ The easiest part of this is how to attain the confidentiality of the informants; the hardest concerns the effects of the research process and the knowledge produced through analyses.

Any recorded material of this study has been handled with care. Further, I have recognised the need for anonymity, not because of any irregularities regarding the formal order of the projects, but rather due to the agreements made with the informants in order to

¹⁰³ Whereas I am studying Norwegian sports development aid from a historical perspective, Anders Hasselgård is studying more contemporary trends in SDP.

¹⁰⁴ The data collection from the Zimbabwe engagement has resulted in two separate articles. First, Paper IV, where I am first author, studies NIF's official discourse and consequently the power-effects produced in the interaction with the recipients. Secondly, in a forthcoming article where Anders Hasselgård is first author, we study how the discourses are translated, given meaning, and consequently implemented by the Zimbabwe Sport and Recreation Commission.

¹⁰⁵ Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann, *Det Kvalitative Forskningsintervju*, 2nd ed. (Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk, 2009)

have the privilege to interview them. Rather than names, I refer to my informants in terms of the positions they currently hold, or held during the time of the projects. All organisations are denoted by their original names.

In addition, ethical considerations regarding the role of the researcher in ethnographic studies (such as the issue of clarification of roles) must be raised.¹⁰⁶ This relates particularly to the interpretations of the collected data, at the meeting point between the 'experience-near' and 'experience-different' concepts.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Interesting perspectives about the dangers involved in anthropological research can be found in: Marlene de Laine, *Fieldwork, Participation and Practice: Ethics and Dilemmas in Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 2000)

¹⁰⁷ Geertz, *Local Knowledge*.

CHAPTER 3 – THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND AID STRATEGY

This chapter commences with a discussion of the issue of using theories in historical studies. It proceeds with an outline of theoretical perspectives on ‘development’, and how development aid is framed within what seems to be a common understanding of what ‘development’ is or should be. Simultaneously, I contextualise general aid strategies from their emergence at the end of World War II until the 1990s, and place the two (theoretical and historical contexts) in relation to each other. (With a special emphasis on Norway as an aid donor to Tanzania, as this was where the first Norwegian SDP initiative was carried out). This is done in order to create an understanding of the complexity of the development apparatus, and to show how closely the theoretical and practical sides of development are intertwined.

Theories and historians

For many historians, theory is a contentious subject. Douglas Booth argues that the reason for this is that some 'conceptualize history as an a-theoretical discipline in which historical phenomena are unique configurations and one-off occurrences'.¹⁰⁸ Historians critical of using theories see them as threats, as abstract constructs developed in the present that may help explaining general trends, but are inadequate when it comes to dealing with the complex historical reality. 'Theories are mistrusted because they make historians look only for the evidence that will help them make their point'.¹⁰⁹ Historian Knut Kjeldstadli states that if such is the matter, theories operate as cages rather than keys.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, and some would say fortunately, the scepticism towards theories is gradually toned down among historians. Some twenty years back cultural historian Peter Burke argued that the trend where social historians picked up the ‘theoretical turn’ and social scientists the ‘historical turn’ was very welcome. 'Without the combination of history and theory we are unlikely to understand either the past or the present'.¹¹¹ Therefore the usefulness of theories, as they may operate as keys, is increasingly recognised. As Booth points out:

Although few historians employ the historical record to construct formal theories or set out to apply, test or confirm theories, many sports historians incorporate theories

¹⁰⁸ Douglas Booth, “Theory,” in *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, ed. S.W. Pope and John Nauright (London: Routledge, 2010), 12.

¹⁰⁹ Polley, *Sports History*.

¹¹⁰ Kjeldstadli, *Fortida er ikke hva den Engang var*.

¹¹¹ Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 19. Scepticism among historians towards using theory has obviously decreased since Peter Burke published his book. His emphasis regarding the combination of history and theory does however apply in historical and social research even today.

into their work as ‘frameworks of interpretation’ (...) theory helps frame the questions practitioners ask, direct them to particular sources, organizes their evidence, and shapes their explanation.¹¹²

It is in this sense, as ‘frameworks of interpretations’, I have applied theories in my study of SDP.

As Simensen points out, development or Third World studies have been marked by sharply opposing theoretical positions, characterised as ‘schools’ or even ‘paradigms’. These have been influential both in defining the West’s general view of the Third World, as well as having influenced and shaped aid strategies to a certain degree.¹¹³ In order to create an understanding of the complexity of the development apparatus, and to show how closely the theoretical and practical sides of development are intertwined, in the following I will explore the concept of ‘development’, and how the various schools or paradigms, and aid strategies have evolved.

Conceptualising development

In the development classic, *Doctrines of development*, Michael Cowen and Robert Shenton demonstrates that the term ‘development’ can be understood in multiple ways, and hence seems to defy definition.¹¹⁴ In attempting to conceptualise the term development though, it is useful (as they do) to distinguish between ‘immanent’ and ‘intentional’ development. Immanent development is characterised by a ‘transformation that moves towards an *ever more perfect* form’,¹¹⁵ that unfolds over time, and thus is ‘natural’. There is a long tradition of considering the evolvement of history as linear and similar for all societies as an immanent process.¹¹⁶ Intentional development on the other hand, is characterised by an active intervention to create desired change to a society or a situation. Cowen and Shenton draw the historic line of the idea of intentional development to the mid-1800s, and claim that it is necessarily Eurocentric as it was ‘in Europe that it was hoped to provide the constructivist means to compensate for results of the development of capitalism’.¹¹⁷ Development was intended to create order in a society marked by social disorder due to poverty, rapid urban migration and unemployment. Consequently, one could speak of intentional development aiming to solve the problem of population surplus caused by industrialization. However, a

¹¹² Booth, “Theory”, 12.

¹¹³ Simensen, “Writing the History of Development Aid”.

¹¹⁴ Michael Cowen and Robert W. Shenton, *Doctrines of Development* (London: Routledge, 1996)

¹¹⁵ Gustavo Esteva, “Development,” in *The Development Dictionary*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs (London: Zed Books, 1992), 6.

¹¹⁶ Knut Nustad, *Gavens Makt: Norsk Utviklingshjelp som Formynderskap* (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2003), 36.

¹¹⁷ Cowen and Shenton, *Doctrines*, 6.

premise for intentional development intervention was that it necessarily needed to be governed by someone familiar with the development goals, thus already developed.¹¹⁸ Cowen and Shenton define this paradox as the logical problem of development and argues that 'the nineteenth-century resolution of the development problem was to invoke trusteeship. Those who took themselves to be developed could act to determine the process of development for those who were less-developed'.¹¹⁹ As Nustad sums up, 'It was when development in the immanent sense was seen as creating problems that could be solved by active intervention, that intentional development was created'.¹²⁰

Although the term 'development' in the aid context may be traced considerably farther back historically, as an enterprise and as a scholarly discipline it is common to understand 'development' as it was defined in the early post-World War II period.¹²¹ As Escobar states, this understanding is characterized by the effort to pave the way for countries in the less-developed states in the South to replicate the conditions that characterized the more economically advantaged nations in the West: 'Industrialization, high degrees of urbanization and education, technification of agriculture, and widespread adoption of the values and principle of modernity, including particular forms of order, rationality and individual orientation'.¹²² The early post-World War II period saw the evolvement of several interventions to improve poor countries' material and financial conditions. Bull argues that the background for these interventions were primarily threefold. First, a majority of former colonies in Africa and Asia achieved independence. Second, during the Cold War, the super-powers were racing to influence these newly independent non-aligned states. Third and consequent to the above, several bilateral and multilateral agencies were created to channel and administer aid to poor countries.¹²³ As economist and development aid critic Dambisa Moyo put it:

Post-war aid can be broken down into seven broad categories: its birth at Bretton Woods in the 1940s; the era of the Marshall plan in the 1950s; the decade of industrialization of the 1960s; the shift towards aid as an answer to poverty in the 1970s; aid as the tool for stabilization and structural adjustments in the 1980s; aid as a

¹¹⁸ Nustad, *Gavens Makt*, 36.

¹¹⁹ Cowen and Shenton, *Doctrines*, 4.

¹²⁰ Knut Nustad, "The Development Discourse in the Multilateral System," in *Global Institutions and Development: Framing the World?*, ed. Morten Bøås and Desmond McNeill (London: Routledge, 2004), 14.

¹²¹ Elaborated in Cowen and Shenton, *Doctrines* and John Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007).

¹²² Arturo Escobar, "Anthropology and Development", *International Social Science Journal* 49, 154 (1997).

¹²³ Benedicte Bull, "Development Theory Revisited," in *Poverty, Politics and Development*, ed. Dan Banik, (Oslo: Fagbokforlaget, 2006).

buttress of democracy and governance in the 1990s; culminating in the present-day obsession with aid as the only solution to Africa's myriad of problems.¹²⁴

The birth of development aid

In July 1944 a conference was held at the Mount Washington Hotel in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA, as delegates from some 44 allied nations aimed at creating a framework for a global system of rules, institutions and procedures of financial and monetary management. With the memory of the Great Depression of the 1930s in mind, the architects of the Bretton Woods Agreement anticipated that if post-World War II Europe were to re-establish to the level it was on prior to the War, considerable funds had to be injected into the European society. The discussions led to the establishment of three institutions that were to secure the global financial system: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (commonly known as the World Bank) and the International Trade Organization.¹²⁵

Founded by the allied nations in 1945, the United Nations (UN) soon became the major forum for the promotion of development assistance as the founding governments had committed themselves to ideals such as promoting

higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development (...) solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems (...) and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.¹²⁶

Towards the end of the 1940s, the idea of international development aid had become institutionalised in the UN system, with the establishment of programmes such as the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development.¹²⁷ However, as historian Olav Stokke point out, regardless of the fact that the UN played a defining role in the need for assistance promoting economic development in less-developed countries and regions through assistance from the West onto

¹²⁴ Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and how there is Another Way for Africa*, (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 10.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations, Chapter IX: International Economic and Social Co-operation, Article 55*. Accessed June 06, 2013. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter9.shtml>

¹²⁷ Olav Stokke, *UN and Development: From Aid to Cooperation*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009)

the international agenda, it was the United States that played the leading role in terms of both development aid ideas and practice.¹²⁸

The inaugural address by the American president Truman on January 20, 1949 is said by many¹²⁹ to mark the beginning of the first development aid interventions, opening up for the 'era of development'.¹³⁰ In his speech, President Truman sketched the future of American foreign politics based on the following four principles: a continued emphasis on the Marshall aid in rebuilding a war-torn Europe; the establishment of a military defence alliance; the maintenance of an international system secure by the UN; financial and technical aid be given to developing countries. In reference to the latter point, which came to be known as the 'Point Four Program', President Truman drew a picture of the developing countries in a miserable state, and one in which the United States, with their progressive politics and advantages, was in a unique position to aid. Truman stated that:

We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people. (...) our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible. (...) The old imperialism – exploitation for foreign profit – has no place in our plans (...) Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific knowledge.¹³¹

There are several interesting elements in Truman's quota. First of all this was among the first times that the term 'underdeveloped'¹³² had been used in a formal setting, paving the way for a thinking based on 'us' and 'them'. Secondly, it claims to have the solution to the 'problem' of underdevelopment, and the key to prosperity and peace. Thirdly, it indicated who should take on the task to develop the 'underdeveloped'. The political motives for the United States

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ This is especially proclaimed by writers from the post-structural perspective, the post-development theorists.

¹³⁰ Esteva, "Development", 6.

¹³¹ Cited in David Craig and Doug Porter, *Development Beyond Neoliberalism? Governance, Poverty Reduction and Political Economy*. (London: Routledge, 2006), 48.

¹³² Post-development scholar and development critic Gustavo Esteva points to Truman's inaugural address as not only the invention of 'development' but also 'under-development'. As 'on that day, two billion people became underdeveloped (...) they ceased being what they were, in all their diversity, and were transmogrified into an inverted mirror of others' reality'. Esteva, "Development", 7. The term 'underdeveloped' had however been utilized before, for instance in the UN General Assembly in 1948 and resolutions 198 (III) and 200 (III). Elaborated in Stokke, *UN and Development*.

to aid the developing countries cannot be underestimated. First, President Truman stated from the beginning that development aid was particularly important because it provided an alternative to communism for the developing countries, and thus development aid became part of the ideological struggle and active foreign policy characterizing the Cold War era. Another motive was to utilise the development aid to battle the European colonial system in the developing world.¹³³

Truman's ideas was later manifested and theorised by the American economist Walt W. Rostow in *The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto* from 1960.¹³⁴ Rostow's theory entered the tradition of the modernisation school which had a great impact on contemporary development thinking and practice.

Development as modernisation and industrialisation

The provision of a guiding development manual on how best to apply available resources to secure development was one of the motivations for the proponents of the modernisation school.¹³⁵ The school was based on three main principles: it equated development with economic growth, industrialisation and modernisation; it viewed development as a linear process; and it claimed that the developing countries would ultimately follow the same path of development as experienced by the United States and the Western European countries.¹³⁶ Thus, the modernisation school viewed development as an immanent process in to which every society eventually would relate.

Although several writers belonged to this tradition, the most well-known contribution is by Rostow. In *The stages of economic growth*, Rostow distinguished between five stages of economic development on a temporal scale that every society needed to pass through in order to reach the ultimate goal, 'the age of mass consumption', understood as the modern society.¹³⁷ For Rostow, the key motors for driving all societies along this path were

¹³³ Tvedt, "Utviklingshjelp og det Nasjonale Godhetsregimet"

¹³⁴ Walt W. Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (1960)," in *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*, ed. J. Timmons Roberts and Amy Hite (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2000)

¹³⁵ Bull, "Development theory revisited".

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ In "The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto (1960)" Rostow distinguishes between five stages of economic growth. The first stage is *the traditional society* (or pre-Newtonian society as Rostow also calls it) whose structures are developed within limited production functions. The second stage is *the preconditions for take-off*, a period characterised by the economy undergoing a process of change for building up of conditions for growth and take off. The third and most crucial phase is *the take-off*. At this stage, according to Rostow, resistances to steady growth are finally overcome. Thus, this stage is characterized by dynamic economic growth. Stage four is *the drive to maturity*, and is the stage "in which an economy demonstrates that it has the technological and entrepreneurial skill to produce not everything, but anything that it chooses to produce" (p 104). Last is *the age of mass consumption*, which is ultimately characterized by modern

technology, savings, entrepreneurialism and the correct political (non-communist) systems.¹³⁸ This was clearly manifested in his book, which, in addition to containing the 'recipe' for economic development, explicitly took a political turn in the second part. The most common feature of *The stages of economic growth* was Rostow's argument that since the development process was universal, countries which began to achieve economic growth later (poorer countries) could, with the assistance of the already modern societies, fast forward the process in order to achieve 'the take-off'. Thus, in the immanent process he described, Rostow opened up of an intentional development which could help solve the problem and increase the progress of the failed immanent development.¹³⁹

The modernisation school and specifically Rostow's work had great political impact. This could also be seen on the political scene, where social scientists were recruited for advisory positions for the government. For instance, Rostow served both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations as Deputy National Security Advisor and National Security Advisor respectively.¹⁴⁰ However, the modernisation school was also severely criticized from several angles. First, it was deemed ahistorical as it failed to distinguish between countries, regions, structural conditions and specific historical experiences, ultimately making all poor countries seem the same. The modernisation school was also labelled ethnocentric and pro-capitalist and an explicit tool for the Americans in their Cold War battle against communism. Furthermore, it was criticised for blaming the lack of development on internal conditions in the respective country, and ignoring important external causes of poverty and underdevelopment.¹⁴¹

The modernisation school influenced the practical development aid interventions from the beginning in the early 1950s and throughout the 1960s. Consequently, aid projects largely synonymous with industrialisation and technical assistance dominated the aid discourse. Such projects, with economic development as the goal, were believed to contribute to a trickle-down effect which would in turn benefit entire societies.

Norway committed to a bilateral aid agreement with India in 1952, marking the start of a development aid tradition, among some historians characteristically termed 'the aid rush', which has played a major role in Norwegian contemporary foreign politics. India was the

society. According to Rostow, this stage had its break-through in the United States in the 1913–14 with Fordism, followed by Western European nations, and then Japan in the 1950's.

¹³⁸ Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth".

¹³⁹ Nustad, *Gavens Makt*.

¹⁴⁰ Simensen, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 1*.

¹⁴¹ J. Timmons Roberts, and Amy Hite, eds. *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2000)

only recipient of Norwegian aid for a decade, and although the idea of expanding aid was subsequently brought up with the establishment of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad) in 1962, the following decade was characterised by only modest aid expansion.¹⁴²

Development as dependency

Commencing in the late 1950s, a steadily increasing group of Latin American scholars and planners¹⁴³ harshly refuting the ideas of modernisation, developed a set of ideas that laid the foundation for a new development paradigm. The paradigm, which came to be known as the dependency school, was regarded a neo-Marxist, non-Western alternative and complete antithesis of the modernisation school. While the ideas of the dependency school were influencing policy in Latin America already in the 1950s, it was not until the end of the 1960s that it was noted by a wider audience. The growing interest came as a result of the initiatives of Andre Grunder Frank, who popularised the dependency theory, drawing on Lenin's theory of imperialism and Marx' analysis of capitalist societies. In a period marked by decolonization and anti-imperialist attitudes the theory gained momentum, particularly among the Africanists. Whereas modernisation theorists had placed societies or countries at different stages on a temporal scale, the dependency theorists described the world as consisting of two poles where rich countries were the 'centre' and poorer countries the 'satellites' or 'periphery' of the global capitalist system. Dependency theorists postulated that underdevelopment in the periphery was the direct results of development in the centre, and vice versa. Where previous development theories had treated capitalism as a homogeneous force, the dependency theorists focussed on the inequalities generated from international economic relationships.¹⁴⁴ When it came to the solution of the 'problem' of dependency, the dependency theories were divided into two schools. The radical theorists¹⁴⁵ claimed that because of the unfair distribution of goods and resources in the global capitalist system (governed by the centre that in turn exploited and experienced economic growth on behalf of the periphery), underdevelopment was a permanent state. The only escape was to strongly protect their markets from the rich countries by escaping from the entire global capitalist

¹⁴² Elaborated in Helge Ø. Pharo, "Reluctance, Enthusiasm and Indulgence: The Expansion of Bilateral Norwegian Aid," in *The Aid Rush: Aid Regimes in Northern Europe during the Cold War. Volume 1*, ed. Helge Ø. Pharo and Monica Phole Fraser (Oslo: Unipub, 2008)

¹⁴³ Among them, economists such as Raúl Prebisch, Paul Baran and Fernando Henrique Cardoso who were working for the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America.

¹⁴⁴ Roberts and Hite, *From Modernization to Globalization*.

¹⁴⁵ Among them Frank, Baran and Egyptian economist Samir Amin.

system, and promote development based on self-help.¹⁴⁶ As Roberts and Hite points out, these theorists did not really offer any feasible solutions to the development dilemma, and therein lay the criticism of them.¹⁴⁷ The other school, the 'structuralist' dependency theorists,¹⁴⁸ attempted to visualise a way out of the dependency state towards a degree of development within the relationship between the core and the periphery. These theorists emphasised differences among nations in the periphery, and attempted to ask what mechanism perpetuated the relationship instead of simply describing a dependency situation.¹⁴⁹ In addition to lacking a feasible solution, the dependency school was criticised for being deterministic in the sense that 'modernisation' was the goal. Not every society or group fits the format of 'modernisation', and thus, the emphasis should be on improving peoples' livelihoods based on their own terms. Development, it was stated, 'could be understood as the fulfilment of local potential, not reaching towards externally defined goals'.¹⁵⁰

As Nustad points out, 'dependency theory was built on a radically new understanding of the relationship between "development" and "underdevelopment", and this in turn had obvious consequences for how foreign aid was understood'.¹⁵¹ The radical dependency theorists criticism and understanding of this relationship influenced foreign aid in the sense that many of the newly independent states started emphasising the importance of international relations for their own development. An example of this was the demands from a group of developing countries, the so-called G-77 countries, of a New Economic World Order (NIEO) under the auspices of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), after the successful oil boycott actions in 1973-1974. The demands argued for a change in the global economy and included for instance absolute ownership and control over own natural resources, a more fair international work division, better market access for poor countries, regulating the shipping industry for the benefit of the developing countries, co-determination in international financial institutions and curtailing of debt. Although the NIEO

¹⁴⁶ Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment (1969)," in *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*, ed. J. Timmons Roberts and Amy Hite (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2000); Samir Amin, "Utvikling og Strukturendringer: Lærdommer fra Afrika," in *Underutvikling: En Antologi om U-land og Underutvikling i Historiske Perspektiv*, ed. Tore Linné Eriksen (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1974).

¹⁴⁷ Roberts and Hite, *From Modernization to Globalization*.

¹⁴⁸ Among them Cardoso and the American sociologist Gary Gereffi.

¹⁴⁹ The groundwork of the World Systems theory emerging in the 1970s, is rooted in the 'structuralist' dependency theories. Thus, authors that initially could be classified as dependency theorists later became key contributors to World Systems theory.

¹⁵⁰ Bull, "Development Theory Revisited", 36.

¹⁵¹ Knut Nustad, "Foreign Aid and the Ideas of Development," in *Poverty, Politics and Development: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Dan Banik, (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2006), 235.

was abandoned after some time, several rich countries were influenced by the demands. This could be seen through foreign aid policies where the emphasis was put on fair trade and 'trade, not aid'.¹⁵²

As mentioned above, the 1960s was characterised by de-colonisation, and in the developing world, newly independent states flourished. Thus, 'state building' was a key term in the development aid rhetoric, as development workers served both as administrative operators and advisers in the developing world.¹⁵³ As Simensen points out, 'For donor countries without a colonial experience [such as Norway¹⁵⁴], it served as a means to find a footing until more large-scale *project assistance* could be introduced'.¹⁵⁵ A country that benefited from the Norwegian aid rush in the 1960s was Tanganyika (later Tanzania). Historian Helge Pharo argues that there seems to have been little doubt or even debate in the *Storting* [the Norwegian parliament] that the newly liberated African states were next in line after India in development aid questions: 'There was an extremely strong fascination with the new African states, epitomised by the almost universal Norwegian admiration for Tanzania and President Julius Nyerere; such admiration was remarkably persistent'.¹⁵⁶ Simultaneously, there were few international aid donors active in Tanzania, and hence, 'it seemed like a place where a Nordic effort would be visible and attract attention'.¹⁵⁷ The aid relationship between Tanzania and Norway was strong, and lasting even in times where the Tanzanian government implemented a type of politics which was incompatible with Norwegian ideals involving the one-party state and forced villagisation.¹⁵⁸ However, as Simensen demonstrates, it was political (and personal) motives that drew Norwegian and Nordic interests to Tanzania in the

¹⁵² Elaborated in: Ruud and Kjerland, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 2*.

¹⁵³ Simensen, "Writing the History of Development Aid".

¹⁵⁴ The assumption that Norway was without any colonial experience and thus was more apt and trustworthy in providing development aid was originally an argument in the development aid debates in Norway in its initial years. As Tvedt points out, Norwegian development aid seems to have been driven by ideal motives and a lack of national self-interests. (Tvedt, *Bilder av "de andre"*) However, one may question the assumption that Norway is entirely without colonial history of any kind. Although Norway and Norwegians have been marginal actors in the history of European expansion and colonialism, they did in fact play an important role in the tropical colonies in India, Africa and America governed by Denmark/Norway in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Norwegian contribution in the colonies was both as colonial administrators, and even more so as sailors in the Danish/Norwegian fleet which was involved in the so-called plantation economy, meaning that they transported slaves from their West African slave fort Christiansborg, across the Atlantic, and provided Caribbean raw materials plantations with these slaves in return of raw materials that they brought home. Elaborated in Magne Njåstad, *Norvegr, Norges historie 1400-1840* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2011) and Nustad, *Gavens Makt*

¹⁵⁵ Simensen, "Writing the History of Development Aid", 172.

¹⁵⁶ Pharo, "Reluctance, Enthusiasm and Indulgence", 66.

¹⁵⁷ Sunniva Engh and Helge Pharo, "Nordic Cooperation in Providing Development Aid," in *Regional Cooperation and International Organizations. The Nordic model in transnational alignment*, ed. Norbert Götz and Heidi Haggrén, (London: Routledge, 2009): 121.

¹⁵⁸ An excellent analyses of the compulsory villagisation politics (also known as the ujamaa village campaign) can be found in James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998)

first place as President Nyerere's ideology, the African socialism, and its priorities seemed to fit perfectly with the wishes and ideas of the social-democrats in the North.¹⁵⁹ Thus, under President Nyerere, Tanzania soon became the largest recipient of aid from Norway and the Nordic countries.

By the beginning of the 1970s the trickle-down effects of the economic growth policies were observed to have failed, and dependency theories dominated development thinking. The number of people living in absolute poverty was increasing as was the unemployment levels and also the gap between the poor and the rich.¹⁶⁰ Simultaneously, the world economy slowed, which in turn affected the developing countries negatively and ultimately plunged the Third World economic into recession.¹⁶¹ This demanded new strategies, and in aid policies a shift was made towards a focus on poverty. Under the presidency of Robert McNamara, the World Bank had become the largest aid donor by the mid-1970s, and consequently a supplier of conditions on how foreign aid should be distributed. Through their poverty focus, the World Bank influenced several other donors to turn their aid away from large infrastructure investments and economic development projects, and towards social development and a focus on the poor. As a result, allocations to social development projects crept to over 50% of the total development aid budgets by the end of the 1970s, compared to less than 10% in the previous decade.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Jarle Simensen, "Aid Symbioses and its Pitfalls: the Nordic/Norwegian-Tanzanian Aid Relationship, 1962-1986," in *The Aid Rush: Aid Regimes in Northern Europe During the Cold War. Volume 2*, ed. Helge Ø. Pharo and Monica Phole Fraser (Oslo: Unipub, 2008) Engh and Pharo shows that there were also personal motives for the Nordic engagement in Tanzania. 'Indeed, the proposal to support Tanganyika originated with Barbro Johansson, Swedish missionary to the country, friend of Prime Minister Nyerere and later minister in his cabinet. Johansson knew [the Swedish prime minister] Tage Erlander from their studies in Lund, and the close personal ties may have been vital for the position Tanganyika and Nyerere would come to occupy in Nordic aid'. Engh and Pharo, "Nordic Cooperation in Providing Development Aid," 121.

¹⁶⁰ Moyo, *Dead Aid*, 17.

¹⁶¹ For the developing world, after a period of steady growth, the oil crisis and its aftermath plunged the Third World economic into recession. As Rapley points out in his book *Understanding Development*, what took the place of the steady growth was a 'phenomenon that bedeviled policymakers in their search for a cure: economic stagnation coupled with high inflation, or as it came to be known, stagflation' (p. 45). Although fair trade and 'trade, not aid' ideas meant to improve the conditions for the countries in the Third World, it was soon evident that Third World countries fell ill of the economic crisis as the market for their products was gradually reduced. Simultaneously oil prices skyrocketed. The oil nations deposited their hard currencies in Western banks, which in turn had to pay the interest of the money. In order to avoid losing money, Western banks needed to find someone to whom they could grant loans. The choice fell on Third World governments which were given low, and even negative, real interest rate loans to more or less questionable projects. As Moyo point out, even the poorest and most un-creditworthy governments around the world were given loans. Further, they were encouraged to borrow even more in order to repay previous debts. Meanwhile governments in the West fought the economic crisis through tight monetary policies and increased interest rates. This affected the Third World countries that ultimately had to repay their loans at a higher interest rate than they had initially estimated. With the simultaneous increase in the value of the US dollar, it was soon evident that managing the debt was close to impossible. Thus, at the end of the 1970s, a debt crisis was inevitable.

¹⁶² Moyo, *Dead Aid*.

Norway joined this trend, and had adopted the idea of social development becoming part of the aid rhetoric. The social development discourse was followed by ideals of basic needs, human capital and poverty alleviation. According to Simensen, these ideals appealed to a greater majority of the (Nordic) population more so than economic growth, and thus "economic growth" from then on tended to drop far into the background of aid discourse.¹⁶³ The development rhetoric of the late 1960s and 1970s fits with the general radicalisation of public opinion regarding development aid. This was particularly evident among the younger generations of 'sixty-eighters'. As Simensen argues, Norwegian aid strategies from now on focussed on structural changes, and the principle that the aid should benefit countries with an 'equitable social distribution policy'¹⁶⁴, as well as singling out specific target groups such as women and the rural poor.

Neo-Liberalism and Conditionality

In 1982, a debt crisis erupted, as a group of Third World countries announced that they were unable to meet their debts obligations. This paved the way for neo-liberalism as an economic prescription for developing countries.¹⁶⁵ Neo-liberalist thinking increasingly viewed the market as the only means to promote development.¹⁶⁶ This was also evident for countries in the South that had few choices but 'to increase their integration within and dependency on the international market economy in one way or the other'.¹⁶⁷ As Harvey comments:

Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices.¹⁶⁸

The neo-liberalists, inspired by economists like Adam Smith (1723-1790) and David Ricardo (1772-1823), thus believed that large states and their dominating roles in domestic economic politics were the main reasons for the lack of economic growth in developing countries. They reasoned that governmental management would lead to a lack of compatibility between what

¹⁶³ Simensen, "Writing the history of development aid", 173.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 173.

¹⁶⁵ Although neo-liberalism dominated the aid discourse after the debt crisis, neo-liberal thinking was also evident in aid practice prior to the crisis. For instance, the World Bank had started changing their thinking on lending policies and giving structural adjustment loans already in the 1970s (for instance to Tanzania in 1973). Some developing countries had also begun realising that economic changes such as devaluation were necessary already before the debt crisis erupted. Elaborated in Ruud and Kjerland, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 2*.

¹⁶⁶ Gerald Berthoud, "Market," in *The Development Dictionary*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1992)

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 70.

¹⁶⁸ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2.

would be advantageous for the individual and what would be beneficial for society as a whole. They further claimed that state-controlled economy would forge corruption as bureaucrats and politicians would acquire the opportunity to enrich themselves and their political supporters. The solution to such problems was to remove government regulations on the economy, to privatise state-owned enterprises, to avoid monopolies, and thus to encourage free-market development.¹⁶⁹

A series of factors in the early 1980s led to the rise of neo-liberalist thinking in development. Where dependency theories had emphasised the correlation between external factors and foreign development aid, the 1980s saw a shift towards an emphasis on internal factors in poor countries. Nustad argues that this shift in thinking arose 'from the ambiguous role of the state in developing countries assigned by dependency theory.'¹⁷⁰ Where dependency theorists had explained the world where the 'core' (rich states) exploited the 'periphery' (poor states), the state itself exploited its own people, and thus acted as 'core' within its own system. Nustad points out that the dual aspect of the state in the developing countries merged at the same time as scepticism towards the state became a common denominator in Europe and the United States. The leading ideology of market liberalism and a minimalist state was further consolidated with the conservative parties gaining power in Great Britain (Thatcher, 1979), the United States (Reagan, 1981) and West-Germany (Kohl, 1982), and laid the premises for reform politics led by the Western powers. Simultaneously, researchers increasingly questioned the benefits of an interventionist state in development.¹⁷¹ Additionally, the rise of neo-liberalism coincided with new strategies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank believing that without handling structural distortions such as rigid government spending and artificially low domestic interest rates, external imbalances could not be resolved. This was reflected in a growing recognition that achieving a balance between the internal and external economies of developing countries required restructuring economic policy over the long-term rather than short-term.¹⁷² Consequently, the IMF and World Bank went from supporting debt- and crisis-ridden Third World countries with loans for specific projects, to general budget support known as Structural Adjustment

¹⁶⁹ Bull, "Development theory revisited", 39; Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, 6th ed. (Cambridge and Malden, MA.: Polity Press, 2009); Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*.

¹⁷⁰ Nustad, "Foreign Aid and the Ideas of Development", 237.

¹⁷¹ Bull, "Development Theory Revisited"; Nustad, *Gavens Makt* and "Foreign Aid and the Ideas of Development".

¹⁷² Langille, Joanna, *Conditionality*, 2005. Accessed May 01, 2012. Available at: http://globalautonomy.ca/global1/glossary_pop.jsp?id=CO.0022

Programmes (SAPs¹⁷³). The support did not come without strings attached though, but depended on the recipient countries' fulfilment of certain conditions.¹⁷⁴ Thus, the period and its structural politics came to be known as the 'first generation conditionality'. However, as Stokke points out, 'the recipe was not restricted to the conventional wisdom of domestic and foreign housekeeping: the mechanisms prescribed reflected a neo-liberal economic perspective and were therefore highly political'.¹⁷⁵ In the second half of the 1980s other like-minded governments also followed suit, and imposed conditions on the recipients who, with few other sources of income, had no other choice than accepting the conditions.¹⁷⁶ Initially the conditions were given in regard to economic issues, but eventually several other areas were also subject to donor demands.

Practical development aid also moved towards distrust in recipient states' autonomy and capability to solve their own development problems. Simultaneously, several donors began arguing for channelling the aid directly to the poor who were considered as the aid subjects. Thus, also in development aid politics there was a turn away from the state (that was eventually under donor guardianship through Conditionality and SAPs) towards an increased focus on the so-called grass roots level. In practice, this meant channelling resources to NGOs that were believed to be a counterweight to the state with less formal demands attached to them, and thought to operate in close association with the recipients. As Pharo points out: 'The increasing importance of the NGOs was also due to the growing belief – based on little if any empirical evidence – that they were essentially more efficient transmitters of aid to the needy than state bureaucracies'.¹⁷⁷

Tanzania was one of the countries which was heavily pressurised to accept the strict regulations postulated by the World Bank and the IMF. Despite this, Norwegian and Nordic aid to the country persisted, and was particularly substantial in the 1980s. Simensen points to the biased role of Norway and Sweden as aid donors to Tanzania in this period. On one hand, they supported the hard line towards the IMF and the World Bank through their representatives, on the other they continued their soft bilateral line by providing funds for

¹⁷³ SAPs aimed to promote and reinforce sustainable economic growth, addressed structural hindrances to growth and trade liberalization and attempted to strengthen financial systems.

¹⁷⁴ According to Stokke, the approaches of the IMF were the same as those earlier applied to Northern governments in temporary crisis: 'They had to observe certain conditions before the IMF would agree to assist with short-term credits'. Olav Stokke, "Aid and Political Conditionality: Core Issues and State of the Art," in *Aid and Political Conditionality*, ed. Olav Stokke (London: Frank Cass, 1995), 8.

¹⁷⁵ Stokke, "Aid and Political Conditionality", 9.

¹⁷⁶ Nustad, *Gavens Makt*.

¹⁷⁷ Pharo, "Reluctance, Enthusiasm and Indulgence", 73. The conception of NGOs being more apt to provide aid on the grass roots is discussed in Paper II.

Tanzania to hold on for yet some time before they succumbed to the demands for structural change.¹⁷⁸ Norway alone contributed 8.6% of the total development aid to Tanzania from 1982 to 1985.¹⁷⁹ In 1986, the peak year of Nordic bilateral aid to Tanzania, this constituted well 50% of the total international aid to the country.¹⁸⁰

According to Bull the most important criticism of neo-liberalist politics and policies regarded its social consequences to the disadvantage of the poor as they 'suffered directly from the reduction in subsidies and other social benefits under the structural adjustment programmes, and neo-liberal policies have often failed to provide new opportunities for the poorest segments of the population to escape from poverty.'¹⁸¹ This paved the way for new strategies to understand different development paths, and the state was brought back as an important actor in development interventions. The end of the 1980s and early 1990s came to be known as the period of 'second generation conditionality'¹⁸², and following this the issue of 'good governance' was brought onto the agenda. As Stokke points out, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and consequently the end of the Cold War 'pursuance of predominant Western political norms and interest (...) replaced security policy considerations as the primary concern.'¹⁸³ In other words, political conditionality replaced financial conditionality. Nustad points to the obvious irony in this: 'After trying to deconstruct the state in developing countries, the donor now decides to make demands to the state'.¹⁸⁴

Within the concept of 'good governance' were 'universal' ideals such as democracy, rule of law, and human rights. Further, anti-corruption, peace-making and mediation were brought onto the development aid agenda of the 1990s. Thus, we see a turn in development aid towards donors steering the attention to internal causes (for the lack of development in developing countries), and hence meddling in recipient countries' internal affairs.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁸ Simensen, "Writing the History of Development Aid".

¹⁷⁹ Simensen, "Aid Symbioses and its Pitfalls".

¹⁸⁰ Hilde Selbervik, *Aid and Conditionality. The Role of the Bilateral Donor: A Case-Study of Norwegian-Tanzanian Aid Relationship*, Report submitted to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Oslo: Norad, 1999). Accessed November 15, 2012. Available at: <http://www.norad.no/en/tools-and-publications/publications/publication?key=165312>

¹⁸¹ Bull, "Development Theory Revisited", 40.

¹⁸² Second generation conditionality came with the end of the Cold War and above all aimed at political reforms involving both systemic and substantive aspects. Dramatic political changes in Eastern Europe, in the wake of the Soviet Union dissolution, made the need for changes urgent, both politically and economically. Second generation conditionality added necessary political reforms to SAPs, specifically in the areas of good governance, human rights and democratization, which in turn followed the aid rhetoric in the 1990s. In: Stokke, *Aid and Political Conditionality*.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁸⁴ Nustad, *Gavens Makt*, 110.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* and Simensen, "Writing the History of Development Aid".

Rethinking the ‘development project’

In the 1990s neo-liberalism was subject to severe criticism. After four decades of international development aid, inequalities between poor and rich countries were still alarmingly high, the world’s poor were still poor, and it became clear that neither the modernisation school, the dependency theory nor the neo-liberal ideas had lived up to their promises. This paved the way for a group of scholars known as post-development scholars, or the post-structuralist critique of development, questioning the concept of ‘development’, and not only its goals and means, but also the ideas on which the models on development were structured. Post-development scholars were critical of ‘development’ as it was practiced after World War II and argued that it was nothing but a constructed term, defined by an apparatus that reflected Western thoughts and ideals. The discursive formation of ‘development’ was the centre of attention for post-development scholars who, inspired by Michel Foucault¹⁸⁶, viewed ‘development’ as a powerful discourse 'that orders and creates the object that it pertains to address'.¹⁸⁷ As Sachs stated in his critique of the development discourse in *The Development Dictionary*¹⁸⁸:

The development discourse is made up of a web of key concepts. It is impossible to talk about development without referring to concepts such as poverty, production, the notion of the state, or equality. These concepts first rose to prominence during modern Western history and only then have they been projected on the rest of the world. Each of them crystallizes a set of tacit assumptions which reinforce the Occidental worldview. Development has so pervasively spread these assumptions that people everywhere have been caught up in a Western perception of reality. Knowledge, however, wields power by directing people’s attention; it carves out and highlights a certain reality, casting into oblivions other ways of relating to the world around us. (...) it has become of paramount importance to liberate ourselves from its dominion over our minds.¹⁸⁹

The way the development discourse had produced a notion about universality and consequently contributed to a tremendous loss of diversity, was a core issue for many of the

¹⁸⁶ Michel Foucault (1926-84) used the term *discourse* to refer to ways of talking or thinking about particular subjects united by common assumptions. According Foucault power works through discourses to create popular attitudes towards particular phenomena. “Expert discourses established by those with power or authority can often be countered only by competing expert discourses. In such a way, discourses can be used as a powerful tool to restrict alternative ways of thinking or speaking. Knowledge becomes a force of control.” In: Giddens, *Sociology*, 96.

¹⁸⁷ Knut Nustad, “Development: The Devil we Know?,” in *Exploring Post-Development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives*, ed. Aram Ziai (London: Routledge, 2007), 36.

¹⁸⁸ Wolfgang Sachs’ edited book, *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1992) with its collection of essays from various development critics, grew to be a classic in (post-) development studies.

¹⁸⁹ Wolfgang Sachs, introduction to *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1992), 4-5.

post-development scholars who questioned the thesis that 'development' was a universal goal, and whether development 'problems' defined by the West was experienced as such by those who were the target groups of development interventions.¹⁹⁰ In particular they criticised President Truman and the modernisation school which had made distinctions between 'developed' and 'under-developed', and – they claimed – subsequently paved the way for 'arrogant interventionism in the North and pathetic self-pity in the South'.¹⁹¹ Also building on Foucault, one of the most profiled post-development writers, Arturo Escobar, examined how what was 'portrayed as neutral knowledge about an object creates that object by establishing a set of relations between its elements'.¹⁹² Consequently this suppressed alternative visions of the world. According to Escobar, the development discourse had 'created an extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and the exercise of power over the Third World'.¹⁹³ Thus, the development discourse was presented as 'a unitized homogeneous power play with the "poor" as the victim'.¹⁹⁴ As Nustad sums up: 'the writings directly inspired by Foucault have served to illuminate the political and power aspects of what was earlier seen as a neutral and practical problem: how to deliver development to poor people'.¹⁹⁵

James Ferguson modified the discursive approach by studying development projects and their effects produced by development discourses. In his book, *The Anti-Politics Machine*, he showed how these effects were a result of developers' limited conditions.¹⁹⁶ He explained that development agencies had created a backward logic that the development discourse built on. Ferguson claimed that development agencies primarily had technical means at their disposal, not political ones (development agencies could build roads or teach agricultural expertise, but not intervene in a state's social policies). Therefore, he argued, political analyses to approach development challenges were replaced by technical solutions to the 'problem'. Because social realities were complex, development agencies could only comprehend problems that accepted a development project as its solution. Consequently, he claimed that developers simplified and constructed the realities in such a way that intervention was possible. Therefore, development agents, who set the terms for development

¹⁹⁰ Bull, "Development Theory Revisited".

¹⁹¹ Sachs, introduction, 2.

¹⁹² Nustad, "The Devil we Know?," 36.

¹⁹³ Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 9.

¹⁹⁴ Nustad, "The devil we know?," 36

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 38

¹⁹⁶ James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

policies, often ended up treating the symptoms, rather than the causes of poverty with de-politicisation of poverty as an outcome.

In summary, post-development scholars provided valuable insight into the study of development aid. They did so by arguing that 'development' was a constructed term, created by the apparatus that intended to solve the development problem. Development, they argued, was governed by those elites who were already developed and thus knew the development format. However, in order to offer a solution, development agents needed to constitute – and often simplify – reality in a certain way. Although poverty and the lack of development were considered political problems, development agents could not relate to it as such. Only by de-politicising poverty could they offer solutions – mostly technical – to the 'development problem' of the Third World.

Post-development perspectives were never really accepted in the mainstream development community,¹⁹⁷ and were subject to a variety of criticisms. First, they were criticised for their romanticising of the traditional cultures and societies and overlooking internal violence and power relations. Further, claiming that development problems were constructed by a system which set out to solve them and rejecting the idea of universality, ignored the fact that there were situations that were universally undesirable. As Bull comments:

While certain concepts of poverty may be relational, thirst, hunger and pain are all absolute conditions that human beings across time and cultures have attempted to free themselves from. If development research were only to concentrate on hearing alternative discourses, little attention would be given to understanding how people can free themselves from such conditions.¹⁹⁸

Similarly, as Black contends with reference to John Sugden: 'Given the scale, importance and interconnectedness of the global development challenges we face, "doing nothing may no longer be an option"'.¹⁹⁹

The lack of actor-orientation was the main criticism of post-development scholars as they drew 'a caricature of development discourses as almighty and totally dominating to the people exposed to them'.²⁰⁰ As anthropologist Ralph Grillo points out, post-development literature has seen development as 'a monolithic enterprise, heavily controlled from the top, convinced of the superiority of its own wisdom and impervious to local knowledge, or indeed

¹⁹⁷ Bull, "Development Theory Revisited"

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁹⁹ Black, "The Ambiguities of Development," 124.

²⁰⁰ Nustad, *Gavens Makt*, 44.

common-sense experience, a single gaze or voice which is all-powerful and beyond influence'.²⁰¹ This, he argues, underpins what he calls the 'myth of development' which pervades much critical writing and which is 'based on poor or partial history, betraying a lack of knowledge of both colonialism and decolonization, and throughout it reflects a surprising ethnocentrism: it is very much a view from North-America'.²⁰² This view of the development discourse as totally dominant misses the way the discourse is translated in real meetings between developers and the development subjects. In line with this, post-development was criticized for its lack of alternatives or pointing to a way forward. However, as Nustad point out: 'Although the critique in itself does not point to a way forward for development practice, an extension of the critique to include an examination of how development interventions are transformed in encounters with target populations might do so indirectly'.²⁰³

The post-colonial critique of development

A related criticism of the development project was launched through post-colonial studies.²⁰⁴ However, where post-development scholars aimed to deconstruct the politico-economic development project of 'development', post-colonial scholars were more concerned with showing how the development project had been followed by a 'colonisation of meaning', how it had affected the former colonised people's understanding of own identity and consequently how alternative histories from the colonised people's point of view could be written.²⁰⁵ As Pal Ahluwalia points out with reference to one of the most important figures in contemporary post-colonial studies, Homi Bhabha:

The post-colonial perspective differs from earlier theoretical formulations, such as dependency and the sociology of underdevelopment. It is a perspective which does not seek to historicise the post-colonial world by establishing a binary opposition between the First and the Third worlds. Rather, it 'resists the attempt at holistic forms of social explanation. It forces a recognition of the more complex cultural and political boundaries that exist on the cusp of these often opposed political spheres'.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Ralph D. Grillo, "Discourses of Development: The View from Anthropology," in *Discourses of Development: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Ralph D. Grillo and Roderick L. Stirrat (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 20.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 20-21.

²⁰³ Nustad, "The Devil we Know?," 35.

²⁰⁴ It is common to equate (the rise of) post-colonial studies with Edward Said's pioneering book *Orientalism* (1978), with its theoretical marriage between post-structuralism/post-modernism on the one hand and Marxism on the other. Other important contributors to post-colonial studies are Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994) and Gayatri Spivak's *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988).

²⁰⁵ Bull, "Development Theory Revisited".

²⁰⁶ Pal Ahluwalia, *Politics and Post-colonial Theory: African Inflections* (London: Routledge, 2001), 13-14.

Thus, post-colonial perspectives 'are concerned with the impact of colonial practices on the construction and representation of identities, the relationship between power and global capital, and the significance of race, gender, and class for understanding domination and resistance'.²⁰⁷ Edward Said's pioneering book, *Orientalism*, is believed to have inaugurated the post-colonial critique in which he criticised Western representations of Arabic and Islamic culture. Said argued that Western writings portrayed the Orient as an unfamiliar, irrational, weak, feminised *other* compared to the familiar, rational, strong, masculine West. He further claimed that a long tradition of false images of these cultures in the West had served to justify Europe and the United States' colonial and imperial ambitions.²⁰⁸

Other post-colonial authors were more concerned with hearing the alternative voices, or letting the subaltern²⁰⁹ speak for themselves rather than letting authors and researchers in the West speak for them. As Leela Gandhi illustrates, these voices are the 'counter-narrative of the colonised – politely, but firmly, declining the come-on of colonialism'.²¹⁰

Like the post-development, post-colonial perspectives was subject to criticism. For instance, Said was accused of ignoring alternative visions in his study of Western representations of the Orient. The post-colonialist 'classics' were also criticized for being 'out of touch and mired in abstraction with its concerns of representation, knowledge and discourse'²¹¹ as their concern with multiple identities, hybridity, subjectivity and epistemological questions 'meant that it has been portrayed as being unable to deal with the practice of everyday life and the manner in which it affects the lives of Third World peoples'.²¹² Current post-colonial studies are developing and evolving rapidly, and the focus has shifted from colonial discourse analysis to emphasising the relationship and interactions between modernity, globalisation and the local.²¹³ However, as Gandhi points out 'postcolonialism continues to render non-Western knowledge and culture as "other" in

²⁰⁷ Hayhurst, "The Power to Shape Policy," 209.

²⁰⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1980)

²⁰⁹ In critical post-colonial studies, 'subaltern' is used as a term to identify and describe any person or group who are socially, geographically and politically excluded from the hegemonic power structures of the colony. The term 'subaltern' derived from Antonio Gramsci's 'cultural hegemony' concept which identified the social groups excluded from a society's established structures for political representation, the means by which people have a voice in their society (see also note 231 for more on Gramsci's *hegemony* concept).

²¹⁰ Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 22.

²¹¹ Ahluwalia, *Politics and Post-colonial Theory*, 12.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 12.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

relation to the normative "self" of Western epistemology and rationality'.²¹⁴ Consequently, the colonial discourse is being reproduced.

The donor–recipient relationship in development aid

As I have shown, post-development scholars were criticized for the lack of actor orientation in their critique of the development project, and hence overlooked how the development discourse was translated in meetings between developers (or donors) and the development subjects (the recipients). The donor–recipient relationship is foundational and gives development aid interventions its particular character. It is important to emphasize that the donor–recipient relation has changed over time, both in form and in conceptualisation. In the history of development aid, the need to create an equal relationship between the donor and the recipient has been recurrent. This need has been articulated through various buzzwords in development aid such as 'participation', 'empowerment' and 'ownership', and through expressions such as 'aid on the terms of the recipient'.²¹⁵ A fundamental shift came in the 1990s when the donor went from being operational and managing projects, to a role where the prime focus was to be funders of local institutions and organisations' initiatives and activities. 'Partnership' became the mantra in development aid. As Baaz points out 'In contrast to "participation", the concept "partnership" focuses on the relations between "donors" and "receivers" – development aid is now conducted between partners'.²¹⁶ However, the idea of an equal partnership has proven difficult in practice. Among the reasons for this may be that although the term functions to mask existing asymmetries in the relationship, it is still characterised by a receiving and a giving part. Terje Tvedt argues that using the conceptual pair 'donor' and 'recipient' may work in practical aid, but not in an analytic approach of development, as it 'simplifies the contrasts in the country where the aid is given'.²¹⁷ He further claims that generalising the recipient reduces the complexity of the aid relation as it only focuses on the aspect of diffusion, and it is important with an analytical approach 'that captures and analyses in a fruitful way that development aid is a system where values are negotiated'.²¹⁸ Peter Burke also draws attention to the problem of stigmatising a recipient group.

²¹⁴ Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*, x.

²¹⁵ Simensen, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie I*.

²¹⁶ Maria Eriksson Baaz, *The Paternalism of Partnership; A Postcolonial Reading of Identity in Development Aid* (London: Zed Books, 2005), 6.

²¹⁷ Tvedt, *Verdensbilder og selvbilder*, 163.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 164.

Who are 'the people'? Are they everyone, the poor, the 'subordinate classes', as the Marxist intellectual Antonio Gramsci used to call them? Are they the illiterate or the uneducated? We cannot assume that economic, political and cultural divisions in a given society necessarily coincide. And what is education? Is it only the training handed out in certain official institutions like schools or universities? Are ordinary people uneducated or do they simply have a different education, a different culture from elites?²¹⁹

In analysing the relationship between donor and recipient it is important to keep the above concerns in mind.²²⁰

In his classic essay *The Gift* (in French, *Essai sur le don*) from 1925, the French sociologist Marcel Mauss studied the anthropology of the gift in several archaic societies. The question that drove his inquiry was 'What power resided in the object given that causes its recipients to give something back?'²²¹ Mauss argued that there was no such thing as a free gift and that any gift created a social bond with an obligation to sooner or later reciprocate on part of the recipient. In this way the exchange of gifts created both social commitments and continuous bonds between the parties. Mauss distinguished between three obligations. The first, 'giving', was the necessary initial step for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. The second was 'receiving', for to refuse to receive is to reject the social bond. Last was 'reciprocating' in order to demonstrate one's own liberality, wealth and honour. According to Mauss, the obligation to reciprocate was the normative foundations of societies, and through reciprocal relationships, societies were being sustained.²²² The dilemma of aid presented as a gift, is common in development aid relations. As Knut Nustad points out in his book *Gavens Makt* (The Power of the Gift):

Gifts in the shape of development aid have many of the same qualities as other gifts. First and foremost they are sustaining the relationship between the giver and the recipient. But there is also a major difference. These gifts [development aid] are meant to solve a problem: lack of development.²²³

²¹⁹ Burke, *New Perspectives*, 10.

²²⁰ As argued in Chapter I, I have chosen to use the terms *donor* and *recipient* when referring to the parties of development aid interventions. I do not use the word *partnership* as this tends to downplay the power inequalities that are present in the relationship. Simultaneously, had I chosen to use the word *partnership*, I would be replicating a donor-driven term that was not representative of the time period I am working on. I am aware that the term *recipient* can denote passivity and inactivity but I still choose to use this term, since, at the time of the cases presented in this study, the conceptual pair *donor* and *recipient* were the common terms in use.

²²¹ Marcel Mauss, *Gaven: Utvekslingens Form og Årsak i Arkaiske Samfunn*, trans. Thomas Hylland Eriksen (Oslo: Cappelens Akademisk Forlag, 1995), 12.

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ Nustad, *Gavens Makt*, 21.

Thus, Nustad claims that the power of the gift lies 'in the ability to define a notion [what development should be] as true, and suppress other notions'.²²⁴ As shown above, development aid theories traditionally presented development as a one-way transfer from the rich to the poor countries and as a free gift to solve what they claimed to be the poor countries' main problem – the lack of development. Nustad states that Mauss's argumentation can be a contribution to the understanding of the importance of connections in the donor–recipient relationship since, he argues, 'we need images that are capable of showing the connections between poverty and wealth'.²²⁵

Power is relational and is something that needs to be understood in the context of which it operates. If anything, the development aid process is bidirectional, and thus, power in the aid relationship is neither constant nor necessarily one-sided. Bruno Latour argues that power is not something you *have*, but rather something you *do*, in interaction with others.²²⁶ He encapsulates what he calls the problem of power in the following paradox: 'When you simply *have* power – *in potentia* – nothing happens and you are powerless; when you *exert* power – *in actu* – *others* are performing the action and not you'.²²⁷ Further; 'If the notion of "power" may be used as a convenient way to *summarise* the consequence of a collective action, it cannot also *explain* what holds the collective action in place'.²²⁸ Power, he claims, 'may be used as an effect, but never as a cause'.²²⁹ This understanding of power may be relevant in the context of development aid. Because, as Nustad points out, what makes power in aid relationships so efficient is that it postulates freedom as 'the subject that is being dominated has an opportunity to make choices which are consequently limited by the power relation'.²³⁰ A parallel can be drawn to Allen Guttman's analysis of ludic diffusion where he draws on the concept of 'hegemony'²³¹ advanced by Antonio Gramsci ('whose interest in sport was close to nil'²³²):

²²⁴ Ibid., 21.

²²⁵ Ibid., 143.

²²⁶ Bruno Latour, "The Powers of Association," in *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*, ed. John Law (London: Routledge, 1986)

²²⁷ Ibid., 264–265.

²²⁸ Ibid., 265.

²²⁹ Ibid., 265.

²³⁰ Nustad, *Gavens Makt*, 25.

²³¹ Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) used the concept of *hegemony* in twentieth-century Marxism to explain the control of the bourgeois dominant class in contemporary capitalism. He argued that the dominant classes could not simply maintain control by using violence or force, but that rule had to be based on consent. Because control entailed consent, he argued that ideas could not simply be imposed upon the subordinate working class, but negotiated and modified in order to fit the everyday experiences of the working class. Gramsci further argued to counter the notion that bourgeois values represented 'natural' or 'normal' values for society, the working class needed to develop a culture of its own. Thus, for Gramsci it was fundamental for the attainment of power that *cultural hegemony* should be achieved first. This elaborated, for example, in: Victor

Relationships between the ruler and the ruled cannot be characterized as simply the result of absolute domination by the former and absolute submission by the latter. (...) the strong (who are never all-powerful) have their way after the weak (who are never completely powerless) have their say.²³³

Consequently the donor–recipient relationship in development aid is conceived as inherently complex. Peter Burnell illustrates this complexity when he writes that there are several different kinds of aid relationships to be found in reality.

The parties to a particular relationship may not share identical views of the nature of that relationship, and outside observers could have their own understandings, different again. (...) The fact that the conduct of aid relationships is a process, perhaps proceeding by way of several distinct stages, adds further complexities, and the relations may be dynamic over time. Donors undertake a commitment after first making an offer; prior to that, there will be an indication that an offer might be made. This could arise in the context of a set of expectations that have been generated within an established aid relation. The maintenance of a commitment and, conversely, threats to consider suspending aid deliveries, the withholding of aid, abandoning a relationship and excluding a possible recipient from further considerations are all opportunities to attempt to exercise power. Aid recipients too take initiatives. For instance, on occasions a particular relationship has been terminated contrary to the donor's wishes.²³⁴

Therefore, because the aid relations are complex and the roles negotiable, a nuanced discussion is required in order to describe the roles of power within the donor–recipient relationship.

The use of the theoretical perspectives in the papers

In the four papers of this dissertation, the following theoretical perspectives are utilised:

- Paper I – Descriptive analysis – it is argued that one may frame SDP within International Relations literature
- Paper II – Power perspective in the donor–recipient relationship
- Paper III – Cultural Imperialism and consequently power perspectives
- Paper IV – Draws on development theory to establish the field, post-development critique of development and power-effects.

G. Kiernan, *Imperialism and its Contradictions* (London: Routledge, 1995) and Andrew Edgar and Peter Sedgwick, ed. *Cultural Theory; The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2008)

²³² Guttman, *Games and Empires*, 6.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 6.

²³⁴ Peter Burnell, *Foreign Aid in a Changing World* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997), 20.

CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter I present the results of the study by means of a short summary of each paper which constitute the core of the dissertation. Although the four papers of this dissertation illuminate different sides of the Norwegian SDP²³⁵ engagement in the 1980s and 1990s it is still possible to extract some common denominators that characterise NIF as a donor of SDP. Following these summaries, I set out to move the discussion one step ahead to the main research question posed in Chapter 1: *How can the Norwegian involvement in SDP from the early 1980s to 2000 be understood?*

The papers

Paper I

Paper I, "Sport is in lack of everything here!" – Norwegian Sport for All to Tanzania in the early 1980s', is sole-authored. This paper is an investigation of the underlying motivation for NIF to become involved in SDP. As outlined in Chapter 1 the main research question of the paper was: *What characterized the arguments for NIF to initiate an SDP project in Africa in the 1980s?*

Through the empirical data I identify several motives for involving in SDP. The protagonists argued that NIF was in a forward position in sports compared to the developing world and that it therefore had something to provide. They also argued that such an initiative would contribute to sports by showing that sport was more than hooliganism, violence, black money and the emerging number of doping scandals that characterised international elite sports. Other dominating arguments included the anticipated potential for societal development inherent in SDP, and the building of a welfare state with a special emphasis on health benefits. Nonetheless, the main reason that NIF was able to implement *Sport for All* were the changes in Norwegian development aid strategies towards neo-liberalism that made funds available for private organisations with development projects. As I conclude in Paper I, public aid priorities were more or less fixed, and thus needed to be met by the new aid actors such as NIF. This was reflected in the public documents: the rhetoric used in the SDP discussions was clearly in line with the development aid jargon at the time. Hence, also an SDP project could see the light of day.

²³⁵ As argue in Chapter 1, in the initial stages of my project I used the terms 'sports aid' and 'sports development aid'. As there seems to be consensus that the common denominator in the field today is 'Sport for Development and Peace' (abbreviated SDP), in the last paper and the dissertation I have used this term extensively.

Paper II

Paper II, 'On the terms of the recipient?' – Norwegian sports development aid to Tanzania in the 1980s', is co-authored with Kari Steen-Johnsen. It discusses the donor–recipient relationship in an SDP context, and identifies potential dilemmas occurring when aiming to give aid on the recipient's terms. This was stated to be one objective of the project in Tanzania. As outlined in Chapter 1, the main research questions of Paper II were: *What is the nature of the dilemmas arising in donor–recipient relationships that aim to be on the terms of the recipient?* and *What are the possibilities and constraints of civil society organizations (CSOs) as agents for SDP?*

We point out that a common understanding of the role of the aid actors is necessary in donor–recipient relationships who aim to be on the terms of the recipient. Further we demonstrate that the uncertainty of the participant's role essentially affected the outcome of the *Sport for All* project in Tanzania. Through two different examples we show that as an aid donor, NIF's role varied slightly. In areas where NIF claimed to have expertise (such as mass sport development), this organisation clearly advanced its own ideas, and the recipients were disregarded. On the issue of equipment however, it lacked expertise and was open to listening to the recipients. We argue that on a general basis, NIF was clearly in control of the Tanzanian project throughout its various phases. We found support for this through interviews with Tanzanians where *Sport for All* was perceived as a Norwegian project in Tanzania rather than as a project managed by the Tanzanians themselves. Consequently, we argue that a contradiction between the discourse of equality and the actual practice was evident. It is further demonstrated that donor–recipient relationships are power relationships that are complex and unclear to the involved parties, and showed that NIF's role was shaped through a web of power relationships. Finally, in regard to the second research question, we conclude that in the case of NIF's project in Tanzania, although it had a mass sport philosophy and operated at the grass roots level, an association with the state authorities was unavoidable as its Tanzanian counterpart the National Sport Council (NSC) was closely connected to the state. Meeting the requirements of Norad simultaneously to the demands of NSC was an apparent challenge, but of crucial importance to NIF. Together, the resources, the lack of aid experience, and NIF's own ideology were factors that constrained it as an efficient aid agent on the terms of the recipient.

Paper III

Paper III, 'Norwegian naivety meets Tanzanian reality: The case of the Norwegian sports development aid project, *Sport for All*, in Dar es Salaam in the 1980s', is sole-authored. It addresses the issue of emphasising women in development aid, which was part of the aid strategy at the time, and thus one of the main aims of the Norwegian project in Tanzania. As previously outlined, the research questions of Paper III were: *Which conceptions of Tanzanian women were manifest within NIF as donors of the SDP? Why was sports considered a suitable tool in reaching the women of Dar es Salaam? Which dilemmas may occur when aiming to create social changes – like specifically emphasising women in sports activities – in an environment with considerable contrasts to the donors?*

I argue that aiding women through *Sport for All* was a creation of needs as there was a conception within NIF that Tanzanian women needed SDP. It was further indicated that SDP would essentially liberate Tanzanian women. Reference to Norwegian policies and priorities became evident here as discussions as to whether this focus fitted Tanzanian society at the time was not an issue. I show that Tanzanian interviewees indicated that the emphasis on women was somehow unfamiliar to Tanzanian society at the time and that it was pointed out that the need for sports somehow seemed more important from a Norwegian than a Tanzanian point of view. Further, I discuss whether sport was a suitable tool for reaching the women of Dar es Salaam. It is demonstrated that on several occasions NIF organised activities which were considered unfitting for women in Dar es Salaam, and thus I argue that it may not have been a suitable tool at the time. Finally, it is suggested that when two apparently progressive liberal and democratic Western ideals were transferred to a society unfamiliar with them, they generated a cultural clash. The discrepancy between the ideals of recipient orientation and women emphasis is questioned, and I demonstrate that in the case of the *Sport for All*, NIF acted with a certain naivety.

Paper IV

Paper IV, "'They need to get the feeling that these are their ideas": Trusteeship in Norwegian Sport for Development and Peace to Zimbabwe', is co-authored with Anders Hasselgård. Through this paper we aimed to contribute to an on-going debate in *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* regarding structure and agency in development interventions. In the paper we study NIF's production of discourse in its cooperation with the Sport and Recreation Commission of Zimbabwe (SRC). As argued in the Paper 'a discourse' is understood as a

particular way of speaking of and understanding the social world (a system of expressions and practices). Discourses construct the reality of its carriers and have a certain amount of regularity in a set of social relations.²³⁶ Because different discourses single out different actions as possible, logic and relevant given a certain situation, the discursive understanding has social consequences since these define what is considered to be the truth and knowledge, produce meaning, and hence constitute the basis for our understanding of the world and how we think and act.²³⁷ Thus, discourses represent NIF's SDP reality, give meaning to its SDP engagement and set fundamental conditions when it develops and implements its SDP policies. Further, we aimed to see this in the light of the concept of 'development'. As outlined in Chapter 1 the main research questions of the paper were: *Which power-effects²³⁸ arise from the discourse formation produced by NIF throughout the project? How did changes in the formal discourse throughout the project affect the notion of trusteeship?*

In our analysis we identify two power-effects arising from the discourse formation produced by NIF throughout the Zimbabwean project. The first, 'manageable development' means that NIF viewed SDP through the lens of a Norwegian sports model and thereby neglected alternative knowledge and solutions (to the lack of sports development) than its own. The second, 'temporal segregation' means that NIF described SRC on a different temporal stage and consequently de-politicised the under-development of sports. These are power-effects because NIF positioned itself to define possible and valid solutions to develop sports in Zimbabwe. We also found that throughout the Zimbabwean project, the formal discourse changed from a top-down to a bottom-up discourse. Despite this, trusteeship was present throughout the Zimbabwean project since NIF set the terms of the aid and that this was NIF's own ideas, politics and intentions that were being reproduced in the formal discourse. Eventually we argue that it might be insufficient only to analyse the formal discourse in development interventions as development policies and language does not necessarily reflect development practice. Therefore, we suggest that future SDP research needs to relate to the structure-versus-agency debate within development studies and examine

²³⁶ Elaborated in Iver B. Neumann, *Mening, Materialitet og Makt: En Innføring i Diskursanalyse* (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2001)

²³⁷ Marianne Winther Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, *Diskursanalyse som Teori og Metode* (Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetsforlag, 1999)

²³⁸ With the term 'power effect' we mean that somebody (and in this case NIF) has the knowledge, skills and funding to define themselves as developers on behalf of someone else (in this case the Zimbabwean SRC).

how development policies developed by the donor are translated and given meaning by the recipients in the local context where they are implemented.²³⁹

How may Norwegian involvement in SDP be understood?

As outlined in Chapter 3, the development apparatus is complex, and theoretical and practical sides of development are closely intertwined.²⁴⁰ As Levermore points out, international development as an academic field

is characterised by often intense debates between competing perspectives which influence debate and therefore strategy and policy in the international development policy-making field (...) This is an important thing to note for those operating in, or assessing, sport-in-development because they occasionally need to engage with these debates in order to better understand how sport-in-development might be perceived, especially in highlighting its potential weaknesses and limitations.²⁴¹

As discussed in Chapter 1, in recent years the SDP sector has established and expanded both in the practical field and as a research area. Consequently, the literature has evolved from analyses of contemporary situations and projects to also including more critical voices of SDP, particularly in theoretical literature regarding sport and social interventions. Lyndsay M. C. Hayhurst demonstrates the wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches in SDP including perspectives such as functionalism and instrumentalism, managerial monitoring and evaluation (M&E) approaches, feminist and gender-based approaches, right-based standpoints, international relations theories, globalisation approaches, postcolonial and critical race theories, socio-political and peace-studies, and neoliberal and social movement theory.²⁴²

On the basis of the previous chapters of this dissertation and the summaries of the papers, in the following discussion I look at some issues that illuminate the main research question: *How can the Norwegian involvement in SDP from the early 1980s to 2000 be understood?* Obviously, the answer to such a question is complex. It consists of a variety of factors, ranging, for instance, from national and international trends, politics and priorities to more or less formal encounters between different actors. However, in order to explain the

²³⁹ This is essentially the topic of the PhD dissertation of Anders Hasselgård at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences. Hasselgård is the co-author of Paper IV.

²⁴⁰ This can be exemplified by Walter W. Rostow, the founding father of modernisation theory and simultaneously serving in both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations as Deputy National Security Advisor and National Security Advisor respectively.

²⁴¹ Roger Levermore, "Sport-in-International Development: Theoretical Frameworks," in *Sport and International Development*, ed. Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 26.

²⁴² Hayhurst, "The Power to Shape Policy".

phenomenon of the early Norwegian SDP, it is useful to view it in a broader sense and to utilise theoretical perspectives together with historical explanations.

Dominant perspectives in development: SDP as modernisation and neo-liberalism

The two theories or paradigms that have especially dominated international development policy-making are modernisation and neo-liberalism.²⁴³ Writing in 2004, McKay found that neo-liberalism was the most influential paradigm characterising development policy.²⁴⁴ Additionally, in accordance to SDP, Darnell argues that 'neoliberalism as a political philosophy and approach to international development remains central, if not hegemonic, in the twenty-first century and in turn is intimately connected to the SDP sector'.²⁴⁵ As I have shown in Chapter 3, both the modernisation and neo-liberal paradigms are characterised by a strong donor or interventionist part which knows in what direction development should take in order to secure economic and consequently social progress. As Hayhurst points out in regard to neo-liberalism and SDP:

SDP is perhaps an ideal policy landscape for neoliberalism to infiltrate as it is already largely deregulated (who governs this movement?) and privatised (with sport corporations such as Nike creating its own 'sport for social change' policies and projects).²⁴⁶

Neo-liberal perspectives further highlight certain actions to be taken in order to reduce the power of possible corrupt governments in the developing countries. Structural adjustments in order to be granted loans as well as encouraging global actors to become involved in the development process are two of these. Levermore points out three ways in which SDP might be linked to the goals of modernisation and neo-liberalism: first, through strengthening physical infrastructures; second, through creating socio-economic development through employment and other life skills and investments; and finally through encouraging business and private investments through SDP.²⁴⁷

Although current SDP interventions seem tailor-made to fit the above descriptions, also NIFs SDP engagement in Tanzania and Zimbabwe in the 1980s and 1990s can be viewed in the light of these perspectives. In regard to modernisation, as discussed in the

²⁴³ Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development; From Western Origin to Global Faith*. 3rd ed. (London: Zed Books, 2008).

²⁴⁴ John McKay, "Reassessing Development Theory," in *Key Issues in Development*, ed. Damien Kingsbury et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

²⁴⁵ Darnell, *Sport for Development and Peace*, 29.

²⁴⁶ Hayhurst, "The power to shape policy", 219.

²⁴⁷ Levermore, "Sport-in-International Development."

papers, in both the Tanzanian and the Zimbabwean projects NIF had clear ideas about what the SDP should be. The ideal of sport for all and facilitating mass sports were fundamental. This resembled the ways in which sports were prioritised and valued in the Norwegian society. Ultimately NIFs own standards or – in modernisation language – stage, seems to have been the measure of what direction the SDP should take. This was pointed out in Paper IV where it is demonstrated that the reproduction of modernisation theory rhetoric where poor and rich countries were at different evolutionary stages was evident as NIF presented the developing countries as being at a pre-industrial stage when it came to sport and claimed that they were lagging behind and that intervention was necessary in order for them to catch up with the West. Consequently, the authors argued, the power effect 'temporal segregation' was manifest through the formal discourse of the Zimbabwean project. The Tanzanian case reports similar findings, and as Paper I in particular shows, it was evident that the Norwegian sports organisation perceived itself as being in an superior position in sports compared to the developing countries, especially in areas regarding infrastructure, equipment, sport leadership, coaching and organisational structures. Thus, it joins the general development aid logic, which in the word of Terje Tvedt has been 'a state financed project to spread western values to non-western areas'.²⁴⁸

As pointed out, this superiority was also reflected in the Norwegian press where the situation for Tanzanian sports was presented in pitiful manner. (See Figure 1 below.) Subsequently, as shown in Paper II, NIF had clear ambitions to contribute with sports equipment and possibly help building physical infrastructures in Tanzania.

As Levermore and Beacom points out there is a variety of reasons for the recent increase of SDP initiatives. These include

The need to find new ways to facilitate and promote developmental goals, especially to areas/communities affected by well documented concerns over the effectiveness of the state (and other mainstream actors) to improve conditions for their citizens (...). The appeal of sport to reach communities, particularly young people, largely excluded from substantive traditional development activity is an argument put forward by many advocates of sport-in-development.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ Tvedt, "Utviklingshjelp og det Nasjonale Godhetsregimet", 62.

²⁴⁹ Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom, "Opportunities, Limitations, Questions," in *Sport and International Development*, ed. Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 246.

Svensk undersøkelse i Tanzania — Her mangler jo idretten alt

— Tanzania mangler alt innenfor idretten. De senere år er den næsten helt uten organisering. Det står svensken Olof Vitenberg. Kanskje den som i øyeblikket vet mest om forholdene for idretten i Tanzania. I over 40 måneder har han oppholdt seg i landet for å kartlegge idretten i landet. Vitenberg er et utvalg til Tanzania.



Denne gutten hadde aldri prøvd å stå på det til nå som en fotball og kanskje barfotet i 1981.

— Skulle gjerne hatt en ergometersykel

Sier Tanzanias eneste idrettslege

DAR ES SALAAM
Africanske idrettsutøvere som har gått til topps i større konkurranser har ofte blitt sett i et myslig lys. Tansanijere fra utgjør fra industrialiserte land har ofte vært et del ligger noe mystisk bak afrikanerens framgang. Bruk av medisinskutrustning ved for eksempel trening i store høyder er ofte blitt som en forklaring på at utøverne fra den tredje verden har sålt så gode resultater. I for fikk Tanzania to sølvmedaljer ved de olympiske sommerleker i Moskva. Etter et besøk ved den nasjonale sportsakademien i landet tar vi innsett for et del av det som ligger bak landets OL-utøvere.

Doktor John Katala er regjeringsansatt ved klinikken for sportsmedisin i Tanzania. Det har han vært siden kontoret ble opprettet i 1978. Med seg har han to sykkelstoler på to sportstank utøver kontorer om i hovedstaden Dar es Salaam. Katala oppgave i landet er å ha høyoplysnings med landlagene i landet. I fremre rekke fridrettsutøverne. I tillegg tar han seg av idrettsutøvere av alle aldre i den utstrøket han har mulighet for det. Selv mener han hans utøvere for de fåtal idrettsutøvere Tanzania har alle kan regnes som toppidrettsutøvere.

Mangler alt

Dr. Katala legger i samtalen med Dagbladet ikke skjul på at han mangler det meste av hva som trengs for å kunne hjelpe idrettsutøverne i landet. — Det er ikke lett å drive uten-veirbeholdt uten verken en ergometersykel eller tredemølle i hele landet. Et langst har jeg lagt mest vekt på å bedre

Penger igjen

— Gjeld for oss er det et spørsmål om økonomi. Vi har ingen mulighet til å få utbetalt de internasjonale kongresser som holdes. Noen penger til anskaffelse av bokser og materiell for å bedre



Tanzanias eneste idrettslege, John Katala, mangler alt. Som idrettslege i Tanzania har dr. Katala, som også er lege ved det svenske instituttet for idrettsmedisin i Stockholm, et stort ansvar for de afrikaner som konkurrerer i de internasjonale kongresser som holdes i Sverige.

Figure 1: In the Norwegian liberal daily newspaper *Dagbladet* the situation for Tanzanian sports was presented as old fashioned and lagging behind Norway in almost every way. Headings such as "Sport is in lack of everything here" and "I would like to have a ergometer exercise bicycle – says Tanzania's only sports doctor", was clear evidence that Norwegian aid was needed. This was reinforced by pictures such as to the above left featuring a young boy in lack of a proper ball, goal or even shoes with the caption: "This boy had painted a pumpkin so that it looked like a football, and kicked it off barefoot." Source: *Dagbladet* April 13. and April 14. 1981.

These reasons links to neo-liberal ideologies, and is often manifested through the rising number of NGOs working on the field. As Levermore further points out an argument often proposed by SDP advocates is that SDP NGOs 'increase capacity-building, strengthen empowerment, generate investments (...) and establish a stable political environment for the economy and market to operate in',²⁵⁰ as opposed to the developing states governments often considered unstable. The link between SDP and neo-liberal politics is further brought up by several scholars investigating SDP and particularly SDP NGOs. For instance, in analysing six key SDP policy documents²⁵¹ Hayhurst finds a clear neo-liberal narrative as each document emphasises the importance of collaboration between different NGOs and the private sector so that the SDP field may expand. Further, she states that 'there is a clear neoliberal ideology underpinning SDP policies, one that places the onus on individuals to be responsible for their welfare, "healthify" and help the state to cut expenses by participating in these projects'.²⁵² In a broader view of sport, Hayhurst argues that

²⁵⁰ Levermore, "Sport-in-International Development," 32.

²⁵¹ The key documents Hayhurst analyses represent the 'prominent voices within the SDP movement' (p. 205). Three are produced by the UN (such as the 2003 publication *Sport as a tool for development and peace: Towards achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals*), three are produced by the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group. Hayhurst, "The Power to Shape Policy".

²⁵² Ibid., 221.

It has been well-documented that the traditional lure of elite sport (focusing on performance, individualism and selectiveness) tends to pair well with the increasingly neoliberal agendas of contemporary governments (...) it is no surprise that SDP initiatives are embedded in inherently neoliberal practices located in sport itself. The techniques of neoliberalism are especially evident in each document, where terms such as 'cost-effectiveness', 'building programming evidence' and aligning SDP 'within MDG [Millennium Development Goals] targets and guidelines' are abundant.²⁵³

Similarly, in analysing the discursive formation produced by young Canadian SDP volunteers, Darnell argues that the 'reliance upon sport as a tool of leadership and responsibility – and development as a process of formulating individualized notions of success and achievement – suggests a form of neo-liberal citizenship of which sport participation can play a formative role'.²⁵⁴ Also in his recent book, Darnell points to the link between SDP and neo-liberalism as 'discourses of individual rights as the basis for success, upward mobility and positive development are supportive of a neoliberal approach to development, which views the development challenge primarily as one of facilitating the basis for "fair" competition'.²⁵⁵

As I have shown, the Norwegian involvement in SDP coincided with the rise of neo-liberalism 'taking over' the development political scheme. I have pointed out in the papers that much of the reason why NIF could initiate SDP was the fact that they were given the chance to, by the changing developing apparatus emphasising NGOs over government institutions. The rhetoric of universal human rights (and in this case sports' relatively new found status as a human right)²⁵⁶ and individual sovereignty were both concerns of the NGOs, and NIF actively used this rhetoric in their argumentation for SDP. This rhetoric corresponds to a neo-liberal view of the world stressing individual rights and the limited scope for state intervention. In relation to the neo-liberal orientation of collaboration between NGOs and the private sector, both my cases illustrate that attempts to such collaboration were

²⁵³ Hayhurst, "The Power to Shape Policy", 221.

²⁵⁴ Darnell, "Power, Politics and "Sport for Development and Peace",", 66.

²⁵⁵ Darnell, *Sport for Development and Peace*, 50.

²⁵⁶ In the 1970s, the Council of Europe and UNESCO adopted the 'sport for all' idea, emphasizing the need for sport and physical education and affirming sport as a human right that should be encouraged at all levels of society. This was formalized in the International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, adopted at the UNESCO General Conference in 1978. (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "International Charter of Physical Education and Sport," in *Records of the General Conference, Resolutions*, (Paris: Unesco, 1979) Accessed November 30, 2012. Available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001140/114032e.pdf#page=30>

made both by the NSC and the SRC in order to expand its SDP programmes.²⁵⁷ As I pointed out in Paper I, NIF aimed simultaneously to contribute to building the Tanzanian welfare state, both through educating teachers, and facilitating individual development with an emphasis on health benefits and through organisation building and management. In doing so, it cooperated with the NSC, which in turn had strong links to the state (as shown in Paper II). Consequently, the argument that NIF as an NGO avoided cooperation with the recipient state is not entirely correct. The same is the case with NIF's SDP engagement in Zimbabwe since, in cooperating with the SRC, it indirectly cooperated with the Zimbabwean state which ultimately was the head of the SRC.²⁵⁸ In this respect, it is important to note that NIF itself had (and still has) strong links to the Norwegian state. According to Enjolras, Seippel and Waldahl it may be useful to distinguish between two types of sports organisation or state relations in Europe.²⁵⁹ The 'liberalist' relationship (seen for example in Norway, Great Britain, Sweden and Holland) is characterised by the sports organisations which more or less develop and govern themselves (as long as they operate within politically and socially accepted frameworks). The state only intervenes in limited terms through legislation, but subsidises the sports organisation in, for instance, the building of sports facilities. The other type of sports organisation or state relation is the 'interventionist' relationship. This means that sports is considered as a public matter, and that the state is involved to a higher extent in the development, administration and legislation of the sports organisation. (This is the case in France, Spain and Portugal, for instance).²⁶⁰ According to Wladimir Andreff, in many developing countries, the government is the main sponsor and patron of sporting activities.²⁶¹ About 80% of African least-developed countries subsidise their respective sports organisations, although the subsidies are too low to secure activities throughout the year. As Andreff points out, in developing countries, 'regardless of governments' policy declarations, sport is neither a top priority in the state budget, nor a pillar of the country's education

²⁵⁷ For instance, as shown in Paper II, in Tanzania, the NSC and NIF assessed the opportunity for production of, and linked up with local manufacturers of sport equipment.

²⁵⁸ For instance the SRC board is appointed by the Zimbabwean President, and the SRC reports to the Government through the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. The potential dilemmas in indirectly cooperating with a dictatorship such as Zimbabwe are beyond the scope of this study.

²⁵⁹ Bernard Enjolras, Ørnulf Seippel and Ragnhild Holmen Waldahl, *Norsk Idrett: Organisering, Fellesskap og Politikk* (Oslo: Akilles, 2005)

²⁶⁰ Although this division may be a useful, it could be argued that such a coarse model may conceal the historical nuances that were manifest in the development of the Norwegian sport model, particularly concerning the role and the degree of state involvement. This relationship is thoroughly discussed in: Matti Goksøy, *Staten og Idretten 1861-1991* (Oslo: Kulturdepartementet, Idrettsavdelingen, 1992), Finn Olstad, *Norsk Idretts Historie; Forsvar, Sport, Klassekamp 1861-1939* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1987) and Tønnesson, *Norsk Idretts Historie*.

²⁶¹ Wladimir Andreff, "Sport in Developing Countries," in *Handbook on the Economics of Sport*, ed. Wladimir Andreff and Stefan Szymanski (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2006)

system'.²⁶² This corresponds with the findings from Tanzania where I demonstrated (in Paper II) that the main reason for the discontinuation of the *Sport for All* seems to have been the lack of funds as more urgent needs had to be prioritised. As a former principal secretary of the Tanzanian Ministry of Information and Culture pointed out in an interview: 'With the limitations in funds and other more pressing priorities, you see healthcare and schools and so on, these other priorities received these funds, and therefore the project went down'.

In summary, viewing Norwegian involvement in SDP from the dominating development perspectives of modernisation and neo-liberalism may be useful, and help to explain the motivations behind the involvement. This is particularly evident as we can argue that the SFD was 'a product of its time', and hence influenced by current trends in international development. However, the dominant perspectives of modernisation and neo-liberalism assume that development follows a more or less linear path with particular stages, relatively unaffected by cultural differences. Hence, they may not fully explain NIF's involvement in SDP.

Critical perspectives on SDP

Critical perspectives²⁶³ on SDP are necessary and important, and as Levermore points out, are seen to oppose 'the overly-optimistic and one-dimensional pronouncements made on sport-in-development and the failure to highlight how sport carries particular divisive and dysfunctional traits that can extenuate unequal power relationships'.²⁶⁴ Similarly, Darnell argues that the study of SDP rests 'on the critical study of relations of power as they are mobilized in and through sport'.²⁶⁵ As the papers of this dissertation illustrate, the main focus throughout the project has been to illustrate the relationship between the donors and the recipients in aid interventions. I have argued that this relationship has been marked by unequal holdings of power, which again affected the projects in one way or the other. Nonetheless, power manifests itself in many ways and in many perspectives. In the following I illuminate some of these in order to provide a better understanding of the Norwegian involvement in SDP in Tanzania and Zimbabwe from the early 1980s to 2000.

²⁶² Ibid., 308.

²⁶³ It may be added that rather than in its ordinary sense as unfavourable judgement, the term 'critical' is understood here in its Kantian terms, meaning free and public examination. Obviously there are considerable differences between the two.

²⁶⁴ Levermore, "Sport-in-International Development", 39.

²⁶⁵ Darnell, *Sport for Development and Peace*, 23.

Norwegian SDP as cultural imperialism or homogenisation?

Cultural aspects and considerations have been a recurrent theme in this dissertation. I have posed questions such as: Did the Norwegian SDP fit the society in which it was implemented? Was the NIF engagement an attempt to spread the gospel of 'sport for all' to Africa? And consequently whether NIF as an SDP actor was, as Houlihan stated in regard to international governmental organisations' (IGOs) promotion of 'sport for all' in Europe; 'a force for the homogenisation of sport policy and sport practice or whether they have the capacity and sensitivity to protect and promote diversity of interests in sport'.²⁶⁶ These questions have in common the underlying assumption that we are dealing with unequal partners in the aid relationship, and that the Norwegian donors, or NIF, are those who set the terms of the aid. In Chapter 1, I argued that the history of SDP could be divided in different phases, from the diffusion of sports and the role sport played on the colonial scene in the 1800s and 1900s, to SDP as an established actor on the international development agenda in the 2000s. The aspect of colonial practices and sports' diffusion may be useful in understanding the SDP also in the 1980s and 1990s. This may be particularly relevant in regard to the claim that SDP might be culturally homogenising²⁶⁷ which was a criticism advanced by early commentators of SDP. A related critique was put forward by researchers such as John Bale, Henning Eichberg and Johan Galtung who, concerning the diffusion of sports, argued that what was at stake was the spread of a Western cultural and sporting 'ideology', rather than merely sporting codes and traditions.²⁶⁸ For example in his study of Olympism, Henning Eichberg postulated that: 'In it [Olympism] a social pattern materializes which forms everyday life above and beyond sport – the everyday culture of the western (and

²⁶⁶ Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics*, 83. Houlihan concluded that the 'sport for all' campaign was indeed homogenising, and that well-established Western sports were promoted at the expense of local sporting traditions.

²⁶⁷ The assumption that we are witnessing a homogenization of world sports has been discussed by several researchers. For instance Alan Bairner argues that 'as a result of the process known as globalization, the relationship between sport and *national* identity is self-evidently unravelling to reveal an increasingly homogeneous global sporting culture'. (Alan Bairner, *Sport, Nationalism and Globalization* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001): 1) Bairner is supported by Cantelon and Murray who, in regard to globalisation argue that: 'If there is one thing to emphasize about globalization, it is the contention surrounding its influence in eradicating localized traditions and cultural practices, of which sport has a major influence'. (Hart Cantelon, and Sandra Murray, "Globalization and Sport, Structure and Agency: the Need for Greater Clarity," *Society & Leisure* 16, 2 (1993): 280) A thorough discussion of the homogenization (and globalization) processes in sports is made in Joseph Maguire's *Global Sport*.

²⁶⁸ For instance: John Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994); Henning Eichberg, "Olympic Sport – Neocolonization and Alternatives," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 19, 1 (1984); Eichberg, "From Sport Export to Politics of Recognition"; Eichberg, "Bodily Democracy and Development through Sport"; and Johan Galtung, "The Sport System as a Metaphor for the World System," in *Sport: The Third Millennium*, ed. by Fernand Landry, Marc Landry and Magdeleine Yerlès (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1991)

east European) industrial society.²⁶⁹ Bale claimed that 'such sports-colonisation was at the expense of indigenous movement cultures and as cultural imperialism swept the globe, sports played their part in westernising the landscapes of the colonies'.²⁷⁰ Similarly, Galtung rhetorically asked:

What happens when there is massive export of sports, radiating from Western centers, following old colonial trade and control lines, into the last little corner of the world, leaving cricket bats, soccer fields, racing tracks, courts of all sorts and what not behind?²⁷¹

Galtung claimed that sports was probably 'one of the most powerful transfer mechanisms for culture and structure ever known to humankind',²⁷² and in answering his own question he argued that 'sports like anything else carries the sociocultural code of the senders (...) sports from the West serve as fully fledged carriers of the combination typical for expansionist occidental cosmology'.²⁷³ In regard to the Norwegian SDP in the 1980s and 1990s, I have shown that it certainly carried the socio-cultural code of NIF.

Utilizing dependency rhetoric, Galtung further pointed out that Western sports were considered 'universal', meaning that the Center, or West, had managed to get Periphery acceptance. Universal sports, he then argued, 'are ways of occidentalizing the world. Far from bearing the imprint of universal values, whatever that is, Western values and norms are propagated through sports'.²⁷⁴ The idea of 'universal' values and principles stemming from Western sports institutions is also brought up by Andrew Guest in his more recent (2009) analysis of the Olympic Movement's grassroots outreach to Africa. Guest states that this outreach has 'implicitly relied upon the assumption that development benefits from exposure to these "universal" principles'²⁷⁵ and that it 'assumes that sport possesses universal values regardless of cultural context'.²⁷⁶ In relation to NIF's SDP engagement in Tanzania and Zimbabwe, the inevitable question is thus: Was NIF's agenda to intentionally spread its own sports ideology, legitimised through language of sports' universality?²⁷⁷ As we show in Paper

²⁶⁹ Eichberg, "Olympic Sport", 97.

²⁷⁰ Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport*, 8.

²⁷¹ Galtung, "The Sport System as a Metaphor for the World System", 150.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 150.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 150.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 151.

²⁷⁵ Guest, "The Diffusion of Development-through-Sport", 1337.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1338.

²⁷⁷ Simon Darnell (in *Sport for Development and Peace*) argues that 'Relapsing into a universal/relativist debate is unnecessary in contemporary development studies, given the necessity of change and the globalization of development politics'. (p. 34) I will however argue that this debate is still relevant for my case, as it is evident

IV, in its SDP engagement NIF also seems to have been driven by the idea of universalism, both in regard to sport, but also how an SDP project could be utilized to achieve 'universal' goals also outside sports. As pointed out, when NIF argued with ideals such as democracy, independence and human rights, it seems to have met little resistance from the Norwegian development aid community. The 'universal rights' rhetoric has traditionally been among the main arguments for Norwegian development politics, which have consequently been considered inherently good and therefore extremely hard to criticize.²⁷⁸ Terje Tvedt uses the term 'the narcissistic cosmopolite' when he illustrates the dominating logics of (Norwegian) development politics. These logics, he claims, have mistaken own values with universal values, and thus while insisting on describing the real world, its complexity is only described through a few simple, moral dichotomies.²⁷⁹ Subsequently, we showed that in the Zimbabwean project, NIF revealed that it operated with a universal understanding of SDP in the developing countries and that through its presumed superior Norwegian model, it positioned itself to define what SDP should be and how this could be achieved.

A central point in the initial criticisms of sports as a tool in development relates to the above assumption that the developing world is in need of something that can be remedied by the West. As Harald Dubberke stated in his critical remarks regarding (elite) sports aid to developing countries: 'it is not right to state that an economically poor country is automatically a developing country in sports',²⁸⁰ and hence, he argued, cultural cooperation in the shape of sports aid could potentially be 'imperialistic and dangerous and another type of colonialism'.²⁸¹ Similarly, Eichberg raises another concern related to the dominance of Western sports in an SDP context as he postulates that when modern Western ideals and sporting forms are being introduced through SDP programs, they often collide with local traditions and sport practices, and hence Western non-recognition of local sports practices may create cultural poverty: 'neo-colonial hegemony tends to make the "others" poor by generously giving them "sport development aid" – and applying a policy of non-recognition

that the 'universal' discourse has in many ways been part of legitimising SDP. This again, as I have shown, has not been unproblematic in regard to the donor–recipient relationship in particular.

²⁷⁸ As pointed out in Paper IV, this 'Goodness Regime', as Terje Tvedt calls it, has influenced the Norwegian self-image as a bearer of values and norms which are often mistaken to be universal values. Hence a particular language with specific concepts, understandings and forms of communications has been created. In: Tvedt, *Utviklingshjelp, Utenrikspolitikk og Makt*

²⁷⁹ Tvedt, *Verdensbilder og Selvbilder*

²⁸⁰ Harald Dubberke, "Critical remarks regarding sports aid for developing countries," in *Sport, Culture, Society; International Historical and Sociological Perspectives; Proceedings of the VIII Commonwealth and International Conference on Sport, Physical Education, Dance, Recreation, and Health; Conference '86 Glasgow, 18-23 July*, ed. by James A. Mangan and Robert. B. Small (London: E. & F.N. Spon, 1986), 241.

²⁸¹ Dubberke, "Critical Remarks", 243.

(...) Poor are those practices which the power refuses to recognise'.²⁸² The latter point was brought up in Paper III where I argued that in relation to the Tanzanian project, such non-recognition seems to have been evident. As shown in Paper I, when launching the idea of a Norwegian engagement in SDP in the early 1980s, a warning was given concerning Western sports practices, which, it was claimed, were on their way to becoming a product of science, and quite the contrary to the developing countries' sports practices which were romanticised. As a response to potential criticism and cultural imperialist labelling, it was emphasised that Norway could assist the developing countries in preserving their sports traditions, and that Norwegian sports could assist the developing countries in shaping a sport policy closely adapted to the citizens' needs for physical education, cultural identity and traditions. This must be viewed in the light of general development rhetoric at the time, which was characterised by a warning against cultural imperialist attitudes and practices. In relation to the Norwegian SDP it was argued that sports (which was indeed cultural in its expression) was subject to potentially becoming cultural imperialist in its nature.²⁸³ However, in their eagerness to aid Tanzania in the area of sports, NIF directly transferred sport practices and ideas such as aerobics, 'sport for all' and *TRIM*,²⁸⁴ that worked well in Norway, but which were unfamiliar in Tanzania. This also corresponds to the findings from the Zimbabwean case where NIF continued and even strengthened its emphasis on bringing the Norwegian sport model and 'sport for all' onto the Zimbabwean sporting agenda. This is illustrated in Figure 2 below, where it is evident that NIFs own ideas and ideals are put into practice. Hence, I have shown that through their SDP engagement, NIF transferred and attempted to implement its own ideas and perceptions of sports to Tanzania and Zimbabwe respectively. Despite good intentions and apparent awareness of the importance of sports diversity, it accommodated the homogenization of sports. Consequently a cultural imperialist labelling might have been difficult to avoid.

²⁸² Eichberg, "From Sport Export to Politics of Recognition," 29.

²⁸³ This point is discussed in Paper III

²⁸⁴ The *TRIM* campaign was initiated in Norway in the late 1960s as part of the new sports propaganda focussing on mass participation and 'sport for all'. *TRIM* was a direct effort to include and adapt sport activities for those groups which traditionally had not been part of Norwegian sports. Although the campaign only lasted for five years (1967 to 1972) it is said to have led to increased awareness in the Norwegian society to the importance of physical activities and fitness. As a result of the campaign, a number of women and men of all ages and abilities not previously involved in sports commenced jogging, aerobics and similar activities. The *TRIM* concept spread to other countries, and was particularly well received in Europe. As Tønnesson claim: *TRIM* became Norwegian sport's largest export commodity in the 1970s. In: Tønnesson, *Norsk Idretts Historie*.



Figure 2: Through its SDP engagement, NIF transferred its own ideals and principles to Tanzania and Zimbabwe. This is exemplified with the above illustrations. To the left is NIF's logo from the Norwegian TRIM campaign in the 1970s, featuring the characteristic mascot Trimian. The middle illustration features Trimian in a Tanzanian context, with the Swahili translations of *Sport for All – Michezo Kwa Wote*. The logo to the right features Trimian in the Zimbabwean project, with *Sport for All* translated to Shona: *Mitambo Kunavose*.

However, claiming that the Norwegian SDP engagement in Tanzania and Zimbabwe was only an act of cultural imperialism is a simplification. Throughout this dissertation I have shed light on the power dynamics in the donor–recipient relationship in Norwegian SDP which, I have argued, is neither constant nor necessarily one-sided.

Norwegian SDP as hegemony or post-colonialism?

In his book on the invention and diffusion of modern sport, *Games and Empires*, Allen Guttman suggested that 'cultural imperialism' might not be an appropriate term when explaining the process of ludic diffusion. Rather than cultural imperialism, Guttman uses the aforementioned term 'cultural hegemony'²⁸⁵ to explain the process. Guttman concedes that the cultural hegemony concept 'provides more than a merely cosmetic improvement over the concept of cultural imperialism because Gramscian theory correctly stresses the fact that the cultural interaction is something more complex than the domination by the totally powerful of the entirely powerless'.²⁸⁶ Further, in order to avoid reductionism Guttman argues that in analysing ludic diffusion one should seek to be sophisticated and 'neither crediting the "colonialists" [or in our case NIF] with diabolical powers nor denying all agency to the

²⁸⁵ As outlined in Chapter 3: "The donor–recipient relationship in development aid", the Gramscian concept of 'cultural hegemony' describes the domination of a culturally diverse society by the ruling class, who manipulate the culture of the society.

²⁸⁶ Guttman, *Games and Empires*, 178.

"colonized" [in our case the Tanzanian and Zimbabwean recipients of SDP].²⁸⁷ Darnell and Hayhurst take this further: 'Hegemony does not presume a completely dominating ideology, conspiracy or economic system'²⁸⁸ and neither is power or dominance regarded as static, but 'mobilized and implemented through socially negotiated processes of authority and consent'.²⁸⁹ Darnell argues that in critical SDP research, the theory of hegemony is particularly useful as it 'reminds and illustrates that the social organization of sporting practices and the social and political meanings ascribed to sport are particular and the result of negotiation between actors within relations of power'.²⁹⁰

An on-going claim of this dissertation, pointed out in all four papers, has been that although NIF emphasised the importance of recipient agency, it was in the lead of the aid from its very inception and throughout the period of my study. This was evident both through the document analysis and in the interviews. In Papers II and IV it was demonstrated that we understood 'power' in the aid relationship as something one *does* in interaction with others, rather than something one *has* per se. We also argued (in Paper II) that what makes power in aid relationships so efficient is that it postulates freedom. As Nustad contends: 'The subject that is being dominated has an opportunity to make choices, however limited by the power relation'.²⁹¹ This is supported by Guttman: 'The strong (who are never all-powerful) have their way after the weak (who are never completely powerless) have their say',²⁹² or, applied to my cases, NIF has its way, after the NSC or SRC have had their say. Although the analyses in Paper IV revealed NIF as trustee in regard to the Zimbabwean SRC, the interviews in Zimbabwe disclose a more active or participatory recipient than in the Tanzanian case. There is reason to believe that this was a result of several factors, for instance that general development aid policies at the time emphasised participation and bottom-up development, and that NIF as an aid actor had matured and become more professional. On the other hand, the point of recipient 'agency' in the development aid relationship must not be overlooked, and obviously plays a crucial part in any SDP project (or instances of ludic diffusion for that matter). This is supported by sport research, both past and present. For instance, several historians has shown that in many of the colonies, colonial sporting practices met resistance

²⁸⁷ Guttman, *Games and Empires*, 179.

²⁸⁸ Darnell and Hayhurst, "Hegemony, Postcolonialism and sport-for-Development", 115.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 115.

²⁹⁰ Darnell, *Sport for Development and Peace*, 23

²⁹¹ Nustad, *Gavens makt*, 25.

²⁹² Guttman, *Games and Empires*, 6.

by the locals, and was translated and converted into a tool to subvert colonial rule.²⁹³ As Boria Majumdar pointed out: 'The colonial mission of importing sport as a civilizing tool is successfully turned on its head'.²⁹⁴ Also Guest's study of the SDP programme in Angola supports this when he claims that 'global ideas such as Olympism, are always resisted and reshaped by local communities'.²⁹⁵ Guest shows how the universal language of sport discourse is translated into practice and demonstrates that the community residents did not uncritically adopt the discourses and the solutions prescribed to them by the donors. The residents 'participated in sport and play on their own terms and employed their own meanings'²⁹⁶ thus demonstrating local agency. Further, in their critique of 'the instrumental and hegemonic perspectives that are strongly represented in the sport-for-development literature',²⁹⁷ Lindsey and Grattan show that in their case studies of two SDP organisations in Zambia, the evidence suggested that local agency was exerted to a higher degree than was often presented by the portrayals of Northern hegemonic power over SDP projects in the developing world.²⁹⁸

A complementary criticism of hegemony may be found in post-colonial perspectives. As outlined in Chapter 3, the focus of post-colonial studies has shifted from colonial discourse analysis to emphasising the relationship and interactions between modernity, globalisation and the local.²⁹⁹ Nonetheless, non-Western knowledge and culture is still rendered as different from the normative 'self' of Western rationality, and thus, a 'colonisation of meaning' may take place as the colonial discourse is being reproduced.³⁰⁰ Applied to sports, Bale and Cronin claim that sports 'per se is an eminently postcolonial

²⁹³ For instance: Boria Majumdar, "Cultural Resistance and Sport: Politics Leisure and Colonialism - Lagaan - Invoking Lost History," *Culture, Sport, Society* 5, 2 (2002); Hamad S. Ndee, "Modern Sport in Independent Tanzania: 'Adapted' Sport and the Process of Modernization," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 19, 4 (2002)

²⁹⁴ Majumdar, "Cultural Resistance and Sport", 33.

²⁹⁵ Guest, "The Diffusion of Development-through-Sport", 1337.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1347.

²⁹⁷ Lindsey and Grattan, "An 'International Movement'?", 107.

²⁹⁸ The structure over agency debate in development aid is not further dealt with in this discussion. Essentially, the conclusion of Paper IV illustrates the necessity of taking this discussion further, as we argue that: 'The effects of development are often modified when the focus is shifted from *discourses of development* to the *practice of development* (Nustad 2007). Development language does not necessarily reflect development practice. Consequently, further research needs to look to the structure versus agency debate within development studies where several scholars (...) have examined how development policies developed by the donor are translated and given meaning by the recipients in the social context where they are implemented. Hence, we acknowledge the importance of studying the relationship between formal discourse and agency in development interventions. However in this article we have aimed to contribute to the debate concerning discursive formations within SDP studies by analysing a single Norwegian SDP organisation and its policy development'.

²⁹⁹ Ahluwalia, *Politics and Post-colonial Theory*.

³⁰⁰ Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*.

phenomenon³⁰¹ since it is evident that it played a central part of the colonial experiment, as I have shown above. In studies of SDP the post-colonial perspective may be relevant as 'they emphasize the agency of the marginalized in "carving out" identities, while also demonstrating that development is never experienced homogenously by subalterns in the Global South'.³⁰² This latter point strongly relate to my argument above regarding recipient 'agency' in the development aid relationship. As Darnell points out, in critical studies of SDP, post-colonial perspectives are called for,

not only in recognition of the colonial history of global sport itself, but also, and perhaps more importantly, as a means of analysing how notions of 'the power of sport' in support of development may serve to depoliticize the relationship between sport and post-colonialism.³⁰³

More specifically, he postulates that 'historical myopia of sport and colonialism, even in the well-intentioned support of cultural and political agency, depoliticizes the ways in which contemporary development initiatives potentially align with colonial logic or constitute a neocolonizing practice'.³⁰⁴ In her discourse analyses of a number of key SDP policy documents Hayhurst maintains that 'a postcolonial framework ensures that the themes of power, global inequalities and identities are understood within the intersecting oppressions of race, class and culture, with a focus on "issues of difference, agency, subjectivity, hybridity and resistance"'.³⁰⁵ Thus, in studies of SDP (or any study of the development aid apparatus for that matter) the post-colonial perspective is relevant because of its attempts to uncover or recover the alternative voices of the subaltern, or the recipients of an aid intervention.

Throughout my dissertation, the focus has been on attempting to uncover how the Norwegian SDP was perceived by Tanzanian and Zimbabwean recipients, and in this regard the post-colonial perspective may be useful. Whereas articles I and IV focus on the written policy discourse of the Norwegian SDP, the voices of the recipients have particularly been the subject of articles II and III. However, as I have illustrated in Chapter 2, Methodology, attempting to understand the recipient side of an aid relationship is challenging. Adding an historical aspect further strengthens this argument. Nevertheless, the post-colonial perspective can be useful in attempting to understand the Norwegian involvement in SDP from the early 1980s until 2000, and particularly how its 'superior' position in and knowledge

³⁰¹ John Bale and Mike Cronin, introduction to *Sport and Postcolonialism*, ed. John Bale and Mike Cronin (New York: Berg Publishers, 2003), 4.

³⁰² Darnell and Hayhurst, "Hegemony, Postcolonialism and Sport-for-Development", 115.

³⁰³ Darnell, *Sport for Development and Peace*, 35.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁰⁵ Hayhurst, "The Power to Shape Policy", 210.

of sport seems to have been tacitly accepted and even reproduced by its recipients, particularly in the Tanzanian case. As Darnell and Hayhurst point out, an understanding of such processes would essentially help to 'uncover its responsibility in the material and discursive processes that still regularly constitute the Global South in an inferior, dependent and racialized relationship with the Global North'.³⁰⁶ Thus, post-colonial perspectives may be beneficial for attempting to locate the power webs of SDP relations as they emerged and was manifested in the early Norwegian SPD in the 1980s and 1990s, and also, how these continue to play a role in maintaining SDP (power) relationships.

In this discussion I have shed light on the Norwegian SDP to Tanzania and Zimbabwe from the 1980 until 2000 through the lenses of a variety of theoretical perspectives such as modernisation, neo-liberalism, cultural imperialism, hegemony and post-colonialism. The various theoretical perspectives all relate to each other, and ultimately underlines the challenges of SDP projects dealing with different sides of a relationship which, from the outset, are asymmetrical in terms of power. Essentially, perspectives of power have been this dissertations recurrent theme. As John McKay concludes in his reassessment of development theory; 'Development is certainly about power, and the poor have, as always, little or no power either to set their own goals or to mobilize the resources needed to achieve them'.³⁰⁷ A general topic of this dissertation has been to elucidate and understand this (power) relationship between the Norwegian donor and the Tanzanian and Zimbabwean recipient sides of the SDP intervention. I have argued that most of the theoretical perspectives shown in this discussion may help to explain the rationale for the Norwegian SDP, and as such may provide us with useful 'frameworks for interpretation'.³⁰⁸ However, historical dissertations such as this, where the answers to the research questions are found in the past, benefit from combining theoretical and historical explanations. This may be particularly evident in work regarding development aid since this is one field where theoretical and practical sides have traditionally been closely intertwined.

³⁰⁶ Darnell and Hayhurst, "'Hegemony, Postcolonialism and Sport-for-Development", 120.

³⁰⁷ McKay, "Reassessing Development Theory", 66.

³⁰⁸ Booth, "Theory".

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION AND FINAL REMARKS

This study examined the Norwegian Confederation of Sports' (NIF) SDP engagement from its inception in Tanzania in the early 1980s until 2000. Through two different cases, Tanzania and Zimbabwe respectively, I have shown how NIF has argued for its SDP engagement, through analysing the formal discourses of the projects. I have concluded that throughout the period of my study, NIF had clear ideas and visions about its SDP engagement. This was evident when it came to defining what the SDP should entail, which areas and target groups were important to emphasise and prioritise and how the sports organisations were best managed. Consequently, NIF acted as trustees in regard to the Tanzanian and Zimbabwean recipients, which from the outset had little choice but to accept the terms that were given by the Norwegian donors (NIF and Norad).

It is important to reinforce that as my dissertation reports two separate case studies, no claims are made that my findings are generalizable to other communities and SDP projects. That being said, challenges in relation to for example, asymmetrical power relationships and the transfer of own ideas and solutions to development problems which consequently leads to cultural clashes are likely to be discovered in a variety of aid projects, both within and outside SDP.

A central topic of this dissertation has been to elucidate the recipient side of an aid relationship between Norwegian donors and their recipients. This was particularly emphasised in the Tanzanian case, where in the interviews with Tanzanian recipients I specifically asked questions such as how they experienced the SDP 'given' to them by Norway and whether the aid was on their terms. Similar to the formal discourse, in the implementation of the Tanzanian project it was evident that it was Norwegian terms that were the foundation for the SDP. As one informant expressed 'the people were made to believe that this was a gift from Norway. They were made to be the recipient, with no other role than to say "thank you"'. Consequently, *Sport for All* was perceived to be a Norwegian project in Tanzania, rather than a Tanzanian project. Data from the Zimbabwean case reports similar tendencies in the formal discourse. However, in the practical implementation of the SDP, empirical data revealed Zimbabwe to be a more active and participatory recipient than in the Tanzanian case. I have considered that the reasons for this was that the general development aid policies at the time moved towards emphasising participation and bottom-up development, as well as the fact that NIF, as an aid actor, had matured and become more professional, having had experiences with SDP for more than a decade.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the aid system is one in which values are negotiated. The relationship between donors and recipients is not unambiguous, neither is the apparent donor and recipient only a donor and a recipient. Nevertheless, their roles are defined by the aid relationship. Thus, an important point emerging in the papers is that in regard to the Norwegian SDP engagement in Tanzania and Zimbabwe, several power relationships were manifest at different levels, and thus the complexity of aid relations was evident.

The main research question of this dissertation has been: *How can the Norwegian Confederation of Sports' involvement in SDP from the early 1980s to 2000 be understood?* I have highlighted this question through the four papers. Additionally, in this discussion I have brought up various theoretical perspectives that can be utilised when answering a question of such complexity. The various theoretical perspectives all relate to each other, and ultimately underlines the central topic brought up above – the challenges of SDP projects dealing with different sides of a relationship which, from the outset, are asymmetrical in terms of power.

Recently SDP has gained significant prominence, both in terms of policy, practice and as an academic research field. Although I have shown that the link can be brought back to colonial practices and the diffusion of sports in general, as a historical field SDP (from a narrow point of view) is nonetheless relatively un-explored. Beacom stated that this lack of historical literature 'creates the impression that [sport] development interventions are a relatively recent phenomenon and misses long established characteristics of the process that help to explain its current challenges, in particular, the management of relations between the donors and recipients'.³⁰⁹ It has been my intention throughout this dissertation, to address this gap in historical research on SDP. My study however, only explores a small part of the SDP from 1980 onwards. It would be interesting in the future to see historical research (particularly if this research originated from the South) on SDP continuing to address issues that uncover how recipients of SDP have perceived and adapted SDP policies prescribed to them by their donors. Similarly, more historical research to uncover the well-established SPD field prior to the mushrooming of SDP projects from 2005 onwards is required.

³⁰⁹ Beacom, "A Question of Motives", 83.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahluwalia, Pal. *Politics and Post-colonial Theory: African Inflections*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Amin, Samir. "Utvikling og Strukturendringer: Lærdommer fra Afrika." In *Underutvikling: En Antologi om U-Land og Underutvikling i Historiske Perspektiv*, edited by Tore Linnè Eriksen, 187–208. Oslo: Gyldendal, 1974.
- Andreff, Wladimir. "Sport in Developing Countries." In *Handbook on the Economics of Sport*, edited by Wladimir Andreff and Stefan Szymanski, 308–315. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2006.
- Baaz, Maria Eriksson. *The Paternalism of Partnership: A Postcolonial Reading of Identity in Development Aid*. London: Zed Books, 2005.
- Bairner, Alan. *Sport, Nationalism and Globalization*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2001.
- Bale, John. *Landscapes of Modern Sport*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994.
- Bale, John, and Joe Sang. *Kenyan Running: Movement Culture, Geography and Global Change*. London: Frank Cass, 1996.
- Bale, John, and Mike Cronin. Introduction to *Sport and Postcolonialism*, edited by John Bale and Mike Cronin, 1–13. New York: Berg Publishers, 2003.
- Baker, William J. "Political Games: The Meaning of International Sport for Independent Africa." In *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, edited by William J. Baker and James A. Mangan, 272–294. New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1987.
- Beacom, Aaron. "A Question of Motives: Reciprocity, Sport and Development Assistance." *European Sport Management Quarterly* 7, 1 (2007): 81–107.
- Beck, Peter. "The Most Effective Means of Communication in the Modern World? British Sport and National Prestige." In *Sport and International Relations: An Emerging Relationship*, edited by Roger Levermore and Adrian Budd, 77–92. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Berg Alfsen, Therese. "Norwegian Development Aid to Civil Society; The Norwegian Bar Association's Legal Aid Project in Nepal." Master thesis, University of Oslo, 2008.
- Bergsgard, Nils Asle, Per Mangset, Barrie Houlihan, Svein Ingve Nødland and Hilmar Rommetvedt. *Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change*. Amsterdam: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007.
- Berthoud, Gérald. "Market." In *The Development Dictionary*, edited by Wolfgang Sachs, 70–87. London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1992.

- Black, David. R. "The Ambiguities of Development: Implications for 'Development Through Sport'." *Sport in Society* 13, 1 (2010): 121–129.
- Booth, Douglas. "Theory." In *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, edited by S.W. Pope and John Nauright, 12–33. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Bull, Benedicte. "Development Theory Revisited." In *Poverty, Politics and Development: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Dan Banik, 29–52. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2006.
- Burke, Peter. *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.
- Burke, Peter. *History and Social Theory*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Burnell, Peter. *Foreign Aid in a Changing World*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997.
- Cantelon, Hart, and Sandra Murray. "Globalization and Sport, Structure and Agency: The Need for Greater Clarity." *Society & Leisure* 16, 2 (1993): 275–291.
- Coalter, Fred. "Sport-in-development: Accountability or Development?" In *Sport and International Development*, edited by Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom, 55–75. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Coalter, Fred. "Sport-for-development: Going Beyond the Boundary?" *Sport in Society* 13, 6 (2010): 1374–1391.
- Cowen, Michael. P., and Robert W. Shenton. *Doctrines of Development*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Craig, David, and Doug Porter. *Development Beyond Neoliberalism? Governance, Poverty Reduction and Political Economy*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Darnell, Simon C. "Playing With Race: Right to Play and the Production of Whiteness in "Development through Sport"." *Sport in Society* 10, 4 (2007): 560–579.
- Darnell, Simon C. "Power, Politics and "Sport for Development and Peace": Investigating the Utility of Sport for International Development." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 27 (2010): 54–75.
- Darnell, Simon C. "Sport, Race and Bio-politics: Encounters With Difference in "Sport for Development and Peace" Internships," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 34, 4 (2010): 396–417.
- Darnell, Simon C., and Lyndsay Hayhurst. "Hegemony, Postcolonialism and Sport-For-Development: A Response to Lindsey and Grattan." *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4, 1 (2012): 111–124.
- Darnell, Simon. *Sport for Development and Peace: A Critical Sociology*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012.

- de Laine, Marlene. *Fieldwork, Participation and Practice: Ethics and Dilemmas in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage, 2000.
- Dubberke, Harald. "Critical Remarks Regarding Sports Aid for Developing Countries." In *Sport, Culture, Society; International Historical and Sociological Perspectives; Proceedings of the VIII Commonwealth and International Conference on Sport, Physical Education, Dance, Recreation, and Health; Conference '86 Glasgow, 18-23 July*, edited by James A. Mangan and Robert. B. Small, 240–245. London: E. & F.N. Spon, 1986.
- Edgar, Andrew, and Peter Sedgwick, editors. *Cultural Theory; The Key Concepts*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Eichberg, Henning. "Olympic Sport – Neocolonization and Alternatives." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 19, 1 (1984): 97–106.
- Eichberg, Henning. "From Sport Export to Politics of Recognition: Experiences from the Cooperation between Denmark and Tanzania." *European Journal for Sport and Society* 5, 1 (2008): 7–32.
- Eichberg, Henning. "Bodily Democracy and Development through Sport – Towards Intercultural Recognition." *Forum for Idræt*, 1 (2010): 9–22.
- Engh Sunniva, and Helge Pharo, "Nordic Cooperation in Providing Development Aid." In *Regional Cooperation and International Organizations. The Nordic Model in Transnational Alignment*, edited by Norbert Gôtz and Heidi Haggrén, 112–130. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Enjolras, Bernard, Ørnulf Seippel and Ragnhild Holmen Waldahl. *Norsk Idrett: Organisering, Fellesskap og Politikk*. Oslo: Akilles, 2005.
- Escobar, Arturo. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Escobar, Arturo. "Anthropology and Development", *International Social Science Journal* 49, 154 (1997): 497–515.
- Esteva, Gustavo. "Development." In *The Development Dictionary*, edited by Wolfgang Sachs, 6–25. London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1992.
- Ferguson, James. *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Frank, Andre Gunder. "The Development of Underdevelopment (1969)," in *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*, edited by J. Timmons Roberts and Amy Hite, 159–168. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2000.

- Galtung, Johan. "The Sport System as a Metaphor for the World System." In *Sport; The Third Millennium*, edited by Fernand Landry, Marc Landry and Magdeleine Yerlès, 147–155. Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1991.
- Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Geertz, Clifford. *Local Knowledge; Further Essays in Social Anthropology*. New York: Basic, 1983.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Sociology*, 6th ed. Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2009.
- Gilbert, Keith, and Will Bennett, editors. *Sport, Peace and Development*. Champaign, Illinois: Common Ground Publishing, 2012.
- Giulianotti, Richard. "Human Rights, Globalization and Sentiment Education: The Case of Sport." *Sport in Society* 7, 3 (2004): 355–369.
- Giulianotti, Richard. "Sport, Transnational Peacemaking, and Global Civil Society: Exploring the Reflective Discourses of "Sport, Development, and Peace" Project Officials." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 35, 1 (2011): 50–71.
- Goksøyr, Matti. *Staten og Idretten 1861-1991*. Oslo: Kulturdepartementet, Idrettsavdelingen, 1992.
- Goksøyr, Matti. *Historien om Norsk Idrett*. Oslo: Abstrakt Forlag, 2008.
- Griffiths, Richard T. "Development Aid. Some Reference Points for Historical Research." In *The Aid Rush: Aid regimes in Northern Europe during the Cold War. Volume 1*, edited by Helge Ø. Pharo and Monica Phole Fraser, 17–49. Oslo: Unipub, 2008.
- Grillo, Ralph D. "Discourses of Development: The View from Anthropology." In *Discourses of Development: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Ralph D. Grillo and Roderick L. Stirrat. Oxford: Berg, 1997.
- Guest, Andrew M. "The Diffusion of Development-Through-Sport: Analysing the History and Practice of the Olympic Movement's Grassroots Outreach to Africa." *Sport in Society* 12, 10 (2009): 1336–1352.
- Guttmann, Allen. *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.
- Guttmann, Allen. *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Hartmann, Douglas, and Christina Kwauk. "Sport and Development: An Overview, critique, and Reconstruction." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 35, 3 (2011): 284–305.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

- Hasselgård, Anders. "Norges Fotballforbund i Norsk Utviklings- og Utenrikspolitik: Den Norske Fotballmodellen." Master thesis, University of Oslo, 2008.
- Hasselgård, Anders, and Solveig Straume. "Utvikling til Idrett eller Idrett til Utvikling: NIF som Bistandsaktør." In *Norsk Idrett: Indre Spenning og Ytre Press*, edited by Dag Vidar Hanstad, Gunnar Breivik, Mari Kristin Sisjord, and Hans B. Skaset, 371–389. Oslo: Akilles, 2011.
- Hayhurst, Lyndsay M. C. "The Power to Shape Policy: Charting Sport for Development and Peace Policy Discourses." *International Journal of Sport Policy* 1, 2 (2009): 203–227.
- Hazan, Baruch A. "Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion: The Soviet Union in Africa." In *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, edited by William J. Baker and James A. Mangan, 250–271. New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1987.
- Henry, Ian, and Mansour Al-Tauqi. "The Development of Olympic Solidarity: West and Non-West (Core and Periphery) Relations in the Olympic World." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, 3 (2008): 355–369.
- Hognestad, Hans, and Arvid Tollisen. "Playing Against Deprivation; Football and Development in Nairobi, Kenya." In *Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation and Community*, edited by Richard Giulianotti and Gary Armstrong, 210–226. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Holt, Richard. *Sport and the British: A Modern History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Houlihan, Barrie. *Sport and International Politics*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994.
- Houlihan, Barrie and Mick Green, editors. *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Huizinga, Johan. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Nature*. London: Temple Smith, 1970.
- International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*, 2011. Available from: http://www.olympic.org/Documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf [Accessed November 29, 2012]
- International Platform on Sport and Development, *All organisations*, 2012. Available from: http://www.sportanddev.org/en/connect/organisations/organisations_list/ [Accessed October 25, 2012].
- Jørgensen, Marianne Winther, and Louise Phillips. *Diskursanalyse som Teori og Metode*. Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetsforlag, 1999.
- Kay, Tess. "Sport and International Development. Introduction: The Unproven Remedy." In *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development* edited by Barrie Houlihan and Mick Green, 281–284. London: Routledge, 2011.

- Kidd, Bruce. "A New Social Movement: Sport for Development and Peace." *Sport in Society* 11, 4 (2008): 370–380.
- Kiernan, Victor G. *Imperialism and its Contradictions*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Kjeldstadli, Knut. *Fortida er ikke hva den Engang var: En Innføring i Historiefaget*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1999.
- Klausen, Arne Martin. "Kerala Fishermen and the Indo-Norwegian Pilot Project." PhD diss., University of Oslo, 1968.
- Kvale, Steinar, and Svend Brinkmann. *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*, 2nd ed. Los Angeles: Sage, 2009.
- Kvale, Steinar, and Svend Brinkmann. *Det Kvalitative Forskningsintervju*, 2nd ed. Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk, 2009.
- Langille, Joanna. *Conditionality*, 2005. Available from: http://globalautonomy.ca/global1/glossary_pop.jsp?id=CO.0022 [Accessed May 01, 2012]
- Latour, Bruno. "The Powers of Association." In *Power, Action and Belief: a New Sociology of Knowledge?* Edited by John Law, 264–280. London: Routledge, 1986.
- Leth-Pedersen, Niels, Marianne Hornbæk Jensen and Lars Bo Jørgensen. *Idræt og U-Landsarbejde*. København: Danmarks Højskole for Legemsøvelser, 1989.
- Levermore, Roger. "Sport: A New Engine of Development?" *Progress in Development Studies* 8, 2 (2008): 183–190.
- Levermore, Roger. "Sport-in-International Development: Theoretical Frameworks." In *Sport and International Development*, edited by Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom, 26–54. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Levermore Roger, and Aaron Beacom, eds. *Sport and International Development* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Levermore, Roger, and Aaron Beacom. "Sport and Development: Mapping the Field." In *Sport and International Development*, edited by Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom, 1–25. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Levermore, Roger, and Aaron Beacom. "Opportunities, Limitations, Questions." In *Sport and International Development*, edited by Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom, 246–268. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Levermore, Roger, and Aaron Beacom. "Reassessing Sport-For-Development: Moving Beyond 'Mapping the Territory'." *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4, 1 (2012): 125–137.

- Liland, Frode, and Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland. *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 3; 1989-2002; På Bred Front*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2003.
- Lindsey, Iain, and Alan Grattan. "An 'International Movement'? Decentring Sport-for-development within Zambian Communities." *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4, 1 (2012): 91–110.
- Maguire, Joseph. *Global Sport; Identities, Societies, Civilizations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.
- Maguire, Joseph. *Power and Global Sport; Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Majumdar, Boria. "Cultural Resistance and Sport: Politics Leisure and Colonialism - Lagaan - Invoking Lost History." *Culture, Sport, Society* 5, 2 (2002): 29–44.
- Mangan, James A. "Ethics and Ethnocentricity: Imperial Education in British Tropical Africa." In *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, edited by William J. Baker and James A. Mangan, 138–171. New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1987.
- Massao, Prisca Bruno, and Solveig Straume. *Urban Youth and Sport for Development*. Nairobi: UN-Habitat, 2012.
- Mauss, Marcel. *Gaven: Utvekslingens Form og Årsak i Arkaiske Samfunn*. Translated by Thomas Hylland Eriksen. Oslo: Cappelens Akademisk Forlag, 1995.
- McKay, John. "Reassessing Development Theory." In *Key Issues in Development*, edited by Damien Kingsbury, Joe Remenyi, John McKay and Janet Hunt, 45–66. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Moyo, Dambisa. *Dead Aid; Why Aid is not Working and how there is Another Way for Africa*. London: Penguin Books, 2009.
- Ndee, Hamad S. "Modern Sport in Independent Tanzania: 'Adapted' Sport and the Process of Modernization." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 19, 4 (2002): 89–113.
- Ndee, Hamad S. "Prologue: Sport, Culture and Society in Tanzania from an African Perspective." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, 5 (2010): 733–758.
- Neumann, Iver B. *Mening, Materialitet og Makt: En Innføring i Diskursanalyse*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2001.
- Njåstad, Magne. *Norvegr, Norges historie 1400-1840*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 2011.
- Norwegian Confederation of Sports, "Vedr. Søknad 1997 – ZIB610/ZAM604/BSA614," File 94/2130-31, Box, 443.1 NIF. Oslo: Norwegian Agency for International Development Archives, 1996.

- Norwegian Agency for International Development, "Beslutningsdokument enkeltavtaleorganisasjoner," File 97/5872-8. Oslo: Norwegian Agency for International Development Archives, 1997.
- Nustad, Knut. *Gavens Makt: Norsk Utviklingshjelp som Formynderskap*. Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2003.
- Nustad, Knut. "The Development Discourse in the Multilateral System." In *Global Institutions and Development: Framing the World?*, edited by Morten Bøås and Desmond McNeill, 13–23. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Nustad, Knut. "Foreign Aid and the Ideas of Development." In *Poverty, Politics and Development: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Dan Banik, 230–249. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2006.
- Nustad, Knut. "Development: The Devil we know." In *Exploring Post-Development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives*, edited by Aram Ziai, 35–46. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Olstad, Finn. *Norsk Idretts Historie; Forsvar, Sport, Klassekamp 1861-1939*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1987.
- Osmond, Gary, and Murray Phillips. "Sources." In *Routledge Companion to Sports History*. Edited by S.W. Pope and John Nauright, 34–50. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Pharo, Helge. "Hjelp til Selvhjelp: Det Indisk-Norske Fiskeriprosjektets Historie 1952-72." PhD diss. University of Oslo, 1988.
- Pharo, Helge, Ø. "Reluctance, Enthusiasm and Indulgence: The Expansion of Bilateral Norwegian Aid." In *The Aid Rush: Aid regimes in Northern Europe during the Cold War. Volume 1*, edited by Helge Ø. Pharo and Monica Phole Fraser, 53–89. Oslo: Unipub, 2008.
- Polley, Martin. *Sports History: A Practical Guide*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Pope, S.W. "Imperialism." In *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, edited by S.W. Pope and John Nauright, 229–247. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Puranaho, Kari, and Pauli Vuolle. *A Survey of the Needs of Sports Development Cooperation in Africa*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University Printing Office, 1987.
- Rapley, John. *Understanding Development; Theory and Practice in the Third World*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007.
- Read, Lorna, and Jerry Bingham. Preface to *Sport and International Development*, edited by Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom, xiii–xix. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Rist, Gilbert. *The History of Development; From Western Origin to Global Faith*, 3rd ed. London: Zed Books, 2008.

- Roberts, J. Timmons, and Amy Hite. *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2000.
- Roser, Mads. "NIF som Bistandsaktør; Utvikling av- eller gjennom Idrett?" Master thesis, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 2011.
- Rostow, Walt W. "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (1960)." In *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*, edited by J. Timmons Roberts and Amy Hite, 100–109. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2000.
- Ruud, Arild Engelsen, and Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland. *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 2: 1975-1989, Vekst, Velvilje og Utfordringer*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2003.
- Sachs, Wolfgang, editor. *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1992.
- Sachs, Wolfgang. Introduction to *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, edited by Wolfgang Sachs, 1–5. London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1992.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge, 1980.
- Schinke, Robert J., and Stephanie J. Hanrahan, editors. *Sport for Development, Peace, and Social Justice* Morgantown WV: West Virginia University, 2012.
- Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Searns, Peter N. Foreword to *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, edited by S.W. Pope and John Nauright, x–xv. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Selbervik, Hilde. *Aid and Conditionality. The Role of the Bilateral Donor: A Case-Study of Norwegian-Tanzanian Aid Relationship*. Oslo: Norad, 1999. Available from: <http://www.norad.no/en/tools-and-publications/publications/publication?key=165312> [Accessed November 15, 2012].
- Silverman, David. *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*. London: Sage, 2001.
- Simensen, Jarle. *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 1; 1952-1975; Norge Møter den Tredje Verden*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2003.
- Simensen, Jarle. "Writing the History of Development Aid; A Norwegian Example. Some Reflections on Methods and Results." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 32, 2 (2007), 167–182.
- Simensen, Jarle. "Aid Symbioses and its Pitfalls: The Nordic/Norwegian-Tanzanian Aid Relationship, 1962-1986." In *The Aid Rush: Aid Regimes in Northern Europe during*

- the Cold War. Volume 2*, edited by Helge Ø. Pharo and Monica Phole Fraser, 153–177. Oslo: Unipub, 2008.
- Slagstad, Rune. (*Sporten*): *En Idéhistorisk Studie*. Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2008.
- Stake, Robert E. "Qualitative Case Studies," in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3rd ed., edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 443–466. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005.
- Stoddart, Brian. "Sport, Cultural Imperialism and Colonial Response in the British Empire." *Sport in Society* 9, 5 (2006), 809–835.
- Stokke, Olav, editor. *Aid and Political Conditionality*. London: Frank Cass, 1995.
- Stokke, Olav. "Aid and Political Conditionality: Core Issues and State of the Art." In *Aid and Political Conditionality*, edited by Olav Stokke, 1–87. London: Frank Cass, 1995.
- Stokke, Olav. *UN and Development: From Aid to Cooperation*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009.
- Straume, Solveig. "Norsk Idrett som Bistand: Kva låg til Grunn for den Norske Idrettsbistanden fram til Oppstarten i Tanzania i 1983?." Master thesis, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 2005.
- Tenga, Sendu Titus M. "The Norwegian Sport for All Project in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 1984-90: An Evaluation of the Training Programmes." Master thesis, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 1994.
- Third World Quarterly* 32, 3 (2011)
- Tvedt, Terje. *Bilder av "de Andre": Om Utviklingslandene i Bistandsperioden*. Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1990.
- Tvedt, Terje. *Angels of Mercy or Development Diplomats: NGOs and Foreign Aid*. Oxford: James Curry Ltd., 1998.
- Tvedt, Terje. *Verdensbilder og Selvbilder. Om Utviklingslandene i Bistandsepoken*, 3rd ed. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2002.
- Tvedt, Terje. "Utviklingshjelp og det Nasjonale Godhetsregimet," *Horisont* 1 (2007): 60–69.
- Tvedt, Terje. *Utviklingshjelp, Utenrikspolitikk og Makt: Den Norske Modellen*, 2nd ed. Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk, 2009.
- Tønnesson, Stein. *Norsk Idretts Historie; Folkehelse, Trim, Stjerner 1939-1986*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1986.
- United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations, Chapter IX: International Economic and Social Co-operation, Article 55*. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter9.shtml> [Accessed June 06, 2013].

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "International Charter of Physical Education and Sport." In *Records of the General Conference, Resolutions*, 31–38. Paris: Unesco, 1979. Available from: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001140/114032e.pdf#page=30> [Accessed November 30, 2012].

United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace. *Sport as a Tool for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals*, 2003. Available from: http://www.un.org/sport2005/resources/task_force.pdf [Accessed October 23, 2012].

Wagner, Eric A. "Sport in Asia and Africa: Americanization or Mundialization?" *Sociology of Sport Journal* 7 (1990): 399–402.

Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th ed. Los Angeles: Sage, 2009.

THE PAPERS

Paper I:

Straume, Solveig. "Sport is in lack of everything here! Norwegian Sport for All to Tanzania in the early 1980s." *Stadion* 36 (2010): 177–198.

Paper II:

Straume, Solveig and Kari Steen-Johnsen. "On the terms of the recipients? Norwegian sports development aid to Tanzania in the 1980s." *The International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 47, 1 (2012): 95–112.

Paper III:

Straume, Solveig, "Norwegian naivety meets Tanzanian reality: The case of the Norwegian sports development aid programme, Sport for All, in Dar es Salaam in the 1980s." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, 11 (2012): 1577–1599.

Paper IV:

Straume, Solveig and Anders Hasselgård. "'They need to get the feeling that these are their ideas': Trusteeship in Norwegian Sport for Development to Zimbabwe." *The International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* (2013), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2013.813866>

'SPORT IS IN LACK OF EVERYTHING HERE!' –
NORWEGIAN SPORT FOR ALL TO TANZANIA IN
THE EARLY 1980'S

BY
SOLVEIG STRAUME

Introduction

The idea of providing development aid to developing countries¹ emerged in the Western world subsequent to World War II. Various sectors of recipient societies were singled out as objects of development projects and granted a considerable amount of funds for years to come. Norway joined this international trend in the early 1950's, when a project to modernize fishing was started up in Kerala, India. Norway have since then tried to establish herself as a relatively substantial actor in the field of development aid, a field which has expanded thoroughly in regards to priority countries and areas of which one is the area of sports.

The first Norwegian sports development aid initiative was carried out in 1982, when the *Norwegian Confederation of Sports* (NOC) attempted to investigate the opportunities for help building sport structure in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The NOC considered the opportunities promising, and building on this, a sports development aid project, Sport for All, was started up in the same area in 1983. Hence, a relationship was established where one relatively small country, Norway, (approximately 4 mill inhabitants) provided aid to another country, Tanzania, (approximately 20 mill inhabitants) in a field where none of them had proved to be major international actors.² The relationship was however characterized by asymmetric positions; Norway was a relatively affluent country situated in the internationally dominant Western world, Tanzania was among the world's poorest countries placed in what previously had been defined as the 'under-developed' part of the world.

The main research question of this article will be; what characterized the arguments for the *Norwegian Confederation of Sports* to initiate a sports development aid project in Africa in the 1980's? As it is the Norwegian debate I aim to illuminate, the way the sports development aid may have been perceived on the recipient side will not be dealt with in this paper.

Methodology

Although a few researchers have addressed the sports development aid field from a historical perspective there still is a research gap concerning this issue.³

As stated by Beacom:

"This [lack of historical literature] is an error in the sense that it creates the impression that development interventions are a relatively recent phenomenon and misses long established characteristics of the process that help to explain its current challenges, in particular, the management of relations between the donors and recipients"⁴

This article hopes to add to the historical literature on sports development aid.

As both Keys and Levermore and Budd points out also on the field of international relations (IR) sports' significance somehow seems to have been played down.⁵ This was particularly evident in the early works of sports and IR literature where a common perception seems to have been, in the words of Lowe, Kanin and Strenk that "sport is safe because of its peripheral to the international system"⁶. Further they stated that sport was important in IR because "as an activity, it has no intrinsic political value"⁷. However, in recent years, the field of sports and IR has grown considerably, and an increasing body of literature "argues that sport [...] plays an important role in 'building' nations, nation states and national identity"⁸. Amongst these are for instance Barrie Houlihan's *Sport and international politics*,⁹ Lincoln Allison and Tony Monningston's 'Sport, prestige and international relations',¹⁰ Roger Levermore and Adrian Budd's *Sport and international relations: An emerging relationship*¹¹ and the recent publication 'International relations' by Barbara Keys.¹² In this context of IR literature sports development aid may fit in, as sports generally and sports development aid initiatives specifically has been credited with being useful, and at first sight non-political vehicles in the development policy-making processes.¹³

From a Norwegian point of view there is also little research regarding the history of the sports development aid. In the general Norwegian development aid literature sport is not at all given space,¹⁴ neither is it particularly emphasised in Norwegian sports history literature.¹⁵ A few master theses' has been written on the subject, most of whom has had an evaluating character.¹⁶ Project reports from both internal and external parts serves as background to this study, as well as magazine and newspaper articles from selected periods of importance to the early sports development aid.¹⁷ In-depth archival studies at the NOC, the *Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD)*¹⁸ and the Norwegian Royal Embassy in Dar es Salaam has also been conducted and are the empirical base of this study together with the previously mentioned project reports and media articles. The NOC archive situation from this period is relatively comprehensive. The NORAD and embassy archives however, do

not hold much material on the Sport for All project despite having supported it for a sufficient period of time.¹⁹

The written sources have been supplemented by extensive interviews with key actors involved in the first Norwegian sports development aid project, both within the NOC, the NORAD and the *Tanzanian National Sport Council* (NSC).

Historical context

In 1952 Norway committed to a bilateral aid agreement with India, and this marked the start of a development aid tradition, amongst some historians characteristically termed *the aid rush*, which has played a major role in Norwegian contemporary foreign politics. India was the only recipient of Norwegian aid for a decade, and although the idea of expanding the aid picked up with the establishment of NORAD in 1962, the following decade was characterised by modest aid expansion.²⁰ However, one country that did benefit from the Norwegian aid rush in the 1960's was Tanganyika (later Tanzania). Historian Helge Pharo argues that there seems to have been little doubt or even debate in the *Storting* (the Norwegian parliament) that the newly liberated African states were next in line after India in development aid questions:

"There was an extremely strong fascination with the new African states, epitomised by the almost universal Norwegian admiration for Tanzania and President Julius Nyerere; such admiration was remarkably persistent."²¹

Thus, under President Nyerere, Tanzania eventually became the largest recipient of aid from Norway and the Nordic countries, and in the mid 1980's the Nordic aid constituted a good 25 per cent of the total international aid to the country. Norway alone contributed 8,6 per cent of the total development aid to Tanzania from 1982 to 1985.²² It was in this context of persistent fascination with Tanzania that the NOC was given the possibility to execute a sports development aid initiative in the country in 1982.

The 'sport for all' idea

In the early 1960's 'sport for all' policies emerged in Germany and the Nordic countries. The idea of these policies was that the health and well being of the citizens was a governmental concern, and needed to be emphasised in order to facilitate social development. The 'sport for all' policies fit with a European society experiencing social challenges caused by industrialisation, and thus they were eventually adopted by a number of European governments whose heavy investments yielded increased sports participation in the 1960's and 70's. Thus, a changed perception of sport's role in the society marked the decade

characteristically called "the 'golden age' for *sport for all* policies"²³. As Houlihan shows, since the mid 1970's the number of international governmental institutions involved in sports both at the global and the regional levels increased significantly.²⁴ In regards to the 'sport for all' policies, institutions like the *Council of Europe* (COE) and UNESCO are particularly interesting as they adopted the 'sport for all' idea, emphasising the need for sport and physical education and affirming that sport was a human right that should be encouraged in all societal levels. This was formalised in the *International Charter of Physical Education and Sport* which was adopted by UNESCO's General Conference in 1978. The idea of 'sport for all' became an ongoing phrase within these institutions as it specifically aimed at being a means to achieving greater unity between the member countries, and to safe-guard the ideals and principles they had in common to facilitate economic and social development.²⁵

In Norway the idea that everybody should be able to and encouraged to participate in sports activities had been promoted for some time. In the early post-war years, the Norwegian sports movement was in close cooperation with the state in sport matters especially through the Government office of sport, *Statens Idrettskontor* (from 1950 STUI)²⁶ established in 1946, and its prominent leader Rolf Hofmo.²⁷ The STUI emphasised the principle of universality, meaning that everybody, no matter where one lived in the country, should have the same right and opportunities to the merit good. In particular the sports propaganda was health related, often with doctors as authorities for promoting sports for health benefits.²⁸ As historian Matti Goksøyr points out, from the mid 1960's the sports propaganda went from mainly focussing on health, to also include issues like well-being, contentment and enjoyment of the activity.²⁹ Bringing in more reasons for doing sport made it even more relevant for the masses. Following this, the perception of what sport should be, was changing in the Norwegian society. In a Report to the *Storting* from the *Ministry of Cultural Affairs* from the centre coalition government in 1973, sport was included in an extended concept of culture. The Report stressed on building an organization that should make its mark on public cultural politics in which all cultural groupings in the society should be included. Further it stated that the cultural concept should include more than high culture, and sport, voluntary organisations, bodily cultures, hobbies and outlook on life was added to the concept.³⁰ Clearly it stirred the general ideas of what culture was, and to some extent created conflict between popular and high culture. The Report stressed the importance of 'sport for all', and stated that achieving this was a public matter. Hence, public authorities should to a greater extent fund the building of sport facilities and financially support voluntary organisations that were to be responsible for the actual sport activities. Further, it underlined the importance of 'sport for all' by expressing scepticism to elite sports. It was stressed that elite sports was legitimised in the Norwegian society, but public authorities should not be expected to primarily fund the elites as it would negatively affect large groups of people

excluded from the elite. However, in a supplementary Report to the *Storting* from the newly elected Labour government in 1974 it was emphasised that in the 'sport for all' concept, there should be room for the elites as well, and although one from the governments' side still expressed scepticism, this argument followed the elite sports debate in Norway in the coming years.³¹

In the Report to the *Storting*, *Kulturpolitikk for 1980-åra*, (cultural politics in the 1980's) from the Labour *Ministry of Education and Church Affairs* (KUD) in 1981, sports issues were given space. The KUD recognised the intrinsic values sports had both as physical activity and as cultural expressions, and emphasised that sports could play an important role in personal development for the citizen. It was further stated that sports could create a climate for social practice and community integration, and through sports clubs, democratic participation and organisation could be exercised. However, again there was a general perception that the development of sports was worrying, especially regarding elite sports. Commercialisation and professionalism was a serious threat to fundamental sports– and cultural political values, and a debate on how to decelerate this development was needed. Hence, sports' international affairs were thoroughly discussed, and KUD especially acknowledged UNESCO and the COE's work in shaping the charter in 1978.³²

The NOC clearly followed the rhetoric of the time, and took a great interest in the 'sport for all' idea. Thus, as we shall see, when the NOC eventually initiated a sports development aid project in Tanzania it followed in the same tracks as the sports development emphasised at home, with the 'sport for all' idea as its main denominator. In regards to the international organisations previously mentioned Houlihan points out that one must consider whether these are

"a force for the homogenisation of sport policy and sport practice or whether they have the capacity and sensitivity to protect and promote diversity of interests in sport."³³

Similar questions can and will be raised in regards to the NOC as a development aid actor in the 1980's.

Early sports development aid initiatives

The idea of using sports in development work was not new. As a number of researchers have shown, already in the interwar period several actors initiated sports development aid projects in the developing world, initiatives that escalated particularly after World War II and persisted into the Cold War era.³⁴ Further, as decolonisation increased across the African continent in the 1960s, so did the sports development aid initiatives as the sports arena became one of which the urge to influence these newly independent states was carried through. Political implications can not be overlooked. In an era of Cold War and ideological struggles, any effort to influence and spread ones ideology was

useful, and tried executed by states on both sides in the midst of the conflict. As Henry and Al-Tauqi express, the sports development aid became a tool

"in the Cold War battle for the hearts, minds, and political and economic support of the newly independent post-colonial states in Africa and Asia on the part of the USA and USSR in the post-war era."³⁵

The early sports development aid was elite oriented. Sending top coaches to recipient countries to assist in developing talented athletes was common practice, as well as offering training in high standard facilities in the donor countries for these athletes. Also, over the years an extensive focus on facility building in the recipient country prevailed, and in the remotest corners of the world one could eventually find top modern stadiums and arenas for the benefit of elite sports in the developing world.³⁶

When Norwegian sport entered the field of development aid they clearly opposed the sports development aid that had previously been given as they – as well as other Nordic countries³⁷ - embraced a type of sports development aid, focussing on grass root initiatives and ‘sport for all’, with the clear idea that sport could help induce social order and even promote economic development.

Norwegian sports entering the development aid field

In the influential daily newspaper *Dagbladet* (liberal), a feature article written by NORAD employee Erik Berg, was published on July 29th 1980. The article, titled *Norwegian sport and the developing countries*,³⁸ focussed on the potential role Norwegian sport could play in the developing world and encouraged a debate about the direction that Norwegian sport took, specifically in relation to the developing countries. During a business trip to Kenya and Tanzania in 1979, Berg had met with several sports leaders and discussed the situation of sports in East Africa. He was struck by the lack of resources and a consistent sport policy. Hence, he called on the Norwegian sport movement to connect with the growing sport federations in the developing world, and urged them to actively support the developing countries’ demands of influence in international sports organisations. He referred to the *new international sport order*,³⁹ an expression first adopted by African states at UNESCO’s *First International Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials responsible for Physical Education and Sport* in 1976. Within the Western dominated IOC and Commonwealth organisation, developing countries had had negligible influence. In 1976 however, this position was challenged as it was the year of the first successful, or at least noticeable, effective African boycott of the Olympics. Such positioning and political statement may have given African leaders confidence on the field, and hence the courage to make demands in international forums regarding sport issues. The *new international sport order* was a result of such demands, and tempted to promote the interest of the devel-

oping world in forums like the IOC and Commonwealth organisation, and obtain their influence in discussions regarding international sport structures. The conference led to the foundation of several sport funds that should supplement IOC's support fund, under the protection of UNESCO. Further, UNESCO requested that more countries should, through bilateral agreements, support the developing world in sport matters, and that the IOC should in particular support these countries to a greater extent than what they had previously done.⁴⁰ Houlihan points out that although the western representatives may have reacted with surprise, this offensive had to be seen in the light of the continuing conflict regarding the democratisation of the Olympic movement.⁴¹ This emphasis to promote sport corresponded with the increased attention sport had been given in UNESCO and the COE and it seems to have been a useful approach for an international medium to also include and emphasise the developing world. Berg's arguments went hand in hand with the requests of UNESCO and thus provided a solid argument for the Norwegian sport movement to act on the request.

Consequently to Berg's article, the *Norwegian football federation* (NFF) in cooperation with the NORAD and the *United Nations Association of Norway* organised a seminar, *Norwegian sport and the developing countries*, in Trondheim in September 1980. The NFF had several reasons to engage in the matter. After a period marked by elite- and result orientation with a rather traditional, conservative NFF administration, a new generation, with former football player Eldar Hansen as president, took over and wanted to reform Norwegian football. Football should go from being a personal hobby to something that regarded the whole society, hence; bringing football to the masses and focussing on girl's inclusion were amongst the new approaches of the NFF.⁴² As part of this reform policy of the 'new' NFF, sports development aid was believed to fit perfectly. As Eldar Hansen wrote in a report from the seminar:

"Norwegian sports leaders often emphasises the social impact of sports to our society. This is done too often without thoroughly discussing sports' role and tasks in relation to the local community, sports' national significance and its engagement in the international society."⁴³

The purpose of the seminar was to create a discussion within the Norwegian sport organisations and the sports press on the role of Norwegian and Western sport in the world society. Could sport lead to social development for the masses, and if so, how could Norwegian sport contribute? From which principles should one cooperate with the developing countries? What could Norway learn from the developing countries, and what could one offer? But maybe most importantly, "can Norwegian sport retrieve a social engagement nationally and internationally – through a broad cooperation with sport in the Third world?"⁴⁴ During the seminar it was soon evident that Tanzania stood out as the core country with which to cooperate. Tanzania, having been in an exceptional position for Norwegian development aid cooperation since 1962, was thus believed to meet the demands from the Norwegian donor with regards to political goals

and human right issues. Aiming for a country in which one already operated, where the aid could be included in the regular aid budget could also be practically beneficial. Thus, without further ado, when speaking of sports development aid, one spoke of sports development aid to Tanzania.

In a note to several central sport leaders regarding the NFF seminar in Trondheim, the NOC chairman Ole Jacob Bangstad spoke enthusiastically about the idea of sports development aid stating that "the idea is brilliant! [...] we should pick up the gauntlet!"⁴⁵ He further wrote that he, as a member of the Norwegian national UNESCO committee, had requested that Norway should financially support the promotion of sports in the developing world. He claimed to have met certain recognition from the *Ministry of Education and Church Affairs* (KUD) whereas one in the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* (UD) was sceptical. Allegedly, he claimed, "in danger of 'blotting' development grants."⁴⁶ Bangstad questioned this scepticism.

"I can not understand that Norwegian development aid does not recognise what important task it is [...] to contribute to improving the health and contentment of the population [...] in particular countries."⁴⁷

As this topic was so interesting it should, he argued, despite any scepticism, be taken further, and hence in October the same year, the NOC invited to a seminar, *Norwegian sports' international role and responsibility in the 1980's*, where sports development aid was one of the issues on the agenda.

On the NOC seminar several conclusions were drawn and next steps suggestions discussed. However, there is little documentation of any actions taken in the months to follow, and few sources discussing the idea of sports development aid. This is also supported by a note from chairman Bangstad to the NOC board in August 1981 where he reports of scarce follow-up of the ideas from the fall of 1980. The exception is a joint initiative by the NFF and the NORAD to invite the Tanzanian team, *Mwenge Stars*, to participate in the annual football tournament *Norway Cup* held in Oslo in July 1981, which led to informal meetings between representatives from the NOC, the NFF and the NORAD.⁴⁸ However, during the fall of 1981 the sports development aid was thoroughly discussed in several forums, and culminated in a pre-project to investigate the opportunities to contribute to sports in Tanzania, starting up in the fall of 1982.

Presumed contribution and scepticism to the sports aid idea

At the NOC seminar in October 1980 there seems to have developed a general perception of the importance of assisting the developing world in sports matters in the NOC leadership. However, the content of the aid was subject to disagreements. Outspoken sports leaders like Hans B. Skaset⁴⁹ had previously been criticised for mixing sport and politics and for allegedly insinuating that one should try to follow in the tracks of the Eastern block countries in order to

influence the developing world.⁵⁰ However, as the discussion evolved, his statements were de-emphasized, and at the NOC seminar he stressed that such influence would depend on whether one was able to build trustful relations to the developing countries.⁵¹

Chairman of the *Norwegian Handball Federation* and long-standing sports leader Carl E. Wang referred to previous development projects, and thus recognised the sports development aid field in his speech at the NOC seminar:

"A relatively new, none the less interesting field of activity is the industrialised countries and their relationship to the developing countries. We have all seen how great and strong sports nations have developed bilateral connections to selected developing countries. DDR runs sports development aid in Cuba, evidently with outstanding results. Soviets endeavours are multiple and not easily described, however, it is activities from definite deliberate conducts. France has a particular grip on one of its former colonies in Africa [...] Sweden has also shown a certain development engagement in Africa."⁵²

There seems to be a certain admiration of the work carried through by strong and powerful sporting nations like the DDR and the Soviet Union, even though their efforts were mainly directed towards the development of elite sports, and not sport for the masses. For a small country like Norway it may also have been unrealistic to compare with such nations. As the first of the Nordic countries to initiate sports development aid, Sweden somehow created a Nordic sports development aid trend in the early 1980. A Swedish assessment of the needs for Tanzanian sport was conducted in 1978, with the result that the *Swedish Sports Confederation* (RF) initiated cooperation with the Tanzanian sports authorities in the Arusha region in 1980. The possible influence the Swedish initiative had on the Norwegian debate should not be underestimated, especially given the strong link that traditionally had been between the Nordic countries both in sports and in development aid matters.⁵³ Thus, in the light of Sweden's engagement Wang claimed that a comparison may be suitable. Wang pointed out that Norway also should engage in such development work, stating that it was

"[n]ot because we should aim to develop colonial attitudes (or retrieve Viking mentality!) But simply because we, as an industrialised country in regards to sport have certain things to contribute to the development of sport in Tanzania, Sri Lanka and other places."⁵⁴

Within the sports organisation itself there seems to have been a perception of Norway as a developed country in regards to sport. Similar statements are reflected from other people where it is emphasised and "raised above all doubt that Norwegian sport generally has something to offer".⁵⁵ What this *something* was, was not always elaborated in more detail, but obviously perceived as a general understanding. This is supported in several written sources, where it is evident that the Norwegian sports organisation perceived themselves as being in an superior position compared to the developing countries, especially on areas regarding infrastructure, equipment, sport leadership, coaching and organisational structures. This superiority is also reflected in the Norwegian written press. In April 1981 the liberal daily newspaper *Dagbladet* published a

series of articles, *Idrett og u-land* (sport and developing countries), in connection with the sports development aid debate. Tanzanian sports was presented as being old fashioned and a hundred years behind the Norwegian sports movement, operating with the establishment of the sports federations in both countries. Headings like "Sport is in lack of everything here!", "Tanzania only have eight sports fields" and "Wish I had a stationary bike – says Tanzania's only sports doctor" clearly gave evidence to the needs of sports development aid to the Tanzanian society. Norway, it was argued, could contribute in a positive way to get a Tanzanian sport organisation in total lack of voluntary contributions on the right track financially and organisationally.⁵⁶ Norwegian aid, money and equipment were pictured to be the solution for a system described in rather pitiful ways.

However, although there seems to have been a general perception of the importance of sports development aid in Norway, debates on whether or not to engage in sports development aid did occur. The argument of Norway being an industrialised country in regards to sports was contradicted, and it was argued that Norway, with a lack of money to build arenas and sports grounds and a massive voluntary contribution in order to make ends meet, was itself in many ways a developing country when it came to sport. Norwegian sport was facing so many challenges on its own that one should try to solve before expanding to the rest of the world. Further, many of the different sports' national federations struggled financially and hence, were expected to oppose the sports development aid, given the fact that the NOC was likely to cover at least 20 % of the expenses.⁵⁷ Inside the NFF, when the idea was first launched, the views on the sport development aid were divided. From the conservative former NFF administration it was argued that sports development aid was inconsistent with the priority areas of the NFF, and Norwegian football should solve problems at home before starting dealing with everybody else's.

Simultaneously, outside the sports organisation and sports press, the idea of using *sports* in development aid was questioned, as other priorities, and specifically relief work, were emphasised as more important. As one newspaper put it; "Let us concentrate our aid to the ones that needs it. Let us prioritise children with polio that are learning to walk rather than healthy children that are able to run".⁵⁸ Sports organisations, it was argued, should focus on what they knew, sport, and development aid should be a public matter.⁵⁹ Obviously critique like this was legitimate and needed to be taken seriously. However, there seems to be no breeding ground for such arguments, and although the idea of using sports in development aid was also questioned later no real debate seems to be present neither within the NOC nor in the public sphere as such.

The NFF president Eldar Hansen seems to have had a clear idea on how Norwegian sports could contribute in the developing world:

"experiences unilaterally points in the direction that one can not acquire development in a country unless the social, cultural and economic development parallels.

Hence, it is as part of the culture that football and other sports can contribute in the developing countries."⁶⁰

It is evident that given that sports were part of the cultural concept in Norway, the sports development aid obviously was to be funded through the cultural budget from the *Ministry of Education and Church Affairs* (KUD). At the time, sports in Tanzania were administered through the youth section in the *Ministry of National Culture and Youth*.⁶¹ Hence, there seems to have been a clear link in which culture was the natural field of cooperation. However, Tanzanian and Norwegian sports obviously had its differences, not only on the organisational and institutional level, but also when it came to the actual practicing of sports. This was particularly conveyed in the intersection between the traditional and the modern. When launching the idea of sports development aid, Erik Berg warned about the Western sports practices, which he claimed was on their way to becoming a product of science, "mechanised, specialised and professionalised",⁶² and quite the contrary to the developing countries' sports practices which he characterised in rather romantic ways as "natural, casual, spontaneous, personal and joy of movement".⁶³ With the Report to the *Storting, Kulturpolitikk for 1980-åra*, (cultural politics in the 1980's) from the KUD in mind, this corresponds with the general trends in the society worrying about the development of the international elite sports. Simultaneously, the general development aid debate was characterised with a warning against cultural imperialist attitudes and practices, and hence, the sports development aid, which was indeed cultural in its expression, was subject to potentially being cultural imperialist in its nature. In what seems to be a response to potential criticism and cultural imperialist labelling, Berg further brought up two points. First he stressed that Norway could assist the developing countries in preserving their sports traditions. He stressed the importance of the developing countries' own traditions and terms to be at the base of any aid. Thus, he emphasised that Norwegian sports should help the developing countries to shape a sport policy closely adapted to the citizens' needs for physical education, cultural identity and traditions, as well as assist in potential increased and improved production. Drawing on Houlihan's point earlier and the potential cultural imperialist labelling, one must consider whether such interventions are homogenising sport policies and sport practices or whether they have the capacity and sensitivity to protect and promote diversity of interests in sport.⁶⁴ In regards to the sports aid discussion, this concern was addressed through Berg's second point. Norwegian sport itself could benefit from such cooperation, through impulses from traditional sports. "We can learn a lot from the developing countries' sports traditions – new practices, spontaneity and the joy of movement".⁶⁵ He stressed that the terms of the aid had to be defined by the recipient, an ideal clearly in line with the general Norwegian development aid discourse of the time. Berg, familiar with the NORAD rhetoric, obviously knew the importance of emphasising this in the potential sport development work. However, in the light of the Sport for All project in Tanzania this point is quite interesting, as the idea of

preserving something is rather challenging when simultaneously aiming to introduce something new.

Health and welfare

Sports development aid was further presented as "a counterbalance to the negative critics that sports are exposed to".⁶⁶ Providing aid to developing countries could be a strategic move from the sports movement and contribute in a positive way for sports itself, by showing that sport was more than hooliganism, violence, black money and the emerging number of doping scandals that characterised the international sports debate. Again, this is clearly in line with the Norwegian government's sports politics at the time, warning about the commercialisation and professionalism following the elite sports.

Thus, one of the main things that were to dominate the Norwegian sports development aid in its first years was the emphasis on mass sports. This was emphasised already in Berg's article where he spoke for a reduction of the elite focus that had characterized the previous sports development aid. He argued that an emphasis on the elites could lead to brain drain in the developing countries, and stressed the need to decelerate the import of Western elite sports, claiming that:

"We make our sports ideals the ideals for the developing countries. Elite sports have status, and are prioritized. In the industrialised countries this can partly be justified because mass sports are also granted economic means. In developing countries, elite sports usually happen at the sacrifice of mass sports."⁶⁷

Berg stressed that active mass sports movements could become important vehicles in the work towards social and economic levelling in developing societies, and that the Norwegian sports organisations should prioritise supporting these movements. He further claimed that sports could benefit the developing society as a whole, and could be used as an instrument for several welfare state purposes;

"in health politics, to increase working life productivity, to promote national sentiment and unity in states that are ethnically, socially and religiously divided [...] to promote cooperation and respect for common rules of the community and to develop organisational apparatus."⁶⁸

The welfare state principles for supporting sports have been elaborated by several researchers.⁶⁹ Fred Coalter discusses the history of public policies for sports in the United Kingdom, and argues that the motives for public investments in sport have been marked by a duality. On the one hand it implies extending social rights of citizenship, meaning each individual's social right to choose to participate in sports. On the other hand it implies using sports to address a wide range of social issues; hence sports participation may lead to social benefits for the individual, but also the collective society.⁷⁰

As mentioned, there was from the early post war years on a close cooperation between the Norwegian sports movement and the state through the Government office of sport, *STUI*. Not only did they emphasise the principle that everybody should have the same right and opportunities to do sports, they also included schools and cultural activities which were arenas in which sports could contribute besides promoting health. It is therefore argued that the *STUI* played a part in the cultivation of the Norwegian citizen and could be seen as an important element in building the Norwegian social democratic welfare state.⁷¹ This corresponds with what Coalter argues in the case of the UK. The government's interest in sport matters

"combines genuine concerns to improve the quality of life and health of the new urban working class with attempts to create a new civic culture and, by implication, 'citizens'".⁷²

The responsible citizen participates in sports for her own benefits, however, the socio-economic benefits can not be underestimated, and hence one can say that sports have actively been used in the building of the welfare state.

Since they did in fact use the welfare state idea to argue for providing sports development aid to Tanzania, it is tempting to ask whether the Norwegian sport movement considered itself in a unique position to transform a society to become a welfare state. Given that Norwegian sports politics had emphasised the masses and that sports had served welfare state purposes in Norway for decades, it might be tempting to say that it was. Yet, taking on the challenge to transform a country into a welfare state is by no means an easy endeavour, and that the sports movement stood for an important contribution within Norway, does not necessarily mean that it would be as successful in Tanzania. However, as health and welfare arguments fit well with the rhetoric of the sports politics and therefore also sports propaganda of the time, arguing with societal development also seems to have been a clear strategy from the NOC chairman Ole Jacob Bangstad as he emphasised the strong link that was believed to be between sports and the welfare state ideas.

"Our experience is that sport is a means to a better health and greater contentment with all the positive aspects this bring to the society. This is something one should allow other peoples as well and we should voice the idea to contribute to sports' availability in corners of the world where it so far has been neglected due to material reasons."⁷³

There was a certain perception of what the health concept entailed, and an idea based on own experiences that sports might help solving health issues in the society. It is also evident that one seems to take for granted that the Tanzanian society can benefit from the same sport for health focus as the Norwegian. However, it may be interesting to ask what NOC knew about the health situation in Tanzania in order to promote sports for health reasons. As the idea of 'sport for all' was a response to the trends in the European society with inactivity, lifestyle diseases and obesity as core problems, did the Norwegian actors believe that the Tanzanian society at the time was subject to the same problems

and thus needed exactly the same things as themselves? In a society struggling with major financial issues, where the majority of the population lived far below the poverty line and basic needs were yet to be fulfilled, it is likely that developing sports in the country would not have been first priority.

It is striking that the Norwegian actors did not assess the needs of the Tanzanian society for sports at the time, but that there was an assumption that the benefits of sports was indeed universal and suited any particular society. Clearly one was aware of the challenges in working in a different milieu, and as several people emphasised the terms of the recipient had to be complied with. However, there seems to have been no discussions on whether sports development aid was compatible with any such terms, and this may imply a duality in the Norwegian sports development aid rhetoric. In reading the documents we do get an indication that the main reason for the NOC to emphasise health issues, mass sports and recipient terms is the fact that the NORAD, in their respond to support the project set certain criterions. These criterions obviously corresponded with Norwegian public policies both on sports matters and of course aid matters in general, and although it may have been inconsistent with the NOC's priorities if they themselves were solely to decide, it is evident that this was an area which was not open to discussions.

The development aid system and sports

So, it may be tempting to ask; how were these ideas received in the Norwegian political system? And even more specifically, how did the development aid agency NORAD think about sports as a means in development aid?

The 1970's and 80's Norwegian development aid were marked by rather large and ambitious projects, especially on the African continent. Where previous aid projects had had technical development as their main goal, the 'new' approach termed 'integrated development projects', tempted to change entire societies. Hence, the foci were multiple and ambitious aiming for poverty reduction, women development, environment and human rights awareness and opening up for voluntary organisations with aid projects working hand in hand with the grass root level of society.⁷⁴ In such a context a room for sports development aid could be given.

In the 1981 Report to the *Storting* from the *Ministry of Education and Church Affairs* (KUD) in the Labour government, sports development aid was recognised and brought to date. It stated that the KUD was positive to the idea of integrating sport in the Norwegian aid programmes, and that they were prepared to contribute in a potential cooperation regarding sports development aid. It was further emphasised that the engagement should primarily build on Norwegian aid principles, and hence, the KUD and the NORAD should be involved in the planning together with the sports organisations.⁷⁵ Further, in a

Proposition to the *Storting* from the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* (UD) in 1981 it is stated that

"resolutions on principles has been made to stimulate to cooperation between Norwegian sports organisations and corresponding organisations in our main collaboration countries."⁷⁶

Both these public declarations came subsequent to *Norway Cup* held in July 1981 where a Tanzanian team had participated, and which consequently led to discussions between representatives from the NOC and the NORAD. Much of the reason for such political interest in the field was based on personal engagement and contacts. Minister of Education and Church Affairs at the time, Einar Førde, showed a special interest, and was allegedly the main driving force behind granting the Tanzanian team the funds to participate in the tournament.⁷⁷

In her opening speech Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland recognised the Tanzanian team participating in *Norway Cup* and stated that this had "attracted entitled attention and is a new example of football uniting across borders."⁷⁸ She further expressed that there was a certain interest from the political authorities to follow up on sports development aid.

"The intention is that this will not be a detached initiative, but that it will be followed up with an expanded cooperation between Tanzania and Norway in the area of football. [...] The practical arrangement must be framed by the sports organisations; however there is political interest from the government's side to follow this up. Maybe, sometime ahead, this can constitute a part of the regular Norwegian development aid."⁷⁹

Such political interest obviously encouraged the sports organisations to continue their sports development aid plans. However, any grants had to come from the NORAD, which was Norway's public implementing aid agency at the time. Thus, NORAD's role and influence on the sports development aid can not be underestimated, as the fact is that without their support the implementation of sports development aid would be unlikely.

As mentioned there are few sources indicating thorough NORAD discussions about the sports development aid. This may in itself be an interesting finding as the lack of sources may indeed indicate a lack of discussion in the public sphere and a lack of interest in the general development aid circles. However through the sources that do speak of the sports development aid it seems to be evident that in principle sports development aid was not an area of priority. In March 1981 the idea of sports development aid was discussed internally, indicating that it probably would take a while before any applications from Norwegian sports organisations regarding NORAD support to development projects would be under consideration. They also recognised that amongst Norwegian sport leaders that were interested in the possibilities to support sports in the developing countries, there seemed to be an understanding to the fact that it first of all was important to obtain knowledge about potential cooperating countries before any suggestions of initiatives were launched. In an

internal note in April 1981 NORAD's opinions regarding sports development aid is somehow expressed:

"[t]he field regarding sports and development countries does not attach great importance to NORAD apart from the positive signals and stimulus that has already been granted."⁸⁰

However, any applications for support could potentially be assessed given that they corresponded with guidelines and frames specified by the NORAD. First of all the focus had to be on mass sports, in which a certain emphasis on school sport could be of value. Secondly, the sports development aid had to be concentrated to one of Norway's main collaborating countries, and thirdly, financial and administrative involvement from the Norwegian sports organisations themselves was a premise for support.⁸¹ The representation in Dar es Salaam seems to have been very positive to the idea of a Sport for All project in the city, as sports was an important cultural activity, could create positive attitudes and serve a social purpose.⁸² NORAD representatives also emphasise the fact that it was believed that Sport for All was not primarily a sports project, but a mobilising project aiming for particularly challenged groups.

Thus, we can see that the criteria put forward by Berg, which the NOC eventually also used to argue for the sports development aid, clearly corresponded with the criteria of the NORAD, which again obviously corresponded with the development aid politics and rhetoric of the time.

Conclusion

Of the several motives for the *Norwegian Confederation of Sports* (NOC) to engage in sports development aid, the most conspicuous one seems to have been the perception that Norway, regardless of being a relatively small nation in sports, considered herself as being in a forward position when it came to matters like structure, institutions and organization, and hence, believed to have something to provide to sports in a developing society like the Tanzanian. The sports development aid was presented to be a positive alternative to the negative critics sports were exposed to. Providing sports development aid to developing countries could become a strategic move from the sports movement by showing that sport was more than hooliganism, violence, black money and the emerging number of doping scandals that characterised the international sports debate. Hence, the focus had to be on mass sports, an emphasis clearly in line with the public sports politics at the time, where the dangers of the elite sports had been due to admonishments. Another motive that seems to have dominated the debate, at least officially, was the idea that one through sports development aid could help to build a welfare state. We have seen how this argument clearly corresponded with the public sport policies in the European and Western societies at the time. As a part of a functioning welfare state, health issues was high-

ly regarded, and hence, also in arguing for the sports development aid health matters seems to have been of great importance. Thus, the importance of sports for health reasons seems to be highly valued. Whether or not the Tanzanian society needed sport for the same health reasons as the Norwegian society seems to have been less a matter of discussion.

Although one should not disregard any ideal intentions from the different initiative takers it is striking that in what seems to be an effort to meet potential cultural imperialist critiques it is emphasised that Norway had a lot to learn from the developing countries' sport practices, which were described in romantic ways as being harmonious and passionate. One emphasised the need to embrace the cultural expressions of the traditional Tanzanian sports and to decelerate the import of Western sport practices that had characterised the previous sports development aid.

However, the Norwegian sports development aid initiative must be seen in the light of a period of changes in public aid policies and sport policies both in Norway, the other Nordic countries and in the European and international society as a whole. As weighty international organisations like the Council of Europe and UNESCO had emphasised the need to support the developing states in shaping their sport policies, there seems to have been an opening for the sports organisations to act on the request. Obviously for the sports organisations such emphasis could also spur their sport development aid plans, and would provide a solid argument when public funds came to be distributed.

The fact that other Nordic countries, particularly Sweden, also initiated sports development aid is likely to have been an important motive for the Norwegian involvement. What seemed to be a Nordic sports development aid trend emerged in the early 1980's and traditionally, though not surprisingly, the Nordic countries followed track of each other also here.

However, the most decisive argument for NOC to initiate a sports aid project is that they could. As the political strategies of Norwegian development aid made funds available for private organisations with development projects, there was also an opening for an involvement in development aid for organisations that had traditionally not been a part of the aid system. However, public aid priorities of were more or less fixed, and thus needed to be met by the new aid actors. This is reflected in the public documents: the rhetoric used in the sports development aid discussions is clearly in line with the development aid jargon at the time. Hence, also a sports development aid project could see the light of day.⁸³

Notes

- 1 Rhetoric change has been evident in the development aid discourse. From *developing country* (U-land in Norwegian), *developing world* or *the Third World*

being legitimate descriptions, one is now better off talking about *the South, the Partner or the cooperation country*. However, as this is a historical analysis, the common terms in this period, *developing country and developing world*, will consistently be used in this paper.

- 2 Norway had distinguished themselves in winter sports, but for obvious reasons this project could not deal with such sports.
- 3 For instance: H. DUBBERKE, "Critical Remarks Regarding Sports Aid for Developing Countries", in: J.A. MANGAN/R.B. SMALL (eds.), *Sport, Culture, Society; International Historical and Sociological Perspectives; Proceedings of the VIII Commonwealth and International Conference on Sport, Physical Education, Dance, Recreation, and Health; Conference '86 Glasgow, 18-23 July*, London 1986. H. EICHBERG, "From Sport Export to Politics of Recognition: Experiences From the Cooperation Between Denmark and Tanzania", in: *European Journal for Sport and Society* 5(2008)1. B.A. HAZAN, "Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion: The Soviet Union in Africa", in: W.J. BAKER/J.A. MANGAN (eds.) *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, New York 1987. I. HENRY/M. AL-TAUQI, "The Development of Olympic Solidarity: West and Non-West (Core and Periphery) Relations in the Olympic World", in: *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25(2008)3.
- 4 A. BEACOM "A Question of Motives: Reciprocity, Sport and Development Assistance", in: *European Sport Management Quarterly* 7 (2007)1, p. 83.
- 5 B. KEYS, "International relations", in: S.W. POPE/J. NAURIGHT (eds.) *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, London and New York 2010. R. LEVERMORE/A. BUDD (eds.), *Sport and International Relations; An Emerging Relationship*, London and New York 2004.
- 6 B. LOWE/D.B. KANIN/A. STRENK (eds.), *Sport and International Relations*, Champaign, Ill 1978, p. v.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 R. LEVERMORE, "Sport's Role in Constructing the 'Inter-State' Worldview", in: LEVERMORE/BUDD (eds.), *Sport and International Relations*, p. 16.
- 9 B. HOULIHAN, *Sport and International Politics*, New York 1994.
- 10 L. ALLISON/T. MONNINGTON, "Sport, Prestige and International Relations", in: L. ALLISON (ed.) *The Global Politics of Sport; the Role of Global Institutions in Sport*, London and New York 2005.
- 11 LEVERMORE/BUDD (eds.), *Sport and international relations*.
- 12 KEYS, "International relations".
- 13 R. LEVERMORE/A. BEACOM (eds.), *Sport and International Development*, Basingstoke 2009.
- 14 For instance a comprehensive three-volume work on the history of Norwegian development aid published in 2003. J. SIMENSEN, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 1; 1952-1975; Norge Møter den Tredje Verden*, Bergen 2003. K.A. KJERLAND/A.E. RUUD, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 2; 1975-1989; Vekst, Velvilje og Udfordringer*, Bergen 2003. F. LILAND/ K.A. KJERLAND, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 3; 1989-2002; På Bred Front*, Bergen 2003.
- 15 Neither S. TØNNESSON, *Norsk Idretts Historie; Folkehelse, Trim, Stjerner 1939-1986*, Oslo 1986 or M. GOKSØYR, *Historien om Norsk Idrett*, Oslo 2008 emphasises sports development aid to any extent although both are relatively de-

tailed in their descriptions of the development of the *Norwegian Confederation of Sports* (NOC).

- 16 For instance: S.T.M. TENGA, *The Norwegian Sport for All project in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 1984-90 : an Evaluation of the Training Programmes*, Master thesis, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, Oslo 1994. S. STRAUME, *Norsk Idrett som Bistand: Kva Låg til Grunn for den Norske Idrettsbistanden Fram til Oppstarten i Tanzania i 1983?*, Master thesis, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, Oslo 2005.
- 17 The selected periods have been around the time of the first sports development seminar in September 1980, an article series, *Idrett og u-land* (sports and developing countries) in the daily newspaper *Dagbladet* in April 1981 and publications during the *Norway Cup* week in July 1981.
- 18 The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) was Norway's public implementing aid agency at the time, whereas the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (UD) was in charge of the overall Norwegian aid strategies.
- 19 A similar case of lack of documents in NORAD archives despite thorough support can be found in T. B. ALFSEN, *Norwegian Development Aid to Civil Society. The Norwegian Bar Association's Legal Aid Project in Nepal*, Master thesis, University of Oslo 2008.
- 20 Elaborated for instance in H.Ø. PHARO, "Reluctance, Enthusiasm and Indulgence: the Expansion of Bilateral Norwegian Aid", in: H.Ø. PHARO/M.P. FRASER (eds.) *The Aid Rush. Aid Regimes in Northern Europe During the Cold War, Volume 1*, Oslo 2008.
- 21 PHARO, "Reluctance, Enthusiasm and Indulgence", p. 66.
- 22 Simensen points out the special aid relationship between Norway and Tanzania, and the contradiction of it lasting even in times where the Tanzanian government implemented a type of politics which was incompatible with the Norwegian ideals involving the one-party state and forced villagisation. However, it was political motives that drew Norwegian and Nordic interests to Tanzania in the first place as President Nyerere's ideology, the African socialism, and its priorities seemed to fit perfectly with the wishes and ideas of the social-democrats in the North. In: SIMENSEN, *Norsk utviklingshjelps historie 1*. J. SIMENSEN, "Aid Symbioses and its Pitfalls: the Nordic/Norwegian-Tanzanian Aid Relationship, 1962-1986", in: H.Ø. PHARO/M.P. FRASER (eds.) *The Aid Rush. Aid Regimes in Northern Europe During the Cold War, Volume 2*, Oslo 2008.
- 23 N.A.BERGSGARD/B. HOULIHAN/P. MANGSET/S.I. NØDLAND/H. ROMMETVEIT, *Sport Policy: a Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change*, Amsterdam 2007.
- 24 HOULIHAN, *Sport and international politics*.
- 25 COUNCIL OF EUROPE, *The Revised European Sports Charter*, on [https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?Ref=Rec\(92\)13&Sector=secCM&Language=lanEng-lish&Ver=rev&BackColorInternet=9999CC&BackColorIntranet=FFBB55&BackColorLogged=FFAC75](https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?Ref=Rec(92)13&Sector=secCM&Language=lanEng-lish&Ver=rev&BackColorInternet=9999CC&BackColorIntranet=FFBB55&BackColorLogged=FFAC75) [downloaded, 27.08.2007]. UNESCO (1978, 21. November) *International Charter of Physical Education and Sport* on http://www.unesco.org/education/nfsunesco/pdf/SPORT_E.PDF [downloaded,

- 27.08.2007]. J.J. JACKSON, "Sport for All", in: LOWE/KANIN/STRENK *Sport and International Relations*. HOULIHAN, *Sport and International Politics*.
- 26 In 1950, Statens Idrettskontor became Statens Ungdoms- og Idrettskontor (STUI), with an emphasis on youth issues together with sport issues. In: TØNNESSON, *Norsk Idretts Historie*.
- 27 Rolf Hofmo (1898-1966) was a central character in the Norwegian workers sports movement, *Arbeidernes Idrettsforbund* (AIF), in the interwar years, and greatly involved in the unification of the Norwegian sports movement in 1940. Hofmo brought with him the ideas from the AIF to the STUI, which with little resistance could be incorporated in the reconstruction of a war-weary Norway. Thus, the STUI was to a great extent synonymous with Hofmo who was characteristically named 'the state in sport'. In: F. OLSTAD, *Norsk Idretts Historie; Forsvar, Sport, Klassekamp, 1861-1939*, Oslo 1986 and TØNNESSON, *Norsk Idretts Historie*.
- 28 M. GOKSØYR/E. ANDERSEN/K. ASDAL, *Kropp, Kultur og Tippekamp*, Oslo 1996. GOKSØYR, *Historien om Norsk Idrett*.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 KYRKJØ- OG UNDERVISNINGSDEPARTEMENTET (KUD) (Ministry of Education and Church Affairs), *St. meld. Nr. 8 (1973-74); Om Organisering og Finansiering av Kulturarbeid*, Report to the Storting 1974.
- 31 GOKSØYR/ANDERSEN/ASDAL, *Kropp, kultur og tippekamp*.
- 32 KUD, *St.meld. nr. 23, Kulturpolitikk for 1980-åra*, Report to the Storting 1981.
- 33 HOULIHAN, *Sport and International Politics*, p. 83.
- 34 J. RIORDAN, *Sport, Politics and Communism*, Manchester 1991. HAZAN, "Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion". P. BECK, "'The Most Effective Means of Communication in the Modern World?': British sport and National Prestige", in: LEVERMORE/BUDD (eds.) *Sport and International Relations*.
- 35 HENRY/AL-TAUQI, "The development of Olympic Solidarity", p.355.
- 36 Elaborated for example in: J. BALE/J. SANG, *Kenyan Running*, London 1996.
- 37 Simultaneously with the first Norwegian sports development aid initiative, Sweden and Finland initiated similar Sport for All projects in Tanzania. This article speaks of the Norwegian project and do not tempt to compare this with the other Nordic sports development aid initiatives.
- 38 DAGBLADET, 29. July 1980.
- 39 The word order obviously related to the *New International Economic Order* (NIEO) which was the appellation used to describe the economic negotiations between the industrialised- and developing world in the 1970's.
- 40 LOWE/KANIN/STRENK, *Sport and International Relations*.
- 41 HOULIHAN, *Sport and International Politics*.
- 42 Elaborated in M. GOKSØYR/F. OLSTAD, *Fotball!*, Oslo 2002.
- 43 E. HANSEN, "Forord" in: E. BERG, *Norsk Idrett og U-Landene*, Oslo 1981. (My translations)
- 44 E. HANSEN, "Seminaret Norsk Idrett og Utviklingslandene", invitation to NFF seminar, September 1980, in the Norwegian Confederation of Sports' archives (hereafter NOC archives) (This and further quotes are translated to English since the original text is in Norwegian).

- 45 O. J. BANGSTAD, "Utenriks-seminaret 11 okt 80", Note, 19. September 1980 (NOC archives).
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 BERG, *Norsk Idrett og Utviklingslandene*, p. 29.
- 49 Hans B. Skaset (1935-) has probably been Norway's most profiled sports leader in the 2'nd half of the 20'th century. In his youth he was an active track and field athlete and at the time of this study he was president of the Norwegian Track and Field Federation. He later succeeded Ole Jakob Bangstad as the NOC president in 1984 before he became director general in the sports department at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.
- 50 BERG, *Norsk Idrett og U-Landene*, p. 17.
- 51 H. B. SKASET, "Trekking ved Utviklingen Innenfor Internasjonal (Elite-) Idrett", Speech at the NOC seminar 11. October 1980 (NOC archives).
- 52 C. E. WANG, "Norsk Idretts Internasjonale Rolle og Ansvar i 80-årene", Speech at the NOC seminar 11 October 1980 (NOC archives).
- 53 This is especially evident when reading documents for the planning phase of the project where the Norwegians clearly made use of the work conducted by the Swedes. However, it is also evident that Norway had an urge to create a certain distance to the Swedish project, and claim its own individuality in relation to the Tanzanians as it was not beneficial, it was argued, to be 'grazing on the same land as the Swedes'.
- 54 WANG, "Norsk Idretts Internasjonale Rolle og Ansvar i 80-årene".
- 55 O. J. BANGSTAD, "Norsk Idrett og Utviklingslandene", Memo to the NOC board, 10. August 1981.
- 56 DAGBLADET, 09. April, 10. April, 13. April and 14. April 1981.
- 57 AFTENPOSTEN, 01. December 1981.
- 58 HANDELS- OG SJØFARTSTIDENDE, 02. December 1981.
- 59 DAGBLADET, 09. April 1981. P. LARSEN, Idrett og U-Hjelp – Ett Eksempel, in: BERG, *Norsk Idrett og Utviklingslandene*.
- 60 HANSEN, "Forord", p. 5.
- 61 J. M. NKONGO, *Factors Influencing the Development of Physical Education in Tanzania as Compared With Other African Countries*, University of Manchester 1979.
- 62 BERG, *Norsk Idrett og Utviklingslandene*, p. 21.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 HOULIHAN, *Sport and International Politics*.
- 65 DAGBLADET, 29. July 1980.
- 66 BANGSTAD, "Norsk Idrett og Utviklingslandene".
- 67 DAGBLADET, 29. July 1980.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 For instance: BERGSGARD/HOULIHAN/MANGSET/NØDLAND/ROMMETVEIT, *Sport policy*. F. COALTER, *A new Social Role for Sport; Who's Keeping the Score?*, London 2007. J. RIORDAN, "The Impact of Communism on Sport", in: J. RIORDAN/A. KRÜGER (eds.) *The International Politics of Sport in the 20'th Century*, London and New York 1999.
- 70 COALTER, *A New Social Role for Sport*.

- 71 GOKSØYR/ANDERSEN/ASDAL, *Kropp, Kultur og Tippekamp*. GOKSØYR, *Historien om Norsk Idrett*.
- 72 COALTER, *A New Social Role for Sport*, p. 8.
- 73 BANGSTAD, "Norsk Idrett og Utviklingslandene".
- 74 KJERLAND/RUUD, *Norsk Utviklingshjelps Historie 2*.
- 75 KUD, *St.meld. nr. 23*.
- 76 UTENRIKSDEPARTEMENTET (UD) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *St. prp. Nr. 1, Tillegg nr. 1 (1981-82)*, Proposition to the *Storting* 1981, p. 2.
- 77 DAGBLADET, 22. July 1981.
- 78 STYRINGSGRUPPEN FOR IDRETT OG U-HJELP (The Steering Committee for Sport and Development Aid), *Rapport og Prosjekteringsforslag*, Oslo 1982, p. 2.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 I. INADOMI, "Vedrørende Norsk Idrett og U-Landene, NORADs Rolle" Memo, 30. April 1981.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 M. LERHEIM, "Søknad fra Norges Idrettsforbund – Forprosjekt av 6 Måneders Varighet", 08. June 1982.
- 83 The author would like to thank Prof. Matti Goksøy and Dr. Sunniva Engh for their comments in the process of writing this article. Thanks also to the anonymous reviewer for his/her useful comments.

Paper 2

Denne artikkelen er tatt ut av den elektroniske versjonen av doktoravhandlingen i Brage på grunn av copyright-restriksjoner.

Du finner artikkelen her:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1012690210388454>

This paper was removed from the electronic version of this PhD Thesis in Brage due to copyright restrictions.

You'll find the article here:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1012690210388454>

Norwegian Naivety Meets Tanzanian Reality: The Case of the Norwegian Sports Development Aid Programme, *Sport for All*, in Dar es Salaam in the 1980s

Solveig Straume*

Department of Cultural and Social Studies, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, P.O. Box 4014, Ullevål Stadion, 0806 Oslo, Norway

In the early 1980s, the Norwegian Confederation of Sports (NIF) initiated a sports development aid programme known as the *Sport for All* in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. One of the objectives of the *Sport for All* was to strengthen women's participation in sports in Dar es Salaam, an objective much in line with Norwegian domestic sport politics, as well as general aid policies at the time. Through the case of the *Sport for All*, this paper illuminates what conceptions the Norwegian initiative takers had of Tanzanian women and sport, and how a women emphasis fit the Tanzanian society at the time. The discrepancy between the ideals of recipient orientation and women emphasis is questioned, and it is argued that, in the case of the *Sport for All*, the NIF acted with a certain naivety. It is suggested that Western liberal ideas that works well in the societies of their origin may generate a cultural clash when meeting in a different milieu.

Keywords: sports; development aid; women; cultural imperialism; Tanzania; Norway

La naïveté norvégienne rencontre la réalité tanzanienne: le cas du Programme d'Aide de Développement Sportif norvégien, Sport pour Tous, à Dar es Salam dans les années 1980

Au début des années 1980, la Confédération norvégienne du Sport (NIF) a introduit un programme d'aide au développement du sport connu comme Sport pour Tous à Dar es Salaam, en Tanzanie. Un des objectifs de Sport pour Tous était de renforcer la participation sportive des femmes à Dar es Salaam, un objectif très conforme à la politique sportive intérieure norvégienne, autant qu'aux politiques générales de soutien de l'époque. A travers le cas de Sport pour Tous, cet article éclaire les conceptions que les initiateurs norvégiens avaient des sportives tanzaniennes et des femmes adaptées à la société tanzanienne de l'époque. Les divergences entre les idéaux de cette position et le développement du sport chez les femmes sont questionnées et débouchent sur la conclusion que dans le cas de Sport pour Tous, le NIF a agi avec une certaine naïveté. Il est suggéré que des idées libérales occidentales qui fonctionnent bien dans leurs sociétés d'origine puissent générer un choc culturel quand elles sont diffusées dans un milieu différent.

Mots-clés: sports; aide au développement; femmes; impérialisme culturel; Tanzanie; Norvège

La ingenuidad noruega frente a la realidad tanzana: el caso del Programa de Ayuda al Desarrollo del Deporte, Deporte para Todos, en Dar es Salaam en los años 80 del siglo XX

A principios de los años 80, la Confederación de Deportes de Noruega (NIF) impulsó en Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, un programa de ayuda al desarrollo del

*Email: solveigstraume@gmail.com

deporte bautizado como Deporte para Todos. Uno de los objetivos del programa Deporte para Todos era reforzar la participación femenina en el deporte, un objetivo muy concomitante con las políticas deportivas nacionales en Noruega y con las políticas genéricas de ayuda al desarrollo de la época. Mediante el estudio del programa Deporte para Todos, este artículo revela cuáles eran las percepciones que tenían los promotores noruegos de la relación entre las mujeres tanzanas y el deporte, y de qué manera un enfoque femenino encajaba en la sociedad tanzana de la época. Se pone de relieve la discrepancia entre los ideales de la orientación hacia el receptor y el enfoque femenino, y se argumenta que, en el caso del programa Deporte para Todos, la NIF actuó con un cierto grado de ingenuidad. Se concluye que las ideas liberales occidentales que funcionan bien en sus sociedades de origen pueden generar un choque cultural cuando se implantan en un contexto diferente.

Palabras clave: sports; deporte; ayuda al desarrollo; mujeres; imperialismo cultural; Tanzania; Noruega

Norwegische Naivität trifft auf tansanische Realität: das Beispiel des norwegischen Sportentwicklungshilfeprogramms, „Sport for All“, in Dar es Salaam in den 1980er Jahren

In den frühen 1980er Jahren leitete die „Norwegian Confederation of Sports (NIF)“ ein Sportentwicklungshilfeprogramm bekannt als „Sport for All“ in Dar es Salaam, Tansania, in die Wege. Eines der Ziele des „Sport for All“ war es, die Beteiligung von Frauen im Sport in Dar es Salaam zu stärken, ein Ziel, das zu dem Zeitpunkt ebenso wie die allgemeine Entwicklungshilfepolitik deutlich im Einklang mit der norwegischen Sportpolitik stand. Durch das Beispiel des „Sport for All“, erhellt dieser Aufsatz, welche Vorstellungen die norwegischen Initiatoren von tansanischen Frauen und Sport hatten, und wie ein Frauen-Schwerpunkt zu der Zeit zur tansanischen Gesellschaft passte. Die Diskrepanz zwischen den Idealen der Empfängerorientierung und dem Frauen-Schwerpunkt wird in Frage gestellt, und es wird argumentiert, dass die NIF im Fall des „Sport for All“ mit einer gewissen Naivität handelte. Es wird darauf hingewiesen, dass westliche liberale Ideen, die in den Gesellschaften ihrer Herkunft gut funktionieren, einen kulturellen Konflikt erzeugen, wenn sie einem anderen Milieu begegnen.

Schlüsselwörter: Sport, Entwicklungshilfe, Frauen, kultureller Imperialismus, Tansania, Norwegen

挪威人的天真遭遇了坦桑尼亚的现实：挪威体育发展援助计划和大众体育发展在20世纪80年代的累斯萨拉姆

在20世纪80年代初，挪威体育联合会（NIF）发起一个被称为坦桑尼亚达累斯萨拉姆的大众体育发展援助计划。这个计划的一个目标就是加强女性在达累斯萨拉姆的体育参与，而这个目标其实是与挪威国内体育政治和当时总的援助政策一致的。本研究通过分析这个大众体育计划案例，着重分析了作为挪威体育运动援助计划的接受者坦桑尼亚妇女的体育观念，以及妇女在当时的重点如何与坦桑尼亚的社会相适应。本文认为，挪威人的援助理想与坦桑尼亚妇女实际的意愿和关注的重点之间是不一致的，而就这个大众体育发展计划而言，挪威体育联合的行为存在一定的天真成份。作者认为，西方的自由主义思想在其原有的环境中能够很好的运作，但当遇到不同的环境时就有可能产生文化冲突。

关键词：体育运动；发展援助；妇女；文化帝国主义；坦桑尼亚；挪威

...the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields.¹

Introduction

In 1983, the Norwegian Confederation of Sports (NIF) initiated a sports development aid² programme called *Sport for All* in the Tanzanian city of Dar es Salaam. The programme aimed to develop sports structures in and around the city and to assist the Tanzanian National Sports Council (NSC) in developing their sports organisation. *Sport for All* operated with an ambitious aim to benefit the entire population of Dar es Salaam, but with a special emphasis on one of the main target groups of the aid at the time – women. The emphasis on women was not incidental but rather a response to the general development aid trends at the time. From the 1970s, there had been particular emphasis on women in international development aid, as women in development (WID) strategies were established, specifically aiming at including women in programmes where they had traditionally been left out. By the end of the 1970s, the more radical strategy of *mainstreaming* emerged, aimed at making women's issues the core of development strategies and to make the aid specifically adapted to the needs of women. Norway joined the international trend and was among the leading countries in developing WID and mainstreaming strategies.³ These strategies were manifested in several arenas of Norwegian aid, including that of sports.

One of the objectives of *Sport for All* was that the Tanzanian recipients should be able to carry on with the programme when the Norwegian donors pulled out. Thus, in order to facilitate sustainability, aid had to be on the terms of the recipients. However, stressing aid on the terms of the recipient and simultaneously encouraging the introduction of ideals unfamiliar to the recipient are contradictory. Through the case of the Norwegian *Sport for All*, this contradiction is examined. An exploration is made in this paper of how an emphasis on women became part of the sports development aid agenda. Three related questions are dealt with: (1) which conceptions of Tanzanian women were manifest within the NIF as donors of the sports development aid?; (2) why was sports considered a suitable tool in reaching the women of Dar es Salaam? and (3) which dilemmas may occur when aiming to create social changes – like specifically emphasising women in sports activities – in an environment with considerable contrasts to one's own? This paper is thus a contribution to the literature on sports development aid generally and, from the perspective of gender, the role of sport in development politics specifically.

Methodology

This paper reports a single case study of Norwegian sports development aid in Tanzania from 1983 to 1990. The study was carried out through a combination of archive and documentary research supplemented by a series of interviews. Public archives at the NIF, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD)⁴ and the Norwegian Embassy in Dar es Salaam were visited and form the empirical base of this study. The majority of written sources are project plans, project reports, minutes from meetings, personal and formal correspondence as well

as magazine and newspaper articles from important periods in the early sports development aid. These include a seminar on sports development aid held in Trondheim, Norway, in September 1980 (the first sports development aid initiative of its kind in Norway), an article series, *Idrett og u-land* (sport and developing countries) in the liberal daily newspaper *Dagbladet* in April 1981, and publications and newspaper articles during the week of the annual *Norway Cup*⁵ in July 1981. The latter was considered interesting since this was the first time a team from a developing country⁶ participated in the tournament.

The documentary sources were supplemented with a series of interviews with both Tanzanians and Norwegians involved directly and indirectly in the *Sport for All* programme.⁷ A purposive sampling procedure was employed to assure the inclusion of relevant perspectives on both the Norwegian and Tanzanian sides.⁸ Two field trips resulted in 12 interviews with people from Tanzania. These were identified on the basis of the archive sources. A few were also identified through other interviewees and contacted during the author's stay in Tanzania. The interviewees were involved in *Sport for All* as programme participants, NSC members, sports officers and government ministers. In Norway, 14 individuals were identified, ranging from people in leading positions in the NIF and NORAD to people specifically working with *Sport for All* in Tanzania in the 1980s. The interviewees are crucial in order to answer the main questions relating to Norwegian conceptions of Tanzanian women and sports, and those dilemmas which may occur when aiming to create social changes in an environment different from one's own.

As a single case study, no explicit comparison is made with other cases. As stated by Yin,⁹ the use of single cases does not exclude analytical generalisation. However, the conceptions and dilemmas studied here were framed within a specific historical and cultural context. Consequently, empirical results may not be generalised so as to apply in other contexts.

The Sports Development Aid Research Field

The literature on the history of sports development aid is relatively scarce, although some researchers have addressed this subject.¹⁰ As Aaron Beacom argues, the research gap and lack of historical literature on the field relating to sports development aid 'is an error in the sense that it creates the impression that development interventions are a relatively recent phenomenon and misses long established characteristics of the process that help to explain its current challenges'.¹¹

In recent years as the field of sports development aid has become established, related literature has mushroomed. Whereas previously, the literature largely comprised analyses of contemporary situations and projects, it is now possible to find more critical voices of sports development aid, particularly in theoretical literature regarding sport and social interventions.¹² An important contribution to the sports development aid field was the publication *Sport and International Development* edited by Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom in 2009. This treatise, which had the objective of placing 'sport-in-development on the map in the development literature, and to position it within the larger international development debates'¹³ views the field from a variety of angles, mostly by analysing current programmes and with only with minor historical references. In the recent publication, *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development* edited by Barrie Houlihan

and Mick Green, it is possible to observe the emerging interest in the sports development aid field where five papers are dedicated to the topic.¹⁴

As the sports development aid field has grown, initiatives targeting women specifically have expanded accordingly. Subsequently, analytical studies of women as target groups in sports development aid have been given priority.¹⁵ However, according to Hayhurst, MacNeill, and Frisby, despite increased attention to the issue 'sport feminists have largely ignored the literature on international development, whereas studies on sport for development typically fail to address gender'.¹⁶ Some of the reasons for this may be found in Martha Saavedra's discussion regarding opportunities and dilemmas related to gender in sports development aid. Saavedra states that 'working at the intersection of gender and sport-in-development is inherently political, and thus potentially contentious and risky'.¹⁷ She further points out several dilemmas in the gender and sport development aid encounter, stating that the 'struggles over definitions, representation, unequal power, consent and morality are continually waged'¹⁸ and 'struggles over discourse, power, difference and morality are intense where gender meets development'.¹⁹ These dilemmas or struggles are borne in mind when discussing the issue of women's inclusion in sports development aid.

Historical Context

Until the 1970s, women were more or less excluded from international development aid and were seldom the core of development initiatives. In development aid women had traditionally either played the role as mothers or as part of the underprivileged poor who lacked health and education amenities.²⁰ The work of the Danish economist Ester Boserup in 1970 marked a change in focus on how to deal with women in development aid, as she drew attention to the biased consequences of development policies and processes in respect of women. She further argued that economic development in general, and aid in particular, eroded much traditional female autonomy and thus left many women financially worse off than they were before.²¹ Development identified as economic growth could have negative consequences for women by increasing already existing inequalities between women and men. This was especially evident in African low-technology countries where women contributed to domestic activities, while the development aid emphasised market-based agriculture and industry, and thus primarily benefited men.²² Following this awakening concerning women's issues, the United Nations declared the year 1975 to be the International Women's Year and further declared 1976–1985 to be the Decade of Women. The decade became important in bringing women's issues onto the development aid agenda. Subsequently, a number of national and international forums were staged to discuss the negative impacts of development on women resulting in the development of several WID strategies. A common goal for many of these was 'to bring women into mainstream development as active partners in decision-making as well as development work'.²³ Thus, from the outset, women's issues were highlighted and emphasised in the development processes. Nevertheless, the WID school was criticised for being firmly situated within Western liberal traditions and for its tendencies to assume that women were a homogeneous group.²⁴ Sociologist Asoka Bandarage argued that 'as a distinct blend of Modernization theory and liberal feminism, it assumes that all women can be liberated within the capitalist world system'.²⁵ She further claimed that 'WID is *about* poor women in the Third World; it is not a force *of* those women themselves'.²⁶

The WID strategies of the 1970s must indeed be viewed in the light of the Second Wave²⁷ feminist movements marking the era. Western liberal feminists drew attention to a variety of issues that affected women's daily lives on a global scale, struggled for women's liberation and argued that, in order to achieve equality between women and men, it was necessary to change the fabric of society. Such thinking also followed the development aid rhetoric, as change and equality became common in the WID debate. The liberal feminist movement's generalisation of women's subordination from the perspective of one particular group further led to the emergence of 'black feminism'. Black feminism had its origin in the social reality of African-American women and their struggle for survival and liberation.²⁸ Black feminists questioned the relevance of liberal feminist theories for their own struggle, arguing that the main feminist schools did not consider ethnic divisions among women, and opposed the view that gender oppression was experienced equally by all women regardless of race and origin.²⁹ According to sociologist Anthony Giddens, black women were not 'central to the women's liberation movement in part because "womanhood" dominated their identities much less than concepts of race did'.³⁰

While feminism in the West started as a women's movement and gradually spread to intellectual discourse, African feminism emerged in the reverse order originating in academic and political circles, later to encompass women's movements. This resulted in African feminism being regarded as a concern for a privileged few and therefore somehow unfit for the masses of women on the grass root.³¹ According to sport sociologist Prisca Massao, the main problem for African feminists is to get acceptance for their causes and avoid being labelled as advocates for a Western ideology not considering the circumstances of 'real' African women.³² But neither are African feminists a homogenous group. Whereas some speak for the protection of African culture and criticise Western influence in Africa as a result of colonialism, others protest against traditional African cultures that they regard male-dominated and discriminatory towards women. However, common to African feminism are their concerns and struggles that differ widely from the concerns of their feminist sisters in the West. A majority of African feminists consider their main struggle to be against global economic exploitation, poverty and racism; a struggle fought alongside – and not against – African men. Thus, as Massao emphasises in regard to sport: 'Factors like having a strong emphasis on the equal participation of men and women in institutions such as sport are sometimes taken as irrelevant for African women given their poor condition'.³³ Consequently, we see that the struggle for women's rights is shaped by the social reality of the concerned, and thus the realities of the struggle may be different for African compared to Western women.

Women's Liberation and the Norwegian Public

The WID strategies were widely adopted and implemented in Norway. A special emphasis on women's inclusion, particularly in politics as well as other spheres of the society, was an incentive for emphasising this also in working with development aid strategies. Throughout the 1970s, in the midst of the Second Wave feminist upsurge, several political reforms to the benefit of women saw the light of day.³⁴ The focus on women's inclusion permeated several spheres of society and was also manifest within the sports movement.

The NIF had adopted the slogan 'sport for all',³⁵ a concept obviously including women.³⁶ The radicalism and women's liberation that characterised society in

general also played a role here, and in the sports movement women fought for the same sporting opportunities as men. In practice, this opened up for women's participation in football and long-distance running among other arenas previously considered male domains. The focus on women in Norwegian sport can be viewed in the light of the sport feminism marking the era, when sports women from the Western world started to articulate their demands for equality. As sociologist Jennifer Hargreaves points out: 'The dominant pressure in sports feminism is the desire for equality of opportunity for women in comparison with men'.³⁷ This liberal feminism was a central feature, particularly in Western liberal democracies. Thus, when adding the perspective of sports, the liberal sport feminism movement emerged.³⁸ Although far from fully emancipated, the liberal sports feminism movement in Norway led to an awakening of women issues, and from the mid-1970s, women were increasingly included both in sports, in practice, and in the various sports administrative board rooms.³⁹

Norwegian Entrance to Sports Development Aid

Several actors had already initiated sports development aid programmes in the developing world during the inter-war period. These initiatives escalated particularly after World War II and continued into the Cold War era. As Houlihan points out: 'Both the USA and the Soviet Union and their respective allies saw sport as providing an opportunity to court Third World states',⁴⁰ and as decolonisation intensified on the African continent in the 1960s, so did sports development aid initiatives. Domestic sports policies common in the donor states were transferred to the newly independent states, and sports thus became an arena where the urge to influence and spread one's ideology was carried through.⁴¹ Early sports development aid was mainly elite-oriented. Sending top coaches to recipient countries to assist in developing talented athletes and competing against visiting teams was common practice as well as offering training in high standard facilities in the donor countries for these athletes. Further, over the years, there was a considerable flow of resources in the form of expertise and an extensive focus on facility building in the recipient countries. In the remotest corners of the world, it was possible to find modern stadiums and arenas for the benefit of elite sports in the developing world.⁴²

When the NIF entered the field of sports development aid in the early 1980s, it was emphasised from the beginning that the organisation clearly opposed the elite focus that had characterised sports development aid thus far. As a matter of fact, they actually seemed to be so scared of the elite sports label that they ignored the recipients' wishes, which indeed included being assisted in developing elite sports. Instead, the NIF embraced a different type of sports development aid, focusing on grass root initiatives and 'sport for all'. Although sports development aid had been a political strategy for several countries for decades, *Sport for All* in Tanzania was one of the first such programmes of the 'new' kind. The new sports development aid took on a less apparent political role and joined the aid trends of the international society where humanitarian issues and solidarity, at least from the outset, were the main motives.

There were several reasons for the NIF to become involved in sports development aid ranging from a notion that they were in a forward position in sports (regardless of lack of international results to show for) compared to the developing world to the belief that a sports development aid initiative could contribute positively to sports itself. Other dominating arguments included the potential for societal development

inherent in sports development aid, and the building of a welfare state with special emphasis on health benefits.⁴³ However, the main reason that the NIF was able to implement a sports development aid programme was the ongoing changes in Norwegian development aid policies that made funds available for non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with development projects. Giving aid through NGOs made it possible for donor countries to evade the recipient state's political regime which was often subject to discontent. At the same time, they could maintain control over the aid, as the donor government priorities and regulations were reflected in the demands made to the NGOs.⁴⁴ That development aid projects focused on the agreed areas of priority at the time – women, environment and human rights as well as recipient orientation – were among these demands.⁴⁵ Also the NIF had to yield to the demands of Norwegian policy-makers when implementing the *Sport for All*. Under the label of a mass sport programme, the *Sport for All* aimed to benefit the entire urban population of Dar es Salaam.

Tanzanian Women and Sports

Women were traditionally a marginalised group in Tanzanian sports, as it was considered an activity for children and young people as well as men.⁴⁶ Through physical education (PE), girls and boys were considered equal; however, following completion of basic education, young women were largely expected to take on the role of wife and mother with domestic responsibilities, and consequently they were under-represented in sport activities. According to sports sociologists Prisca Massao and Kari Fasting, sociocultural factors like socialisation, ethnicity, race, religion, social class, education and marital status contributed to the female marginalisation in sports in Tanzania.⁴⁷

One exception was the participation in the popular game of netball, a sport for girls and women only, introduced when Tanzania was under British colonial rule in the post-World War I era. The Tanzanian Netball Association CHANETA, established in 1966, was an active participant in promoting woman sports, and netball was widely played throughout the country.⁴⁸ In fact, Massao and Fasting states that 'Netball was almost as popular for women as soccer was for men. Nearly all primary schools in Tanzania had a netball court and the identification of good netball players began at primary schools'.⁴⁹ Thus, as sport activities reached a peak in Tanzania in the 1970s and early 1980s, women's sports grew accordingly.⁵⁰ However, over the following years, Tanzania went through a number of economically challenging periods, with a breaking point in the mid-1980s with financial reforms imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.⁵¹ Although sports were considered important, there was a lack of defined politics in the area, and consequently sports were not a priority in times of economic hardship.⁵² Women's sports were particularly affected by the financial retrenchments.⁵³

In his article regarding sport and gender in Africa, sociologist Ali Mazrui (1987) discussed what he claimed to be a general under-representation of women in African sports.⁵⁴ He claimed that, in East Africa, the triad with indigenous tradition, Islamic ways and Western practices tended to exclude women from sports. Unless the nature of the (competitive) sports changed to fit with the conditions of women, he further claimed they would continue being under-represented in sports.

In this regard, it is important to note that African sport, its institutional environments and stratifications are marked by diversity. This is evident throughout

the continent, between countries in the same regions and even locally. Thus, it is fallacious to speak of Tanzanian women or even Tanzanian sport as homogeneous groups. It is important to keep this diversity in mind in the following discussion regarding the focus on women in early Norwegian sports development aid.

Bringing Women into the *Sport for All* Programme

It is relevant to consider the reasons why women became one of the main target groups of the Norwegian *Sport for All* as we go on to ask what was the conception of Tanzanian women within the NIF as donor of the sports development aid.

Requirements by NORAD were decisive when it came to the framing of the sports development aid.⁵⁵ It was emphasised from the start that the focus had to be on mass sport and that the aid was to benefit 'as many people as possible'.⁵⁶ In documents from the NIF and NORAD archives from 1980 and 1981, it is indicated that 'the masses' primarily were children and youth, and the means through reaching them were PE and school sports. Girls and boys were considered equal in both these arenas.⁵⁷ However, the NIF preferably wanted to reach their target groups through football which was primarily a boys' sport.⁵⁸ The fact that they chose football as a prioritised activity indicates that girls and women were not the primary focus at this stage. It is in connection with PE and school sports that we find the first actual focus on women as a target group. When the representation in Dar es Salaam was asked to give their recommendations to NORAD as to whether to support the *Sport for All*, they argued that they fully supported the idea, but emphasised that it was important that one of the two Norwegians who were to implement the project was a woman. The reason for this was that 80–90% of elementary school teachers in Dar es Salaam were women and thus including them was of crucial importance.⁵⁹

In the NIF representatives' report from December 1982, the focus on women was further stressed. In the pilot project, the objectives were to strengthen PE in the school system, to prepare for the *Sport for All* with the aim of benefiting children and youth and, in particular, to develop women's sports activities.⁶⁰ It was further suggested that one of the objectives of the *Sport for All* should be to translate and distribute sports literature of which there was a lack in Tanzania. In the representatives' comments to developing sports literature, the following is stated about women's sports: 'It is of great importance that some of the literature emphasizes women's sports and women's opportunities in sports, since this has not been socially accepted yet among Tanzanians in general'.⁶¹ It is noteworthy that there seems to be an awareness of the fact that women sports were not yet socially accepted among Tanzanians. Nonetheless, women were still considered one of the main target groups, and from NORAD's side it was required that continuous attention should be given to women through the *Sport for All*.⁶² In *Norway's Strategy for Assistance to Women in Development* published by the Ministry of Development Cooperation in 1985, it could be read under the heading 'Women-oriented Culture Assistance 1985–86' that: 'Assistance to sports events and training and exchange, should be given according to a quota system to guarantee that women take part on equal terms with men'.⁶³ In a review of the *Sport for All* from 1986, the evaluation team noted that they considered the emphasis on women to be well taken care of. 'It is, however, very difficult to assess the value of the activities, especially in relation to the socio-cultural conditions'.⁶⁴ It was concluded that 'it

cannot be expected that a fast change in attitude towards sport participation for women would take place in a population with strong cultural traditions⁶⁵ and thus claimed that there was a particular need for opinion-forming activities in the *Sport for All*.

The development of women sport in Norway shows clearly the importance of this in the development of equal rights for both sexes to enjoy the values of sports activities. (...) As opinion forming activities could be the direct arrangements for women in areas where cultural tabus (*sic.*) are present. Activities where stamina and perseverance (*sic.*) are main qualities comes easily to one's mind, e.g. the Team imagine that a local 'Grete Waitz-race'⁶⁶ could be *one* opinion-forming activity.⁶⁷

It is interesting to see the perpetual reference to Norwegian women's sports and the underlying assumption that a 'Norwegian model' fit the Tanzanian society perfectly.

The focus on women was further strengthened in the final phase of the programme, as the NIF took the concerns of the 1986 project report into account by suggesting the introduction of acceptable sports activities suited for women including netball, traditional sports and fitness and aerobic activities in the surrounding villages and suburbs of Dar es Salaam.⁶⁸ In an evaluation from 1991, it was reported that through *Sport for All*, women had been involved in sports activities as participants, coaches, leaders and referees.⁶⁹

However, despite several attempts, the women of Dar es Salaam who the Norwegian *Sport for All* set out to aid through sport activities proved difficult to involve.⁷⁰ Several explanations were given for this, most of which dealt with the idea that sport conflicted with the traditional role of women in Tanzania, that Tanzanian women generally married at a young age, that sport was not considered 'womanly' or decent as well as religious restrictions that prevented women from participating in sports.⁷¹ This was problematised by a NIF representative in a speech at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (NIH) in 1985:

It is not considered appropriate that women practice sports; husbands does not want to see their wives in such settings, displayed in public. – religious/ethical conceptions in some circles limits the use of practical sports equipment for women. Women should not show their legs, even more so their thighs.⁷²

The way Tanzanian women were portrayed by the NIF did not differ much from the way the Norwegian general public envisaged the life of women in Africa. Drawing on the extensive focus on women's role in developing countries during the 1970s and 1980s related literature regarding the situation of women blossomed.⁷³ African women were portrayed as hardworking with a special responsibility for the family and the up-bringing of children as well as practical domestic responsibilities. Marriage at an early age was pictured to be the main goal for girls, and thus they were given great responsibility in the household from childhood on. According to anthropologist Marianne Gullestad, these kinds of perceptions were much in line with established Norwegian stereotypes where African men were considered lazy and the women hard working breadwinners.⁷⁴ On the basis of these perceptions, it is interesting to observe that the idea of women's inclusion in a Norwegian sports development aid programme blossomed. What were the reasons for the NIF determining to aid Tanzanian women on sport issues? As they seemed to believe that they were more or less excluded from the sports arena to begin with, how did they

argue for the suitability of such an emphasis in the development aid? This issue is considered in the following.

Aiding Tanzanian Women with Sport: A Creation of Needs?

In April 1981, the liberal daily newspaper *Dagbladet* published a series of articles, *Idrett og u-land* (sport and developing countries) in connection with the sports development aid debate.⁷⁵ A number of situations were highlighted in order to illustrate the conditions of Tanzanian sports that were presented as being old-fashioned and far behind Norwegian sports. Headings like 'Sport is in lack of everything here!', 'Tanzania only has eight sports fields' and 'Wish I had a stationary bike – says Tanzania's only sports doctor' clearly provided evidence of the need of sports development aid to Tanzania. Norway, it was argued, could contribute in a positive way to get a Tanzanian sport organisation in total lack of voluntary contributions on the right track financially and organisationally,⁷⁶ and Norwegian aid, money and equipment were presented as the solution for a system described in rather pitiful ways.⁷⁷ Women's sports were also described in less flattering terms in the article series. In a sensational and catchy heading, one could read 'Women are forbidden to wear shorts – bare breasts allowed'.⁷⁸ A perception of the situation of women in Tanzania as totally opposite to the conditions at home was presented as a problem:

The problem for women in Tanzania is connecting with the perceptions of wrong and right that characterizes the country. Here it is not accepted that women show their thighs in public. Quite the contrary to our perception though, is it that bare breasts are accepted. Nursing mothers are seen everywhere in Tanzania, but women in shorts are not accepted. This is also reflected in the practising of sports, since women preferably should practice sports wearing skirts.⁷⁹

The sub-heading of the article further stated that 'Tanzanian sport needs women's liberation'.⁸⁰ The fact that Tanzanian women married and had children at an early age was also presented as problematic for sports. It was claimed that it was impossible to plan ahead and to have long-term goals in sport since these often clashed with conceptions of woman's role in society. Since sustainability was hard to achieve, this was especially evident in the establishment of national teams. The article concluded, as it started, with depressing words for women: 'In Tanzania the struggle for equal rights, also in sports, has far from begun'.⁸¹ The idea of women's liberation in sport was not directly articulated in the documents from the *Sport for All* period. As a matter of fact, apart from what we saw above regarding potential problems concerning their inclusion,⁸² there seems to have been little discussion about *why* it was important that women were included as a recipient group.

Whether sport was an appropriate arena for women liberation may obviously be discussed, and in regard to Tanzanian women and sport, one may assume that the struggle for liberation would primarily be fought in other arenas. This leads us to question whether a sports development aid programme focusing on women's inclusion was considered as a need in Tanzanian society at the time.

When confronted with this, the Tanzanian interviewees are somehow unanimous. As the Director of the Sport Development Department at the Ministry of Information, Culture and Sport put it:

The programmes were ok because the principles in sports are the same whenever it is. (...) But the women were not involved adequately for them to know that they were doing it for their health or whatever, not for the Norwegians. Because it was as if that the Norwegians made us believe that this is important for us. But it was not, that is why we're not doing it.⁸³

The dilemma of the need to prioritise sports was also emphasised by another interviewee who referred to a visit by a Norwegian university professor to Dar es Salaam. He had stayed with a former NSC Secretary General, Mr Kirimbai, in the Kimara district, approximately 15 km outside Dar es Salaam city centre.

They were walking down to the car and he mentioned something like: 'These people actually don't need sport-for-all. Cause what do we want it for? We want it for health. And they are walking from Kimara to the city and back, so what will sport-for-all or exercise one hour in the gym or the running track do to him or her? When she can walk for 3 to 4 hours with a load on her head or bicycle?' So maybe people didn't see it [the need for sports] in that way at that time. Because the majority of the people were already into physical exercise, people were quite healthy. Maybe at the time of *Sport for All*, even in the cities it was not needed. I remember when I started here [at Dar es Salaam University] in 1993 the car parks were empty. The majority walked. (...) Maybe at that time those who were in a position to influence people thought: 'what are we going to tell them? They're already exercising!' (...) When a Swede says: 'Now I'm going to exercise' he or she really means it because he knows that: 'I've been sitting all the time, so I really need it', but the majority here, at that time, thought: 'what are you telling me to do? Walk 7 kilometres?'⁸⁴

Another interviewee emphasised that the focus on women in sports was understood to be strange in a setting like Dar es Salaam:

Women didn't know or want to take part in sports activities. They did it at school, but not after school. In the streets you never found women doing sports activities (...) It [the focus on women] was a bit strange, but since it was organised by a woman, the worries were less. But if it was men going around calling for women to take part, it would have been different.⁸⁵

When asked whether he thought that the Tanzanian recipients would have chosen the same recipient groups if they were to decide for themselves, he further said that 'it would have taken time because traditionally we thought women could take part while they were small girls in school but after leaving school we think that sports is over with them'.

However, the Secretary General of the netball association CHANETA claimed that the programme suited Tanzanian society at the time.

The activities which we were taking on fit our culture and living, and we could go hand in hand with the project. I think the concept fit with the Tanzanians, because it worked. People participated fully, and it was profitable and meaningful to us. One could say that; since it was programmed in Norway how could it fit with Tanzanians? (...) But things could still go well!⁸⁶

It might not be surprising that it is a woman who is mostly positive to the inclusion of women in sports in Tanzania, especially given her position in CHANETA, which was one of the few arenas for girls and women to practice sports in Tanzania. Also, other female interviewees were positive towards *Sport for All*, and like the CHANETA Secretary General, they were also involved in sports to begin with.⁸⁷

Despite this we see that sports appeared to be afforded lower priority for the women of Dar es Salaam. Consequently, we get a clear indication that it was the NIF which created this need for sports, not through consulting the recipient part, but through their own existing perceptions of Tanzanian women's lack of such.

Suitable Aid on the Recipient's Terms?

This leads to the question of whether sports development aid was a suitable approach given the cultural context in the recipient society. We have looked upon the NIF's perceptions about Tanzanian women's situation. In this context, it was conspicuous that sport was chosen to be one of the arenas to reach the women of Dar es Salaam.

Besides the aforementioned potential problems regarding their inclusion,⁸⁸ there was little discussion within the NIF concerning *why* it was important to include women. Apart from it being a demand from NORAD, many of the reasons can possibly be found in the internal changes and politics of the NIF. The NIF had adopted the slogan 'sport for all', meaning that everybody, regardless of gender, age or ability, was to be included in Norwegian sports. With this followed an emphasis on a new form of sports propaganda aiming to include the masses.⁸⁹ A part of the new sports propaganda was the *TRIM* campaign initiated in the late 1960s, which was a direct effort to include and adapt sport activities to those groups which traditionally had not been part of Norwegian sports thus far. As a result, a number of women and men of all ages and abilities not previously involved in sports were undertaking jogging, aerobics and the like.⁹⁰ In implementing *Sport for All*, the concept of *TRIM* was considered an appropriate approach. Even the logo of the programme pictured *Trimian*, the mascot of the *TRIM* campaign, indicating the obvious closeness to the NIF's focus and priorities.

One initiative in *Sport for All* that specifically aimed at women was a so-called 'Keep Fit' seminar held by a representative from the Norwegian Gymnastic Federation in 1986. The NIF's textbook *Trimutdanning* (TRIM education) including warm-up, endurance and strength training and mobility exercises had been translated to Swahili. This was used at the seminar and given to the seminar participants together with a pamphlet with ideas for further exercises. They were also given cassettes with music from the various dances they had learned (samba, disco, jenka (!) and aerobics). The 'Keep Fit' seminar attracted an even number of women and men and was apparently a success, although the representative doubted that it would bring extended effects due to the participants' level of skills, knowledge and possibilities.⁹¹ In her report from the seminar, she wrote:

The participants' rhythm skills exceeded all expectations. There was however a great lack of coordinated movement skills, especially in the upper body. Their own dances were on full foot with the body falling in a forward position. The hips and the legs are primarily in the movement, but the upper body is passive. This manifested itself with the understanding of the mobility of the upper body. Many other movements and stretching exercises had to be repeated again and again.⁹²

It is interesting to see how the level of skills is entirely measured from a Norwegian point of view and used as the main argument for the probable discontinuation of the programme. How fitting the activity was, was not questioned as can be illustrated in the following quote: 'Endurance training was a trial in the

tropical heat, but I've rarely seen such effort and will. When I didn't give up, and I rarely do, (the heat didn't bother me too much) then they weren't giving up either'.⁹³ It is likely that endurance training was not a prioritised activity for the people of Dar es Salaam, given the hot and humid weather conditions. Neither were all the activities in the 'Keep Fit' seminar experienced as 'normal' or appropriate under the circumstances. This was explored by anthropologist Anne Leseth in her study of movement culture in Dar es Salaam a few years later.⁹⁴ In her study of a 'Young Keep Fit' (YKF) group⁹⁵ for women, she found that the 'Keep Fit' context resulted in contrasting experiences for the participants. Although the participants liked to exercise, many of the movements were not considered to be decent and were, thus, embarrassing.⁹⁶ The principle of the aid being on the recipient terms is clearly challenged here.

In the speech at the NIH by the NIF representative in 1985, this was further illustrated. After giving a number of reasons why it was challenging to include women in sports in Tanzania because of religious restrictions and the fact that legs and thighs should not be publicly exposed, he ended up asking: 'How then can rhythmic gymnastics be practiced for instance?'⁹⁷ The question of whether it was possible to practice rhythmic gymnastics without a certain type of outfit did not lead to a discussion about the suitability of rhythmic gymnastics per se. Rather, it appears to be an attempt to show how strange and inconvenient the situation for Tanzanian women was in regard to practicing sport. Possibly such statements would reinforce the arguments for the need of sports development aid to Tanzania.

Transferring a Foreign Idea – Dilemmas and Considerations

This leads to the third main question in this analysis. What dilemmas may occur when aiming to create social change such as specifically emphasising women in sports activities in an environment which contrasts significantly with one's own?

Political scientist Martha Saavedra points out that the paradox often occurring when emphasising women in sports development aid has to do with the fact that the world of sports may be a 'bastion for male privilege and power, an important arena for asserting a particular kind of male dominance over women (and some men) as well as furthering EuroAmerican hegemony *vis-à-vis* the Global South'.⁹⁸ As we have exemplified, the focus on women as well as some of the activities introduced through *Sport for All* did not correspond with what seemed to be the terms of the Tanzanian recipients. Much of this had to do with the fact that sports institutions in Tanzania was largely male-dominated and hence there were fewer local demands for sports targeting women than there were for sports targeting men. The NIF, therefore, faced a dilemma between wanting to promote opportunities for women at the same time as being responsive to local conditions.

When the former NIF representatives were asked about the focus on women in *Sport for All*, they said that they had hardly questioned it. Regardless of the fact that they did not know much about the situation of women in Tanzania, they accepted it because it was NORAD's decision, and if one wanted money one had to meet the demands.⁹⁹ They were, however, aware that they lacked knowledge about the situation for women in Tanzania and saw early on that the relationship between women and the rest of the population was different from that at home. This would obviously lead to challenges in the practical work related, for example, to culture and religion. In 1989, the NIF sent an application to NORAD regarding continued and expanded support to also include Zambia and Zimbabwe. With regard to the

inclusion of women in sports, one could read: 'To include the women has been a slow process in Tanzania (Muslims), but it is expected to be easier in the next two countries, where the number of Muslims is considerably lower'.¹⁰⁰ Also, in the mapping of potential problems characterising Zambian sports, the following is written about women: 'There are few problems here. Zambia is not bothered with many different religions (Muslims)'.¹⁰¹ However, when asked about the participation of Muslim women in *Sport for All*, and specifically in road races that were arranged on several occasions, one of the NIF representatives said that they never discussed the issue of Muslim women's participation or exclusion from the programme. She did not remember that there were any adult Muslim women participating but thought it was likely that young Muslim girls were participating since they were more relaxed with regard to what they could wear.¹⁰² The representative further said that:

We appealed to everyone; we had no direct approaches in regards to including Muslims, because that was not an issue. We worked in schools, and I can't remember a single pupil that you could see was Muslim because they were wearing school uniforms. Maybe in private schools, where Islam was practiced strictly [you could see it]. (...) I'm certain that we did not take any efforts in particular to include Muslim women, and I cannot remember even having discussed it or it being an issue at the time.

Appealing to everyone, yet not including Muslims, is an interesting contradiction. It seems as though the issue of whether the activities adapted to women fit with their religious convictions were secondary. We are given the impression that as long as sports were practised, any such adaptations were not even questioned. Historian Hamad Ndee, building on Mazrui's point of the triple heritage of play, states that:

Attitudes within Islamic culture towards dance, rules of dress and religious practices bred negative attitudes towards modern sport among Muslims [in Tanzania]. As part of the indigenous population was gradually Islamized, it too developed such attitudes, which over time became deeply ingrained and influenced (and still influence) participation in modern sport.¹⁰³

Ndee claims that this was particularly evident in regard to women's sports.¹⁰⁴ In the light of this, the focus on women in *Sport for All* somehow seems strikingly naive, as such a focus seems to have been at odds with the social reality of women in Dar es Salaam.

In Karin Stoltenberg's report to NORAD *Kvinneres stilling i utviklingsland* (women's position in developing countries) from 1978, it was emphasised that the principle of aid on the recipient's own terms somehow hindered the aid from reaching the main target group, women. Due to women's general position in developing countries, a development project would not focus solely on women if proposed by the recipients. Hence, she argued that NORAD should not pressurise efforts that seemed important from the Norwegian point of view but had no fertile soil in the recipient country's social and political reality. Any such effort could possibly entail cultural imperialism.¹⁰⁵ As we have seen, in the case of *Sport for All*, the importance of women's inclusion came above all from the Norwegian donors and, thus, seems to have been less based on Tanzanian reality. Although the requests of the Tanzanian recipients have not been subject to discussion in this paper, it is unlikely that they would have prioritised women if they were to solely decide the terms and conditions of *Sport for All*. This is supported in documents in the NIF archives indicating that the Tanzanian recipients requested aid for the benefit of the

elite sports.¹⁰⁶ The general development aid debate at the time was characterised by a warning against cultural imperialist attitudes and practices, and thus the sports aid, which was indeed cultural in its expression, was subject to potentially being cultural imperialist in its nature. In Norwegian discussions prior to the *Sport for All* programme, a warning was given about the cultural imperialist labelling.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, with regard to the suggestions of 'opinion-forming activities' mentioned above, the evaluating team appeared rather defensive. On the issue of the opinion-forming activities being culturally imperialistic, they argued that, based on international knowledge regarding the question of women rights, 'the Team is of the opinion that in this particular connection opinion forming activities should take place without being called cultural imperialism'.¹⁰⁸ However, when especially aiming to reach women and create changes in an environment with considerable differences from their own, the cultural imperialist label is difficult to avoid.

That sports development aid may be an expression for cultural imperialism has been debated among scholars.¹⁰⁹ In his study of international organisations' promotion of 'sport for all' in Europe, Barrie Houlihan asked whether the promotion was 'a force for the homogenisation of sport policy and sports practice'.¹¹⁰ He concluded that the 'sport for all' campaign was indeed homogenising and that well-established Western sports were promoted at the expense of local sporting traditions.¹¹¹ The dilemma of modern sport at the expense of traditional sports is also discussed by cultural sociologist and historian Henning Eichberg. He claims that non-recognition of bodily practices (sports) is what creates cultural poverty. 'Neo-colonial hegemony tends to make the "others" poor by generously giving them "sport development aid" – and applying a policy of non-recognition (. . .) Poor are those practices which the power refuses to recognise'.¹¹² In relation to the *Sport for All*, such non-recognition seems to have been evident. In their eagerness to aid Tanzania in the area of sports, the NIF directly transferred sport practices and ideas, for instance, the *TRIM* and 'Keep Fit' concepts, that worked well in Norway but were somehow unfamiliar in Tanzania. However, even though the NIF acted intentionally and with the purpose of instigating their own system, these examples may be expressions of Norwegian naivety rather than cultural imperialism.

Conclusion

Sport for All in Dar es Salaam was a product of its time, and the focus areas of the programme were more or less given from the start. In order to be supported by NORAD, the NIF had certain criteria to comply with, which also had to be met at the receiving end. These criteria included an emphasis on women and the idea of the aid being on the recipient's terms. There was little room for the NIF to prioritise differently.

This paper has aimed to illuminate those conceptions the Norwegian initiative takers had of Tanzanian women and sport, and how a women emphasis was in accordance with Tanzanian society at the time. Three main questions were raised which illustrated some of the dilemmas and considerations that emerged when trying to include women in the *Sport for All* programme.

First, it was argued that aiding women through *Sport for All* was a creation of needs. Within the NIF, there was a conception that Tanzanian women needed sports development aid. Nevertheless, there seems to have been little discussion as to *why* Tanzanian women needed sports. Further, it was indicated that sports development

aid would essentially liberate Tanzanian women. Here, references to domestic policies and priorities became evident, as the discussions as to whether this focus fitted Tanzanian society at the time seem to have been secondary. From Tanzanian interviewees, it was indicated that the women emphasis was somehow unfamiliar in the Tanzanian society at the time, and it was pointed out that the need for sports somehow seemed more important from a Norwegian than a Tanzanian point of view. Second, and in line with the above, the discussion also involved whether sport was a suitable tool for reaching the women of Dar es Salaam. It was demonstrated that, on several occasions, the NIF was organising activities which were unfitting for women in Dar es Salaam, like stretching exercises and dances that were not perceived to be decent and therefore made them feel embarrassed. Third, it was asked whether a transfer of Western ideals, like women's inclusion in sports, to a society with fundamental differences from one's own may potentially lead to a cultural imperialist labelling. It was argued that, in the case of *Sport for All*, the NIF acted with a certain naivety in its eagerness to aid Tanzanian women, as they seem to have overlooked potential dilemmas occurring in regard to the Tanzanian cultural context.

Consequently, this paper has questioned the contradiction between the ideals of recipient orientation and women emphasis in the sports development aid to Tanzania. It is argued that in the meeting point between these, dilemmas arise. When two apparently progressive liberal and democratic Western ideals were transferred to a society unfamiliar with them, they generated a cultural clash as was the case with the Norwegian *Sport for All* in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks to the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

Notes on Contributor

Solveig Straume is currently a PhD candidate in sports history at the Department of Culture and Social Science at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences. Her research is within the field of Sport for Development and Peace.

Notes

1. United Nations, 'Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women'.
2. In recent years, the area of sports development aid has grown considerably. The rhetoric has also shifted from sports aid, through sport-in-development, sport-for-development and, more recently, Sport for Development and Peace. In this article, I consistently use the term *sports development aid*. This was the common term in use at the time of the Tanzanian programme and, thus, is my rationale for using it. It is further important to distinguish between sports development and sport for development. The former implies the development and diffusion of sport itself, whereas the latter implies using sport as a tool in development work. Although these two approaches can be distinguished and have different focus, scope and impact, they relate to each other and are likely to occur simultaneously. For instance, elaborated in Read and Bingham, 'Preface'; and Coalter, *A Wider Social Role for Sport*.
3. Kjerland and Ruud, *Norsk utviklingshjelps historie 2*.
4. The NORAD was Norway's public implementing aid agency at the time, whereas the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in charge of the overall Norwegian aid strategies.
5. The Norway Cup is an annual international football tournament for children and youth held in Oslo, Norway. The first tournament was held in 1972, and since then it has grown to becoming one of the world's largest tournaments of its kind.

6. Rhetoric change has been evident in the development aid discourse. From *developing country* (U-land in Norwegian), *developing world* or *the Third World* being legitimate descriptions, one is now better off talking about *the Global South*, *the Partner* or *the cooperation country*. However, as this is a historical analysis, the common terms in this period, *developing country* and *developing world*, are consistently used in this paper. For the same reason, the term *development aid* is also used.
7. The names of the interviewees are withheld, but their professional positions and affiliations with the *Sport for All* are disclosed.
8. Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*.
9. Yin, *Case Study Research*.
10. For instance, Bale and Sang, *Kenyan Running*; Dubberke, 'Critical Remarks'; Eichberg, 'From Sport Export to Politics of Recognition'; Guest, 'The Diffusion of Development-through-Sport'; Hasselgård and Straume, 'Utvikling til idrett eller idrett til utvikling?'; Hazan, 'Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion'; Henry and Al-Tauqi, 'The Development of Olympic Solidarity'; Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics*; Straume, 'Sport Is in Lack of Everything Here!'; and Straume and Steen-Johnsen, 'On the Terms of the Recipient?'
11. Beacom, 'A Question of Motives', 83.
12. For instance, Black, 'The Ambiguities of Development'; Coalter, *A Wider Social Role for Sport*; Coalter, 'Sport-for-Development'; Darnell, 'Playing with Race'; Darnell and Hayhurst, 'Hegemony, Postcolonialism and Sport-for-Development'; Giulianotti, 'Human Rights, Globalization and Sentiment Education'; Hartmann and Kwauk, 'Sport and Development'; Hayhurst, 'The Power to Shape Policy'; Kidd, 'A New Social Movement'; Levermore, 'Sport: A New Engine of Development'; Levermore and Beacom, *Sport and International Development*; Levermore and Beacom, 'Reassessing Sport-for-Development'; and Lindsey and Grattan, 'An "international Movement"?'
13. Read and Bingham, 'Preface', xiii.
14. Houlihan and Green, *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development*.
15. For instance, Brady, 'Creating Safe Spaces'; Hayhurst, MacNeill, and Frisby, 'A Postcolonial Feminist Approach'; Kay, 'Development through Sport'; Kay, 'Development through Sport?'; Larkin, 'Gender, Sport and Development'; Pelak, 'Negotiating Gender/Race/Class Constraints'; and Saavedra, 'Dilemmas and Opportunities'.
16. Hayhurst, MacNeill, and Frisby, 'A Postcolonial Feminist Approach', 354.
17. Saavedra, 'Dilemmas and Opportunities', 130.
18. *Ibid.*, 131.
19. *Ibid.*, 132.
20. Kjerland and Ruud, *Norsk utviklingshjelps historie 2*.
21. Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development*.
22. Kjerland and Ruud, *Norsk utviklingshjelps historie 2*.
23. Lexow and Skjøsberg, *Good Aid for Women?*, 1.
24. Porter, 'Introduction'.
25. Bandarage, 'Women in Development', 496.
26. *Ibid.*, 500.
27. Second Wave feminism refers to the period from the 1960s and onwards where women started to articulate their rights on issues like legal status, social welfare and health for women and children, equal opportunities in education and conditions of work.
28. Massao, 'Women in Sport'.
29. Giddens, *Sociology*.
30. *Ibid.*, 118.
31. Massao, 'Women in Sport'.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, 25.
34. As a consequence of these reforms, in 1981 Norway became one of the first countries in the world to elect a woman prime minister, and the year after women's quotas were brought into all political forums.
35. The 1960s and 1970s saw an increasing amount of sport for all policies being highlighted in Western societies. The idea of these policies was that the health and well-being of the citizens was a governmental concern and needed to be emphasised in order to facilitate social development. The sport for all policies was further adopted by

institutions like the *Council of Europe* and UNESCO who emphasised the need for sport and PE and affirmed that sport was a human right that should be encouraged in all social levels.

36. Goksøyr, *Historien om norsk idrett*.
37. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 26.
38. Ibid.
39. Tønnesson, *Norsk idretts historie*.
40. Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics*, 203.
41. Beck, 'The Most Effective Means of Communication in the Modern World?'; Hazan, 'Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion'; and Riordan, *Sport, Politics and Communism*.
42. Bale and Sang, *Kenyan Running*; and Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics*.
43. Elaborated in Straume, 'Sport Is in Lack of Everything Here!'.
44. Nustad, *Gavens makt*.
45. Kjerland and Ruud, *Norsk utviklingshjelps historie 2*.
46. Massao and Fasting, 'Women and Sport in Tanzania'.
47. Ibid.; and Johnson, 'Sport and Physical Education in Tanzania'.
48. Massao and Fasting, 'Women and Sport in Tanzania'.
49. Ibid., 121.
50. Ibid.
51. In the early 1980s, several developing countries encountered a severe debt-crisis, among them Tanzania. The International Monetary Fund and World Bank therefore went from supporting debt- and crisis-ridden developing countries with loans for specific projects, to general budget support known as Structural Adjustment Programmes that aimed to promote and reinforce sustainable economic growth, addressed structural hindrances to growth and trade liberalisation and attempted to strengthen financial systems. See Stokke, *Aid and Political Conditionality*.
52. Massao, 'Women in Sport'; and Nkongo, 'Factors Influencing the Development of Physical Education in Tanzania'.
53. Massao and Fasting, 'Women and Sport in Tanzania'.
54. Although there obviously were cultural differences throughout the continent, Mazrui claimed that in Africa as a whole, women were under-represented in sports. In Mazrui, 'Africa's Triple Heritage of Play'. A similar point is made by Chuka Onwumechili in 'Urbanization and Female Football in Nigeria'; and Ndee, 'Prologue'.
55. Elaborated in Straume, 'Sport Is in Lack of Everything Here!'.
56. Larsen, *Letter to NORAD 12.11.1981*.
57. Massao and Fasting, 'Women and Sport in Tanzania'.
58. NIF, 'Protokoll fra møte om idrett og u-hjelp'.
59. NORAD, 'Søknad fra Norges Idrettsforbund'.
60. Wigum and Leirvaag, 'The "Sport for All" Project in DSM'.
61. Ibid., 8.
62. NORAD, 'Private organisasjoner'; and NIF, 'Review and Future Plans'.
63. Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation, *Norway's Strategy for Assistance to Women in Development*, 24.
64. Hernes, Volla, and Wang, *Project Review*, 17.
65. Ibid.
66. Since 1984 races particularly aiming for women were arranged in Norway in the name of the Norwegian long-distance runner Grete Waitz (1953–2011). Waitz, a nine-time winner of the New York marathon, was a pioneer for Norwegian women's participation in sports.
67. Hernes, Volla, and Wang, *Project Review*, 18.
68. Brennvall and Leirvaag, 'NIF's Sport for All prosjekt i DSM 1987–89'; and NIF, 'Forslag til målsetting og handlingsplan'.
69. NIF, 'Rapport fra Zimbabwe, Zambia og Tanzania'.
70. Leirvaag, 'Sport as Development Aid'.
71. NIF, 'Prosjektplan 1984–86', 3; and Svendsen, 'Årsrapport 1986'.
72. NIF, 'Forelesning NIH'.
73. For instance, Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development*; and Stoltenberg, *Kvinnens stilling i utviklingsland*.

74. Gullestad, *Misjonsbilder*.
75. B. Taalesen, 'Idrett og u-land' (article series), *Dagbladet*, April 9, 10, 13, 14, 1981.
76. Ibid.
77. Elaborated in Straume, 'Sport Is in Lack of Everything Here!'.
78. B. Taalesen, 'Kvinnene forbys å bruke shorts – bare bryst lovlig', *Dagbladet*, April 14, 1981.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. NIF, 'Prosjektplan 1984–86', 3.
83. Director of the Sport Development Department in the Ministry of Information, Culture and Sport, Interview by the author, Dar es Salaam, 21 April 2009. This point is further elaborated in: Straume and Steen-Johnsen, 'On the Terms of the Recipient?'
84. Dar es Salaam University professor, Interview by the author, Dar es Salaam, 5 June 2007.
85. Former employee at the Tanzanian Football Federation, Interview by the author, Dar es Salaam, 13 May 2009.
86. Former CHANETA Secretary General, Interview by the author, Dar es Salaam, 6 June 2007.
87. Former *Sport for All* course attendant and former sport officer in the National Sport Council, Interviews by the author, Dar es Salaam, 6 June 2007.
88. NIF, 'Prosjektplan 1984–86', 3.
89. Goksøyr, *Historien om norsk idrett*.
90. Tønneson, *Norsk idretts historie*.
91. Holte, 'Rapport fra NIF's Sport for All-prosjekt'.
92. Ibid., 5.
93. Ibid., 6.
94. Leseth, 'Culture of Movement'.
95. The YKF group was originally organised through the *Sport for All*, and at the time of Leseth's study it was one of only two Keep Fit groups left from the project.
96. Leseth, 'Culture of Movement'.
97. NIF, 'Forelesning NIH'.
98. Saavedra, 'Dilemmas and Opportunities', 124.
99. NIF representative, Interview by the author, Dar es Salaam, 29 April 2009.
100. NIF, 'Sammendrag', 2.
101. NIF, 'Søknad fra Norges Idrettsforbund', 7.
102. NIF representative, Interview by the author, Oslo, 14 May 2008.
103. Ndee, 'Prologue', 744.
104. Ibid.
105. Stoltenberg, *Kvinnens stilling i utviklingsland*.
106. Elaborated in Straume and Steen-Johnsen, 'On the Terms of the Recipient?'
107. E. Berg, 'Norsk idrett og utviklingslandene', *Dagbladet*, July 29, 1980. Elaborated in Straume, 'Sport Is in Lack of Everything Here!'.
108. Hernes, Volla, and Wang, *Project Review*, 18.
109. For instance, Dubberke, 'Critical Remarks'; Eichberg, 'From Sport Export to Politics of Recognition'; and Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics*.
110. Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics*, 83.
111. Ibid.
112. Eichberg, 'From Sport Export to Politics of Recognition', 29.

References

- Bale, J., and J. Sang. *Kenyan running*. London: Frank Cass, 1996.
- Bandarage, A. 'Women in Development: Liberalism, Marxism and Marxist-feminism'. *Development and Change* 15 (1984): 495–515.
- Beacom, A. 'A Question of Motives: Reciprocity, Sport and Development Assistance'. *European Sport Management Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (2007): 81–107.

- Beck, P. 'The Most Effective Means of Communication in the Modern World?: British Sport and National Prestige'. In *Sport and International Relations: An Emerging Relationship*, ed. R. Levermore and A. Budd, 77–92. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Black, D.R. 'The Ambiguities of Development: Implications for 'Development through Sport'. *Sport in Society* 13, no. 1 (2010): 121–129.
- Boserup, E. *Women's Role in Economic Development*. London: Earthscan, 2007.
- Brady, M. 'Creating Safe Spaces and Building Social Assets for Young Women in the Developing World: A New Role for Sports'. *Women's Studies Quarterly* 33, nos. 1 and 2 (2005): 35–49.
- Brennvall, M.S., and G. Leirvaag. 'NIF's Sport for All prosjekt i DSM 1987–89', File NIF/14.01.87 DOC 0811B/1s. Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives.
- Coalter, F. 'Sport-for-Development: Going beyond the Boundary?' *Sport in Society* 13, no. 6 (2010): 1374–1391.
- Coalter, F. *A Wider Social Role for Sport: Who's Keeping the Score?* London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Darnell, S.C. 'Playing with Race: *Right to Play* and the Production of Whiteness in "Development through Sport"'. *Sport in Society* 10, no. 4 (2007): 560–579.
- Darnell, S.C., and L. Hayhurst. 'Hegemony, Postcolonialism and Sport-for-development: A Response to Lindsey and Grattan'. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4, no. 1 (2012): 111–124.
- Dubberke, H. 'Critical Remarks Regarding Sports Aid for Developing Countries'. In *Sport, Culture, Society; International Historical and Sociological Perspectives*; Proceedings of the VIII Commonwealth and International Conference on Sport, Physical Education, Dance, Recreation, and Health; Conference '86, Glasgow, July 18–23, ed. J.A. Mangan and R.B. Small, 240–245. London: E. & F.N. Spon, 1986.
- Eichberg, H. 'From Sport Export to Politics of Recognition: Experiences from the Cooperation between Denmark and Tanzania'. *European Journal for Sport and Society* 5, no. 1 (2008): 7–32.
- Giddens, A. *Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.
- Giulianotti, R. 'Human Rights, Globalization and Sentiment Education: The Case of Sport'. *Sport in Society* 7, no. 3 (2004): 355–369.
- Goksøy, M. *Historien om norsk idrett*. Oslo: Abstrakt forlag, 2008.
- Guest, A.M. 'The Diffusion of Development-through-Sport: Analysing the History and Practice of the Olympic Movement's Grassroots Outreach to Africa'. *Sport in Society* 12, no. 10 (2009): 1336–1352.
- Gullestad, M. *Misjonsbilder. Bidrag til norsk selvforståelse*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 2007.
- Hargreaves, J. *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Hartmann, D., and C. Kwauk. 'Sport and Development: An Overview, Critique, and Reconstruction'. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 35, no. 3 (2011): 284–305.
- Hasselgård, A., and S. Straume. 'Utvikling til idrett eller idrett til utvikling? NIF som idrettsbistandsaktør'. In *Norsk idrett: indre spenning og ytre press*, ed. D.V. Hanstad, G. Breivik, M.K. Sisjord, and H.B. Skaset, 371–387. Oslo: Akilles, 2011.
- Hayhurst, L.M.C. 'The Power to Shape Policy: Charting Sport for Development and Peace Policy Discourses'. *International Journal of Sport Policy* 1, no. 2 (2009): 203–227.
- Hayhurst, L., M. MacNeill, and W. Frisby. 'A Postcolonial Feminist Approach to Gender, Development and EduSport'. In *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development*, ed. B. Houlihan and M. Green, 353–365. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Hazan, B.A. 'Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion: The Soviet Union in Africa'. In *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, ed. W.J. Baker and J.A. Mangan, 250–271. New York: Africana, 1987.
- Henry, I., and M. Al-Tauqi. 'The Development of Olympic Solidarity: West and Non-West (Core and Periphery) Relations in the Olympic World'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 3 (2008): 355–369.
- Hernes, T., T. Volla, and C.E. Wang. *Project Review of the Norwegian Confederation of Sports (NIF) Sport for All-Project in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 1984–1985: Final Report from the Evaluation Team Appointed by the NIF's Steering Committee for Development Assistance*. Oslo: The Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 1986.

- Holte, I.M. 'Rapport fra NIF's Sport for All-prosjekt: "Keep Fit"-Seminar for instruktører i Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 10.3 –19.3.1986, ved Inger M. Holte, Norges Gymnastikk- og Turnforbund'. Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives.
- Houlihan, B. *Sport and International Politics*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994.
- Houlihan, B., and M. Green, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development*. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Johnson, W. 'Sport and Physical Education in Tanzania'. In *Sport and Physical Education around the World*, ed. W. Johnson, 538–548. Champaign, IL: Stipes, 1980.
- Kay, T. 'Development through Sport: Evidencing Sport Impacts on Young People'. *Sport in Society* 12, no. 9 (2009): 1177–1191.
- Kay, T. 'Development through Sport? Sport in Support of Female Empowerment in Delhi, India'. In *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development*, ed. B. Houlihan and M. Green, 308–322. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Kidd, B. 'A New Social Movement: Sport for Development and Peace'. *Sport in Society* 11, no. 4 (2008): 370–380.
- Kjerland, K.A., and A.E. Ruud. *Norsk utviklingshjelps historie 2; 1975–1989 Vekst, velvilje og utfordringer*. Oslo: Fagbokforlaget, 2003.
- Larkin, J. 'Gender, Sport and Development'. In *Literature Reviews on Sport for Development and Peace*, ed. Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG), 89–123. University of Toronto, <http://righttoplay.com/International/news-and-media/Documents/Policy%20Reports%20docs/Literature%20Reviews%20SDP.pdf#page=89> (accessed November 17, 2011).
- Larsen, S. *Letter to NORAD 12.11.1981*. Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives.
- Leirvaag, G. 'Sport as Development Aid. Theoretical Considerations and Results of Fieldwork in Tanzania with Particular Reference to Mikoroshoni Women'. Master's thesis, The Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 1989.
- Leseth, A.B. 'Culture of Movement: Walkers, Workers and Fitness Performers in Dar es Salaam'. PhD diss., Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 2004.
- Levermore, R. 'Sport: a New Engine of Development'. *Progress in Development Studies* 8, no. 2 (2008): 183–190.
- Levermore, R., and A. Beacom. 'Reassessing Sport-for-Development: Moving beyond "Mapping the Territory"'. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4, no. 1 (2012): 125–137.
- Levermore, R., and A. Beacom, eds. *Sport and International Development*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Lexow, J., and E. Skjønsberg. *Good Aid for Women? A Review of Women's Issues in Three Selected Norwegian Bilateral Development Projects*. Oslo, 1989.
- Lindsey, I., and A. Grattan. 'An "International Movement"? Decentering Sport-for-Development within Zambian Communities'. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4, no. 1 (2012): 91–110.
- Massao, P. 'Women in Sport: Feminist Analysis of the Sport Development Policy of Tanzania'. Master's thesis, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 2001.
- Massao, P., and K. Fasting. 'Women and Sport in Tanzania'. In *Sport and Women. Social Issues in International Perspective*, ed. I. Hartmann-Tews and G. Pfister, 118–129. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Mazrui, A.A. 'Africa's Triple Heritage of Play: Reflections on the Gender Gap'. In *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, ed. W.J. Baker and J.A. Mangan, 217–228. New York: Africana, 1987.
- Ndee, H.S. 'Prologue: Sport, Culture and Society in Tanzania from an African Perspective'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, no. 5 (2010): 733–758.
- Nkongo, J.M. 'Factors Influencing the Development of Physical Education in Tanzania as Compared with Other African Countries'. PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1979.
- Norwegian Agency for International Development, 'Private organisasjoner – Tanzania. Norges Idrettsforbund (NIF) – "Sport for All" i Tanzania – Budsjett for 1985', File PD-/85. Norwegian Agency for International Development Archives.
- Norwegian Agency for International Development, 'Søknad fra Norges Idrettsforbund – Forprosjekt av 6 måneders varighet', File 2127 1835/1/82/EBB/map 2335 2637/82NAP/the. Norwegian Agency for International Development Archives.

- Norwegian Confederation of Sports, 'Forelesning NIH'. *Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives*, 1985.
- Norwegian Confederation of Sports, "'Forslag til målsetting og handlingsplan" for NIF's SPORT FOR ALL prosjekt i Dar es Salaam (DSM) 1987-89', File Id 145OC/gu. Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives.
- Norwegian Confederation of Sports, 'Prosjektplan 1984-86', File NIF/Org./HT. 18. April 1983. Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives.
- Norwegian Confederation of Sports, 'Protokoll fra møte om idrett og u-hjelp 22.12.1981'. Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives.
- Norwegian Confederation of Sports, 'Rapport fra Zimbabwe, Zambia og Tanzania i tiden 19.10-4.11.1990', File anifust/rapport 14.01.1991. Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives.
- Norwegian Confederation of Sports, 'Review and Future Plans', File ID0817B/lS. January 4, 1986. Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives.
- Norwegian Confederation of Sports, 'Sammendrag', File 90/37. Norwegian Agency for International Development Archives.
- Norwegian Confederation of Sports, 'Søknad fra: Norges Idrettsforbund. Til prosjektet: "Sport for All" i Tanzania, Zambia og Zimbabwe for 1990', File 89/5984-1. Norwegian Agency for International Development Archives.
- Nustad, K. *Gavens makt; Norsk utviklingshjelp som formynderkap*. Oslo: Pax forlag, 2003.
- Onwumehili, C. 'Urbanization and Female Football in Nigeria: History and Struggle in a "Man's Game"'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 15 (2011): 2206-2219.
- Pelak, C.F. 'Negotiating Gender/Race/Class Constraints in the New South Africa: A Case Study of Women's Soccer'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 40, no. 1 (2005): 53-70.
- Porter, M. 'Introduction: Caught in the Web'. In *Feminists Doing Development*, ed. M. Porter and E. Judd, 1-14. London and New York: Zed Books, 1999.
- Read, L., and J. Bingham, 'Preface'. In *Sport and International Development*, ed. R. Levermore and A. Beacom, xiii-xix. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Riordan, J. *Sport, Politics and Communism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.
- Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation, *Norway's Strategy for Assistance to Women in Development*. Oslo, 1985.
- Saavedra, M. 'Dilemmas and Opportunities in Gender and Sport-in-Development'. In *Sport and International Development*. ed. R. Levermore and A. Beacom, 124-155. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Silverman, D. *Interpreting Qualitative Data. Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*. London: Sage, 2001.
- Stokke, O. *Aid and Political Conditionality*. London: Frank Cass, 1995.
- Stoltenberg, K. *Kvinnens stilling i utviklingsland*. Oslo: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, 1978.
- Straume, S. 'Sport Is in Lack of Everything Here! Norwegian Sport for All to Tanzania in the Early 1980s'. *Stadion* 36 (2010): 177-198.
- Straume, S., and K. Steen-Johnsen. 'On the Terms of the Recipients? Norwegian Sports Development Aid to Tanzania in the 1980s'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 47, no. 1 (2012): 95-112.
- Svensden, A.B. 'Årsrapport 1986'. Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives.
- Tønneson, S. *Norsk idretts historie: Folkehelse, trim, stjerner 1939-1986*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1986.
- United Nations. 'Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women'. 1979, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm> (accessed November 9, 2011).
- Wigum, J., and G. Leirvaag. 'The "Sport for All" Project in DSM. NORAD/NIF'. Norwegian Confederation of Sports' Archives, 1982.
- Yin, R.K. *Case Study Research*. London: Sage, 2008.

Paper 4

Denne artikkelen er tatt ut av den elektroniske versjonen av doktoravhandlingen i Brage på grunn av copyright-restriksjoner. Du finner artikkelen her:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2013.813866>

This paper was removed from the electronic version of this PhD Thesis in Brage due to copyright restrictions.

You'll find the article here:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2013.813866>