Darnell, Simon C. "Notes." *Sport for Development and Peace: A Critical Sociology*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012. 171–179. Globalizing Sport Studies. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781849665896.0008>>.

Downloaded from Bloomsbury Collections, www.bloomsburycollections.com, 26 April 2023, 15:11 UTC.

Copyright © Simon C. Darnell 2012. You may share this work for non-commercial purposes only, provided you give attribution to the copyright holder and the publisher, and provide a link to the Creative Commons licence.

Notes

Introduction Situating sport-for-development and the 'sport for development and peace' sector

- 1 Aboriginal Canadians are made up of the 630 recognized First Nations in Canada as well as Inuit people and Metis, people of mixed European and Aboriginal ancestry.
- 2 While this conceptual separation between 'sport development' and 'sport-for-development' (SFD) is generally accepted, the SDP sector sometimes struggles, in practice, to separate itself from elite sports development (Kidd 2008; Maguire 2006: 107–8). Indeed, the dominant 'sports ethic', which privileges and celebrates sacrifice, distinction, risk and pain, and continuously improved performance, is not easily separated from the SDP sector (Maguire 2006: 112).
- 3 Terminology to describe countries deemed to be 'in need' of development assistance and programmes remains a matter of some debate, particularly given critical perspectives on development from political science, post-colonial theory and anti-racist scholarship. In this text, I use the term 'Global South' to refer to the space(s) – culturally, politically and discursively – that constitute the part of the world which is understood as separate from, and therefore both Othered by and resistant to, the culturally and economically dominant Global North. According to Reed (2008):

'Global South' is not just another name for the 'South' or 'the developing world'. The term denotes a community of people at different geographical locations who experience a common set of problems – problems which emanate, by and large, from deep inequities of power within and between nations. (<http://www.yorku.ca/ananya/Globalsouthhome.htm>)

Despite its strengths in referencing relations of power as they are constituted through space and social relations, the term 'Global South' is not without its problems. Most importantly, it invokes a binary division between North and South that (a) potentially overlooks processes of transculturation in which the colonized take up and remake colonial cultures (Loomba 1998), (b) misinterprets the ubiquity of Empire by referencing its externality (Hardt and Negri 2000) and (c) suggests a Manichean understanding of identity in the post-colonial when ambivalence and hybridity is more accurate (Bhabha 1994). Such criticisms illustrate the difficulty of accurately or effectively transcending the politics of development in post-colonial relations. Similarly, low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) are those nations that are deemed to be at an economic disadvantage relative to the rest of the world. According to the World Bank:

Low-income and middle-income economies are sometimes referred to as developing economies. The use of the term is convenient; it is not intended to imply that all economies in the group are experiencing similar development or that other economies have reached a preferred or final stage of development. Classification by income does not necessarily reflect development status. (<http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-classifications>)

'LMIC' is thus a useful term for referring to those nations that are generally understood to be targets of development interventions and logic; at the same time, the use of the term should be accompanied by a critical understanding that it always references and

- privileges a dominant, yet benign, First World and affords an authority of voice (Said 1978) to speak about southern nations and communities in attempts to better them.
- 4 In this book, the majority of the discussion and analysis focuses on international development more so than explicit approaches to peace building and conflict resolution. However, sport for peace and conflict resolution is an important dimension of SDP with notable scholarship (see Armstrong 2004; Dyck 2011; Gasser and Levinson 2004; Sugden 2006 and others). Indeed, as I have argued elsewhere (Darnell, in press) to discuss development is to discuss peace, given that 'the way in which inequality is conceptualized and approached in and through development (through sport or otherwise) is intimately related to the prospects for securing long-term peace and human security'.
 - 5 As a counterpoint to the institutionalization of soccer/football as a tool for development and peace building, scholars of sport have also illustrated how the game is implicated in cultures and institutions of violence, racism, sexism, homophobia and corporatization (see Giulianotti 1999a). It is also important to note that the global recognition and popularity of soccer itself is largely inseparable from its historical colonial utility during which the game was 'introduced' in the Global South by European explorers and settlers. Domingos (2007), among others, argues that the game then underwent a process of 'creolization' where it was taken up by colonized peoples as a form of resistance and cultural expression.
 - 6 <http://www.olympic.org/en/content/Olympism-in-Action/Development-through-sport/>.
 - 7 <http://www.fifa.com/aboutfifa/worldwideprograms/footballforhope/index.html>.
 - 8 The millennium development goals (MDGs) were formally recognized by the United Nations General Assembly in September 2000. The goals set a target date of 2015 to achieve lasting and sustainable change, on a global scale, in eight categories related to social and environmental justice, including improved health for mothers and babies, the achievement of universal education, the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, and the successful erasure of preventative diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria. The MDGs also set out to ensure the protection of the physical environment and, in social terms, to 'empower women' towards achieving gender equality (<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>). The MDGs have been thoroughly scrutinized and significantly critiqued. For example, the MDGs presume that the eradication of poverty is easily compatible with liberal philosophies of social organization and neoliberal policies supporting capital accumulation when these approaches largely serve to exacerbate the poverty to which the MDGs attend (Amin 2006). Furthermore, feminists have critiqued the MDGs for simply restating feminist goals of equity without adequately addressing social causes of sexism and gender marginalization (Ariffin 2004). In other words, the MDGs do very little to support, encourage or demand a political will to effect sustainable social change.
 - 9 In subsequent chapters, I apply these theoretical perspectives to interviews that I conducted in two separate studies – first during a study in which I interviewed 27 young Canadians who had served as volunteers in SDP and second as a researcher in the Department of International Development Studies at Dalhousie University in which I talked to nine policy makers and programme managers from across the SDP sector about the political orientation and challenges of doing this kind of work. The benefits of interviews are that they produce texts that are representative of human performance (Denzin 2001). The interviews that I conducted and analysed lend data to the theoretical connections that I make throughout the text. With that said, in no way can or should the voices captured in these interviews be considered wholly representative of the ideologies or orientations of the entire SDP sector. Particularly considering how many new actors continue to enter the SDP field, it would be problematic and misleading to claim that the interviews I conducted encapsulated the totality of SDP. Still, these voices are methodologically substantial for two reasons. One, they capture the perspectives of people in relative positions of power and privilege, both within

the SDP sector and the broader cultural and political economy, and two, in a post-positivist, post-realist perspective of the manner employed here (see Chapter 2) they offer insights that are relatively deep and broad rather than claims to generalisability. For the purposes of this text, I choose the benefits of the former over the limitations of the latter. I also rely on information for this book gleaned from online sources. The use of Internet materials is a methodology that I have employed and justified previously in critical sociological analyses of SDP (see Darnell 2007), given that they offer a means by which to understand the narratives and world views espoused by key SDP stakeholders (also see Tiessen 2011). Furthermore, recent research by Hayhurst, Wilson and Frisby has illustrated that the Internet, and the online communication that it affords, offers activists, organizations and various other stakeholders in SDP an important means of interaction, engagement and promulgation of their work (see Hayhurst and Frisby 2010; Hayhurst, Wilson and Frisby 2011; Wilson and Hayhurst 2009). In turn, information posted on the Internet becomes an entry point for scholars to make sense of the ways in which SDP programmes and initiatives construct and position themselves, culturally and politically. In sum, while Internet texts and materials rarely yield data as rich, or with as much depth, as ethnographic or interview-based methodologies, they are nonetheless important repositories of cultural and political meaning for the study of SDP, and I employ them in this text when and where appropriate.

- 10 http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0EIN/is_1999_June_14/ai_54866551.
- 11 For example, the Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA) in the Mathare slums of Nairobi, Kenya is regularly and rightly held up as an example of a successful, local, grassroots SDP initiative that has improved the lives of youth through the convening interest in football/soccer (see Coalter 2010a; Willis 2000). Arguably, however, MYSA has been 'incorporated' into the broader international SDP fold as a result of its grassroots success and now receives significant international funding from corporate and charitable sources. This limits the extent to which MYSA can be considered representative of a political orientation akin to a Global Movement.

Chapter 1 Social theory, the sociology of sport and the study of SDP

- 1 At the same time, Bairner (2007, 2009) has cautioned against the problematic tendency to 'detach' Gramsci from his Marxist roots, to underestimate the class-informed pessimism and revolutionary zeal of Gramsci's writings. This is an important reminder of key Gramscian tenets.
- 2 Some also suggest that Gramscian hegemony forecloses possibilities of any social and political resistance outside of hegemonic relations and, therefore, increasingly fails to provide a useful account of contemporary agency and resistance such as the Antiglobalization Movement (see Day 2005). This may be a limited reading of Gramsci, however, given that Gramscian scholars such as Raymond Williams took up the hegemony framework specifically to allow and account for emergent struggles. At issue in this chapter is less whether hegemony can account for various radical forms of counter-dominance and more the ways in which commonsense notions of emancipation (such as development through sport) are (re)produced, in many cases, at the expense of relatively powerless groups. Grant (2000), for example, revisited classic critical theory to argue that this process, which Marcuse (1964) described as reason collapsing into 'technological rationality', highlighted the cultural turn in Marxist studies and remains relevant in political theory as a means of investigating the erasure of social possibilities within capitalism. It is such erasures that remain crucial to understanding how current mobilizations of SFD through SDP are constructed, and for maintaining the possibility of alternative and/or radical practices. In this way, hegemony is relevant in SDP to the extent that it helps to illuminate whether and/or how capitalist logic is (re)produced in and through the contemporary use of SFD.

- 3 Notably, in his lectures at the Collège de France where he explored the ‘birth’ of bio-politics, Foucault (2008: 28) illustrated how the bio-political state proceeded from an ‘epoch of frugal government’ in which notions of the market as a site of justice were reified and governmentality organized in such a way as to ‘discover’ and sustain the principles of the state’s own practices. These forms of governmentality were/are not oppressive in the sense of being inherently false, but they did proceed from a particular political economy, one that is arguably more entrenched, or ‘true’, today. Sport within the neoliberal political economy of contemporary development connects to the bio-political relations that underpin much of the logic, and in many cases the practice, of SDP (see Darnell 2010b).
- 4 In formulating this approach, Laclau and Moffe drew heavily on Derrida’s philosophical criticism of the centre of knowledge and scholarly attempts to essentialize the economic as transcendental.
- 5 Harvey (2005) also addresses the essentialist residue in the Gramscian approach, arguing that the point may never have been one of privileging the economy as socially fundamental. Rather, at issue is the extent to which capitalist logic based on individuals’ ‘freedom’ to consume has an impact upon the organization of the social and political.
- 6 In his recent defence, and re-appropriation, of Gramsci for the critical study of sport and physical culture, Bairner (2009: 201) argues that any ‘residual economism’ in Gramscian theory, such as that identified by Torfing, needs to be recognized as the fundamental anchorage points of key concepts like hegemony (also see Bairner 2007). Bairner therefore argues that analyses of social inequality need to be understood first and foremost in terms of material inequality. I support Bairner’s call for a focus on materiality, particularly as it helps to show that much of SDP programming and policy works within the logic of neoliberal globalization and therefore offers little or no resistance to material inequality. Furthermore, I am moved by Bairner’s reminder that Gramsci theorized power as both persuasion *and* coercion. At the same time, I am hesitant to accede fundamental explanatory power to economic and class relations; rather I follow Andrews’s (2007) response to Bairner in which he argues that connecting class to other forms of oppression (such as race and racism in the post-colonial) is the best way to stem the tide against a retreat from Marxist thought.
- 7 Sidoti (1999) shows that the social organization and implementation of sport has been complicit in the denial of human rights through institutional racism and sexism, and the denial of opportunities or protection for children and persons with disabilities. However, he concludes that the *potential* for sport to promote social change (as an avenue from poverty, through role modelling and leadership, and as a political catalyst) makes its utility within a human rights framework too important to pass up.
- 8 Of course, First Nations and Aboriginal persons are not passive in the face of such dismissal. The Aboriginal Sport Circle was established in Canada in 1995 ‘in response to the need for more accessible and equitable sport and recreation opportunities for Aboriginal peoples’ (Aboriginal Sport Circle 2008). The organization develops and facilitates opportunities for youth sport participation, supports the training of coaches and organizes high-performance sporting events.

Chapter 2 International development studies and SDP: Syntheses and opportunities

- 1 Byron Peacock (2011) has brought a similar critical analysis to bear on the interest and role of the International Olympic Committee within the SDP sector.
- 2 A version of this historical overview also appears in Darnell (2010a) in the *Sociology of Sport Journal*.
- 3 Like most terms in development studies, ‘developmentalism’ is contestable, insofar as it represents conflicting notions of what development is or should be. For critical

and post-development scholars, in the tradition of Escobar (1995), developmentalism references the modernist compulsion to develop constitutive of globalization and the colonial gaze. For other critical analysts, such as Naomi Klein (2007), state-sponsored developmentalism offers an attractive alternative to unfettered capitalism, particularly supported by militarism, such as Pinochet's Chile of the 1970s and 1980s and the current occupation of Iraq. I use the term here to clarify that the various imaginations of international development, and concomitant interventions, carry political baggage that requires critical scrutiny.

- 4 'Neoliberalism' as a term and concept has been thoroughly scrutinized in the political and social sciences in recent years (i.e. Harvey 2005; Li 2007; Ong 2006; Slater 2004, among many others). It most often refers to the fundamentalism and privileging of free market economics, often at the expense of state-sponsored social welfare, but has increasingly been taken up to interrogate how discourses of 'individualism' and 'freedom' produce self-regulating and disciplined subjects, most notably in relation to the body (see Fusco 2005; Heywood 2007; Markula and Pringle 2006). In this text, I use the term in both of these ways: to describe the dominant ideology of the global political economy that privileges deregulation and rejects strong state apparatuses, and to refer to the discursive regimes of bio-politics that encourage technologies of self-discipline in order for individuals to successfully participate in the social milieu.
- 5 Of course, this resiliency of neoliberalism has been tested recently, both politically and socially, by the advocacy, post 9/11, of relatively 'crude' national security models exemplary of the George W. Bush administration that eschewed consensus in favour of exceptionalism (Payne 2005: 1010) and the 2008 economic crisis that exposed the supposed immutable successes of neoliberalism in bringing sustained prosperity to humans. The effects of the economic crisis on the long-term hold of neoliberal philosophy for approaching development remain to be seen (Nederveen Pieterse 2010). As Clarke (2010) has argued, while some aspects of neoliberal logic have come under scrutiny since the economic crisis (such as scepticism of financial institutions and markets and calls for renewed public welfare), the primacy of free enterprise and the 'freedom' to choose, as well as the governmental logic of low-cost efficiency and managerialism, have remained attractive if not central to the dominant political milieu.
- 6 The notion of hybridity is also relevant to the relativist/universalist debate within development studies. Baaz (2005), in particular, has employed Bhabha's (1994) theory of hybridity that conceptualizes the ways in which language and knowledge fuse within processes of domination, becoming neither dominant nor dominated. This perspective is not intended to reify or essentialize cultural purity but rather reflects processes of transculturation as an ongoing condition of human culture (Rosaldo 1995; cf. Baaz 2005). Hybridity, therefore, challenges both developmentalist and post-development perspectives, in that development practices can be considered neither completely benevolent nor conspiratorial (Baaz 2005: 60).
- 7 For example, Ziai (2004) has explored the contradictions of the post-development 'school', particularly in (a) illustrating how it largely misappropriates Foucauldian theory and method by retreating to essentialisms and normative models in analysing development politics and (b) summarizing the counter-argument that post-development tacitly supports the unequal development of the status quo. What emerges, though, from Ziai's analysis is that while a brand of neo-populism is possible through post-development thinking, so too is critical post-development thinking that seeks to support more radically democratic development practices. The question, then, is not one of post-development theory *or not* – or even a Foucauldian perspective *or not* – but rather a vigilant reflection on how such methodologies are deployed and to what ends. In this way, I follow Li (2007: 25) in arguing that both a Gramscian approach, attuned to materiality, consciousness and the relationship of dominance/consent, *and* the Foucauldian notion of power as productive through the workings of governmentality are useful to the study of the politics of development and, in turn, to the study of SDP,

particularly given the ways in which they have been used to support critical analyses of sport, sporting bodies and physical culture (see Chapter 1).

- 8 Gasper (2004) further argues that without equity as a goal, it becomes (increasingly) possible to effectively sacrifice the weak and marginalized. At the same time, he cautions that a commitment to equity needs to be accompanied by critical attention as to whom it is that claims and defines the label equity and recognition that multiple criteria go into equity. Equity is not reducible to one or two elements in a unifying theory. In this way, his conception aligns with Teeple's (2005) political framework for understanding human rights and the transnational feminist argument against the limits of universal feminist essentialisms.
- 9 Of course, no relations of power are uni-directional or one dimensional, and the post-colonial tradition reminds scholars of development that there is always resistance and agency among people in relatively marginalized positions. Suffice to say that any criticism of post-colonial theorizing, in development studies or elsewhere, for failing to understand the agency of people to resist is a failure of the application of the post-colonial imperative. In fact, foundational post-colonial theorizing has always been concerned, first and foremost, with the complexities of agency (see Spivak 1988) and in deconstructing the tendency for powerful groups to speak for or about Others in ways that preclude agency (Mohanty 2003).
- 10 For example, D. Kapoor's (2009a) recent research with *Adivasi* (original dwellers) in the south Orissa region of India drew on subaltern studies to (re)position development as the interpretation of, and organized response to, colonizing practices of land dispossession, foreign ownership and exploitation of natural resources. Considering subaltern consciousness against the hegemonic cultural form, and using a radical adult education approach, D. Kapoor (2009b) illustrates that struggles for self-determination in response to the materialism of power *is* the act of development.
- 11 This focus on the agency of persons to lead their own struggles for development should not be misinterpreted as an invocation of the 'freedom to choose' or freedom from bureaucratic/state constraints that underpins so much of neoliberal thinking. I am not arguing for an overly romanticized notion of subaltern agency or pastoral life, nor suggesting that we should overlook the structural and social reasons why poor people are poor in order to champion their self-determination. Neither am I arguing for a rejection of development, or a limited neo-populist development perspective, as suggested by the most dogmatic post-development perspective and criticized as a result (see Ziai 2004). Rather, development as struggle stands in theoretical and political opposition to the notion that development is primarily a chore of governmentality, in which the conduct of uneducated Others requires improvement. The focus on struggle, as D. Kapoor (2009a: 34) illustrates, also calls for a renewed commitment to Gramscian politics, which recognizes the extent to which people's choices in struggles for development are always produced and constrained within the political economy or the 'structural context' (Payne 2005) of development.
- 12 In keeping with the framework put forth in Chapter 1, such understandings are best illuminated at the intersection of Foucauldian bio-politics and Gramscian hegemony. For example, as Asher (2009) has illustrated in the struggle for Colombian development, competing cultural notions of ways of life within globalized market politics were established in part by demands of citizens in relation to the actions of the state and corporations. Such insights can certainly be understood in terms of Foucauldian bio-politics but also call for Gramscian analysis of the ways in which such demands effectively served to accelerate state authority (Asher 2009: 93).

Chapter 3 The SDP intern/volunteer experience

- 1 Despite its structural reliance on a presumed stable, dominant ideology, Althusserian notions of interpellation continue to be taken up in the social sciences, even in post-structuralist approaches. For example, Bridel and Rail (2007: 139) contend that the gay male marathon runner often constitutes a hybrid social body as subjects are hailed

into athletic competition, often among contradictory discourses of physicality, gender and health. For this study, I follow Heron (2007) and S. Razack (2008) in exploring the extent to which international development volunteer opportunities 'hail' subjects into bourgeois Whiteness.

- 2 Such insights are, I contend, complementary with the hegemony framework described in the previous section. Indeed, Heron situated the experiences of Canadian development workers against the discursive and material 'colonial continuities' of international development, which, while different in form from colonialism proper, are nonetheless 'recognizable for their similarity to their original colonial manifestations and effects' (Heron 2007: 7). Specifically, these continuities are manifest through an enduring 'planetary consciousness' whereby Others (marked by race and its intersections) require interventions to account for lacks relative to an unmarked standard.
- 3 I use the term 'placement community' to describe, first and foremost, the communities in which CGC interns were placed during their 8-month service abroad. It is, in this sense, a descriptive term. Of course, the term is also weighted with sociocultural and political meanings and contestabilities that recur throughout this document; it suggests a rather benign sense of transnational entitlement that potentially obscures post- and neocolonial relations and overlooks the ways in which being placed in a community with a mandate of development and social change is an entirely political act. These politics are central to this text and attended to throughout this chapter.
- 4 Ewing *et al.* (2002) conclude that sport does not, in and of itself, foster positive behaviours and character among youth; in fact, sport may undermine positive behaviour traits by privileging aggression and violence. Furthermore, Hansen, Larson and Dworkin's (2003) study of youth activities found that young people reported sport to be one of the only social domains in which they experienced negative peer interaction and inappropriate adult behaviour.
- 5 Bouchier (1994) argues that in nineteenth-century Canada, the use of sport to facilitate character was a particularly pernicious form of social control in which social elites solidified their racist, sexist and classist vision of an 'emerging' nation through the organization of sport and its connections to a national identity. In the case of SDP, the logic of sport as a facilitator of young persons' development continues in a similar fashion, even if the discursive underpinnings are less about securing a social hegemony and more akin to absolving responsibility for geopolitical privilege and power in ways that align with Biccum's (2010) critique.

Chapter 4 Development history and politics: Investigating SDP

- 1 Spaaij's (2011) recent monograph on sport and social mobility makes good use of Bourdieusian notions of capital to analyse the processes by which sport facilitates meeting development goals for poor and marginalized people. For example, he points out that in the tradition of Bourdieu, social capital may support upward mobility but that it is also 'border-creating and maintaining, hence exclusionary and laden with power' (Spaaij 2011: 31).
- 2 Nederveen Pieterse (2010: 205) argues that shifts in the political economy in the past 10 years have resulted in inequality between the North and South being overtaken in importance and relevance by inequality within newly industrializing economies; nevertheless, issues of distributive justice and relations of power, either inter- or intra-national, remain quintessential development issues.

Chapter 5 Sport, international development and mega-events

- 1 In July 2011, Pyeongchang, South Korea was awarded the rights to host the 2018 Winter Olympic Games.
- 2 The recommendations also acknowledged the importance of a range of international development issues that ostensibly recognize the importance of moving the SDP

policy agenda beyond the traditional development focus of growth and infrastructure. Specifically, the recommendations advocated for combating the spread of HIV/AIDS (Recommendation #7) spoke to the role that sport can play in achieving gender equality (#12), outlined a responsibility for protecting the environment through sustainable practices (#9) and asserted the role of sport in creating a climate for peace (#15) and reconciliation from conflict and disaster (#17). In addition, and particularly important from the perspective of sociocultural studies of SFD, Recommendation #3 made reference to the importance of thinking ‘beyond the competitive character of sport to maximize its contribution to development’. This appears to acknowledge, at least to some degree, that the dominant discourse of elite sport is particularly susceptible to dependency theories of development whereby the success of the few constructs and affirms the dependence of the relatively marginalized, and to neoliberal development philosophy, which positions competitiveness as a necessary basis for success.

- 3 <http://www.fifa.com/aboutfifa/socialresponsibility/footballforhope/mission.html>.
- 4 Still, FIFA’s official campaign for the 2010 World Cup in South Africa was the development of 20 Football for Hope Centres focused on ‘public health, education and football in disadvantaged communities across Africa’. Such infrastructure development, even as a way to reach out to youth, is exemplary of neoliberal development and may come at the expense of a focus on social issues and redressing inequality (Levermore 2009).

Chapter 6 International development and sporting celebrity

- 1 While I understand that the slave relationship as described by Klosterman (2009) is appealing for (a) offering a critical basis of the cultural construction of celebrity athletes through media and (b) sympathizing with the plight of celebrities who are hailed into filling a cultural void, I am suggesting that his framework does not have full explanatory power *vis-à-vis* the typical northern consumer of celebrity. Still, this framework does illustrate accurately and meaningfully the cultural contexts in which celebrities operate as they attempt to do good work. The tendency towards celebrity athlete development activism proceeds, at least in part, from the inequitable political economy that privileges some at the expense of the many. If Klosterman’s slave metaphor works to the extent that celebrities are endowed with money at the expense of a meaningful relationship with culture, then it is reasonable that the justification of this relationship can be strengthened and reinforced in and through the act of ‘giving back’ through a commitment to development. For celebrity athletes this is likely appealing, and in turn admired by their fans and consumers, because of the oft-perpetuated notion that sport, and professional sport in particular, is culturally rapid at the worst or at the least detached from the rigours and import of hardened, everyday, political experience. It makes sense, therefore, that a person like Steve Nash – fortified with a celebrity persona at his ready disposal – would use such cultural and material capital to work for good; seeking development through celebrity justifies the athlete/fan relationship and makes his celebrity experience not only more important but also more dynamic and weighty. In this way, the meanings regularly and somewhat loosely ascribed to the *power* of sport-in-development refer not (only) to the power of change through sport but to the power of sport as a visual, accessible, media-savvy, fun and relatively low-stakes political enterprise inextricably connected to media, marketing and celebrity culture. Celebrity athletes like Nash can build on the goodwill and affection afforded his position, and the consumption of his celebrity status, to contribute to the betterment of the world, a world in which he disproportionately benefits.

- 2 Nash, in fact, has regularly stood out in North American professional sport as a particularly engaged political thinker. In 2003, amidst talk of a US-led war in Iraq, he received significant attention for wearing a T-shirt to the NBA all-star game that read 'No War – Shoot for Peace'. According to a Steve Nash fansite, 'Nash explained his position by saying that the United States had provided insufficient evidence that Iraq was a threat and that the UN inspectors should be allowed to complete their mission'. Although Nash did get positive support from teammate Nick Van Exel among others, he also drew criticism from David Robinson, a former naval officer and fellow NBA player. Some journalists like Skip Bayless also criticized Nash as being uninformed and advised him to 'just shut up and play' (<http://www.steve-nash.info/steve-nash-off-the-court.htm>).