

Basketball With(out) Borders:
Interrogating the Intersections of Sport, Development, and Capitalism

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the intersection of sport for development and peace (SDP) and global corporate philanthropy through a case study of the National Basketball Association's (NBA) "Basketball Without Borders" (BWB). The NBA promotes BWB as a means to social and economic development in the global South by wedding basketball with education on social issues and the development of sport-related infrastructure. However, the NBA's participation in SDP is emblematic of broader issues in neoliberal globalization, and, as such, an historical and discursive analysis is undertaken to interrogate the seemingly divergent pursuits of capitalism and international development. I argue that the consequences of transnational corporations like the NBA entering developing nations for the purposes of promoting development through sport results in the prioritization of commercialism over development, and the (re)production of hegemonic and neocolonial ideologies and practices.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Since its inaugural year in 2001, the National Basketball Association's (NBA) "Basketball Without Borders" (BWB) program has been held in eight countries within four continents as part of the league's social responsibility initiative, "NBA Cares". Between fifty and one hundred of the best young talents from Asia, South America, and Africa are selected to participate in the annual event which, in the summer of 2009, was held in China, Mexico, and South Africa. The program is intended as a form of global outreach in which the global South can benefit from the wealth--economic, intellectual and otherwise--that the NBA has to offer.¹ The NBA is unclear in publicly available materials about how it negotiates its position as both a transnational corporation dedicated to capitalist principles and a philanthropic organization dedicated to international development. As such, the ultimate goal of BWB remains vague. Although the league does not explicitly call the program an international development initiative, personal, economic, and structural development are clearly central facets of the program and it is for this reason that I analyse BWB within the framework of critical development and globalization studies. According to an NBA press release:

...Basketball Without Borders transcends all boundaries by uniting young people from diverse cultural, national and economic backgrounds on four separate continents to learn through the sport of basketball. The program uniquely

¹ For the purposes of this thesis, I will utilize the terminology of "global South" and "global North" in place of what has conventionally been called the Third and First Worlds. While this is an attempt to mitigate against the problematic connotations of Third World versus First World, global South and global North are not without contentions, as they are geographically not entirely accurate (as evidenced, for example, by Australia's geographically location in the global South, but economically in the global North). Despite such problems, the terms global South and global North are useful in conventionalizing the relations between these two parts of the globe, and are rooted in colonial history. These terms emerged in the 1990s partial as a response to the poverty and marginalization that occurs in economically developed, as well as economically underdeveloped nations (O'Brien & Williams, 2007).

incorporates basketball instruction and educational programs that create a forum for important social issues such as HIV/AIDS prevention while emphasizing the importance of education and healthy living. (National Basketball Association, 2006)

Each year, the best male basketball players, aged nineteen and under, are selected to participate in local BWB camps based on their skill level, leadership ability, and commitment to the sport. NBA and college coaches and scouts are prominent at these camps, seeking athletes that can help their programs (Kim, 2003). Many former campers have been given scholarships to American High Schools, Division I college programs--the highest level of collegiate athletics--and have been drafted by NBA teams. Current NBA players are selected to act as camp ambassadors who coach the participants, provide education on healthy eating, life skills, and HIV/AIDS education. The players are also active in the community making appearances at local hospitals and at reading and learning centers that the league has helped build in the nations they visit to promote education.

On the surface, BWB represents the evolution of corporate social responsibility into the realm of international development. However, a closer analysis of the program reveals the dubious consequences of such an endeavour. In providing these resources exclusively to a small group of talented young *male* basketball players--rather than the general public--the NBA is promoting conflicting ideals of success through elite sport on the one hand, and through education and an improved standard of living (i.e. development) on the other.

In promoting these ideals, moreover, BWB sits at the intersection of the emerging trends of sport for development and peace (SDP), and corporate philanthropy. Recently, the international community has seen an increase in the number of programs that use sport as tool for international development and peace. These programs have been acclaimed by governmental, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the United Nations (UN), for their ability to bring people together on the common ground of sport and play. The belief in the transformative power of sport is so pervasive that the UN declared 2005 as the “International Year of Sport and Physical Education” and appointed Wilfried Lemke as a Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Sport for Development and Peace to oversee SDP initiatives. On sport’s usefulness as a tool of development and peace, Lemke has stated “sport has a crucial role to play in the efforts of the UN to improve the lives of people around the world. Sport builds bridges between individuals and across communities, providing a fertile ground for sowing the seeds of development and peace” (quoted in United Nations Sport for Development and Peace, 2005). Despite claims about the potential for sport as a means to personal and national development, there is little tangible evidence to support these claims, while examples of the divisive and detrimental character of sport are abundant. These contradictory arguments provide the motivation for this thesis, which seeks to explore the potential of sport as a tool for development through a case study of Basketball Without Borders.

Context

Although the NBA may profess the altruistic nature of BWB, the league remains tied to its capitalist motives. As such I am interested in the extent to which BWB stands as evidence of the melding of profit-making with social responsibility that characterizes

contemporary approaches to corporate philanthropy. Corporate philanthropic endeavours attempt to put a compassionate spin on capitalism while at the same time harnessing the consumptive power of the global North (King, 2006). The promotion of this “compassionate consumption” is perhaps most visible in the corporatization of health causes through charitable projects including the pink ribbon campaign supporting breast cancer research, and the “(RED)TM” campaign for HIV/AIDS support in Africa (King, 2006); but sport-related corporations and organizations like Major League Baseball (MLB), Adidas, and Nike are also enthusiastic proponents of corporate philanthropy initiatives. Nike has been active in this realm--partly as a response to their troubled human rights history--by creating the “Let Me Play” program and ninemillion.org. “Let Me Play” is part of Nike’s “long-term commitment giving access to the benefits of sport to all young people” creating programs and partnerships to “give a voice to young people through sport” (Let Me Play, 2009). The ninemillion.org campaign was created in 2006 by the UN refugee agency (UNHCR) in partnership with Nike and Microsoft. The goal of the campaign is to give “more than nine million children better access to education, sport and technology by 2010” (Ninemillion: About, 2009). MLB has established baseball academies in the global South that provide nutritional meals, housing, and education--while scouting talent--to local youth. Adidas is involved in reproductive health and HIV/AIDS programs in Vietnam and China, educational programs in Pakistan, and “corporate giving” projects in India and South Africa (Adidas Group, 2008).

Although these endeavours have certainly provided millions of dollars to charitable causes, the means and motives of the corporations that both promote and profit from them should not go unchallenged. The NBA’s emphasis on the corporate aspect of

philanthropy is evidenced through the number of corporate tie-ins that are part of BWB. Notably, two of the most visible transnational corporations (TNCs), Nike and McDonald's, have formed a partnership to provide resources for BWB. Nike provides clothing and footwear to campers, whereas McDonald's, paradoxically, educates the campers on proper nutrition. It should also be noted that both of these corporations, as well as the NBA, have made their desires for global expansion quite clear. This is evidenced by the availability and visibility of Nike and McDonald's products in nearly every corner of the globe, as well as the NBA commissioner's desire to establish teams or leagues in Europe and Asia.

The growth of neoliberalism has afforded corporations an expanded role locally and globally. In this context, the social contract between corporations and consumers has changed so that corporations no longer merely provide products or deliver a service. They are now tied to a myriad of social obligations including environmental consciousness, public health and safety, and charitable causes. This movement towards corporate "responsibility" is partly a product of public opinion that urges corporations to contribute more to society, but more importantly has resulted from the increased freedom and influence afforded through neoliberal ideologies that precede these public demands. As I will discuss in depth later, neoliberalism calls for a reduction in government to allow for corporations to operate under the rule of the free-market. As a result, the public now calls for corporations to address the inequalities that have been created through this shift, especially in the realm of social services, health issues, and international development.

Given BWB's emergence as a product of neoliberal globalization it is necessary to evaluate how the program actually proposes to achieve sustainable development.

Often development actors, like the NBA, fail to recognize and consider the historical and political roots that have contributed to underdevelopment. The world system of the colonial era must be accounted for to ensure that these conditions are not reproduced. The danger of course being that the reproduction of neocolonial ideologies and practices of imperialism and paternalism would merely serve to further underdevelopment rather than address it. With this in mind, it is necessary to question what role, if any, TNCs can play in development programs. While these corporations have a vast amount of wealth and resources that could be of use in development initiatives, the danger of corporate philanthropy is that these companies may use the development paradigm for their benefit. This may occur through the increased exposure they receive in new markets of the global South, as well as in the global North where they are labelled as compassionate and worthy of consumption. Moreover, the very idea of development through the interventionist policies of the global North is problematic in that it has largely failed to contribute to sustainable development, and in many cases has further underdeveloped countries of the global South.

The social responsibility initiatives that see corporate involvement as the path to curing social ills--locally and globally--are problematic in that many of the issues being addressed have, ironically, been exacerbated by TNCs. This is to say that neoliberal ideologies that have lessened the influence of governments and privatized social responsibility have had many adverse consequences. I am interested in the extent to which the philanthropic efforts that hold corporate involvement as the key to a cure for breast cancer, HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, or as a means to development in the global South depend on the erasure of more misanthropic practices. I hope to highlight,

that is, the discourses that allow TNCs to profit from breast cancer research donations, withhold anti-retroviral (ARVs) treatment in the global south, and enforce structural adjustment programs (SAP) and thus contribute to underdevelopment rather than development. Specifically, I am interested in the role that sport plays in these corporate philanthropic endeavours and how the intersection of sport and corporate social responsibility can (or cannot) contribute to sustainable development in the global South.

Research Questions

Within this context, my research is framed by the following questions:

- What historical social, economic, and political conditions enabled the creation of Basketball Without Borders?
- What are the symbolic and material consequences of the NBA entering nations of the global South for the purpose of promoting development through sport?
- In other words, how are neoliberal principles embedded in and promoted through Basketball Without Borders?

Rationale

A critical analysis of BWB serves as a launching point into numerous global political issues, including the values and practicality of sport for development programs. While international development has been explored in detail by a variety of scholars (see Everett, 1997; Kiely, 1999; Pieterse, 2000; Razack, 2005), sport for international development has only recently seen an increase in attention from those in the sociology of sport field (see Darnell, 2007; Giulianotti, 2004; Kidd, 2008; Kidd and Donnelly, 2000). Moreover, few projects in this area (save for Darnell, 2007) have addressed sport

for development from a critical perspective, as I do. Similarly, increasing trends in global corporate philanthropy have received little academic attention, save for the work of King (2006), and Richey and Ponte (2006). Although Richey and Ponte (2006) have also addressed corporate philanthropy and international development by examining the (RED) campaign, my thesis is unique in that it addresses the realm of sport. Given the proliferation of SDP programs and the political economic influence of the sport-industrial complex I believe that sport is an important site for analysis and critique having implications in politics, economics, and development.² My thesis thus brings the sport for development and corporate philanthropy literatures into conversation with each other: In so doing, it helps to bridge the gaps within and between these literatures

This thesis also has the potential to (re)conceptualize international development and sport for development projects from a critical perspective. It is my hope that my work will contribute to an emerging critique of sport for development and the evolving phenomenon of global corporate philanthropy so as to challenge hegemonies embedded in these endeavours. I believe that this work is useful to scholars in the field, as well as members of sport for development organizations, and the general public. Ultimately, it is my hope that this thesis will initiate critical thought and dialogue on exactly how sport can contribute--or not--to development initiatives. I also believe that this work will provide a launching point for future work that can address sport and development from the perspective of those in the global South, an undertaking that has yet to be pursued in the sociology of sport.

² The term “sport-industrial complex” is used to define the movement of large amounts of money into sport and the intersection of transnational media, international sport organization, and multinational sport apparel producers for the profit of league owners, TNCs, and professional and amateur leagues (Manzenreiter, 2007).

Methodology

This thesis is an historical and theoretical analysis of the emergence of corporatized sport for development and peace with a particular focus on the NBA's Basketball Without Borders program. To explore the symbolic and material consequences of sport for development and peace programs like BWB, I perform a critical discourse and textual analysis of the construction of BWB in popular media outlets and official documents from the NBA. To incorporate these diverse methodologies, my thesis is grounded in a cultural studies perspective. The interdisciplinary perspective of cultural studies is a fitting approach to investigate the broader ideological and political implications of sport for development and corporate philanthropy, as it allows for the incorporation of multiple theoretical and political positions (Nelson, Treichler, & Grossberg, 1992). Moreover, cultural studies provides a tool through which social relationships, individual and collective identities, and economic, political, and social linkages can be explored independently as well as in relation to one another, allowing for possibilities for social transformation (Johnson, Chambers, Raghuram, & Tinchnell, 2004).

Data collection and analysis. I collected sources dating from September 2001 to September 2008. My sources consist primarily of popular media articles and information gathered from the NBA's website. The media articles are drawn from both U.S. and international newspapers indexed in *Factiva*, *Ethnic NewsWatch*, and *Readers' Guide*. I also set up *Google Alerts* to bring attention to daily news results on the topic.

Once the sources were assembled, they were read, coded, and analyzed. Coding consisted of identifying key terms and recurring themes in the discourse. The results

were further categorized and analyzed within the theoretical framework of globalization, and scholarly literature on sport for development, sport and globalization, and corporate philanthropy.

Discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is widely used in cultural studies to understand different constructions of knowledge and social practice. As noted by Fairclough (1992), discourses do not merely reflect social entities and relations, but rather construct them. He writes: “any discursive event can be seen as simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4). He goes on to note that texts “simultaneously [represent] reality, [enact] social relations, and [establish] identities” and that hegemonies within organizations, institutions, and social practices are (re)produced, contested, and transformed in discourse (Fairclough, 1992, p. 8). Critical discourse analyses aim to explore underlying connections while opening opportunities for intervention. Analyzing the discourse surrounding BWB provides an opportunity to explore how the program produces and reproduces dichotomies interwoven in the program: global North and South, “white” and “black”, “knowers” and “known”, and so on, with the hope of evaluating the representations and repercussions of the program.

Although I aim to provide a balanced depiction of the discourse surrounding BWB, I focus more heavily on the dominant discourse. This is partly because of the nature of the sources that are available (predominantly from the NBA), the lack of sources that provide a voice to those in the global South, and time and fiscal constraints. While this may be viewed as a limitation, I seek to demonstrate that there is value in

studying the dominant discourse, with the hope of turning the gaze back on the dominant and examining how knowledges are (re)produced.

As King (2005) notes, the analysis of a sporting text does not constitute cultural studies unless it is “considered in terms of its competitive, reinforcing, and determining relations with other objects and forces” (p. 23). My work places the text of BWB in relation to the broader forces of globalization, sport for development, and neoliberal capitalism, by viewing the discourse and practices of BWB within these frameworks to explore how this program promotes or undermines dominant ideologies. Thus a critical discourse analysis of BWB allows for an exploration of many of the underlying structures that have allowed for the creation and proliferation of the program.

Chapter Outline

In what follows I present both an historical and discursive analysis of Basketball Without Borders to interrogate the emergence of sport for development and peace within a context of neoliberal globalization. These two analyses are divided amongst four chapters. In chapters two and three I provide the necessary context to investigate the emergence of corporatized sport for development and peace programs. In chapter two I present the theories of globalization in which my thesis is grounded and in chapter three I provide a review of the scholarly literature surrounding development and critiques of it. In chapters four and five I analyze the consequences of transnational corporations implementing sport for development and peace programs in the global South. Chapter four presents an historical analysis of the political and economic forces that have created the conditions for the emergence of corporate sport for development and peace. In chapter five I assess the symbolic and material consequences of BWB through a

discursive and textual analysis of the program. Finally, I provide an overview of my thesis, concluding arguments, and areas of future research in chapter six.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

In this chapter I present the theoretical framework in which this thesis is grounded. Embedded in Basketball Without Borders are complex political and economic forces that are a product of--and are proliferated through--neoliberal globalization. Globalization theories allow for the interrogation of the historical forces that have facilitated BWB's emergence and the symbolic and material consequences of its implementation. In what follows, I present a definition of neoliberal globalization and associated critiques. To reach a better understanding of the impact of Basketball Without Borders, I outline arguments concerning the decline of the nation state and world systems theory to describe how such forces have had--and continue to have--a profound influence on the relationship between the global North and global South. Finally, to set the framework for the implications of Basketball Without Borders at a local and global level, I present competing theories about the cultural effects of neoliberal globalization.

Definition of neoliberal globalization

Despite its common use in academia and popular culture, to define globalization is a complex and contentious endeavour. This complexity is central to the nature of globalization itself: while its effects are visible everywhere, it remains amorphous and intangible. I find the description of Foster (2008) to be appropriate for the purposes of this work. In Foster's words, globalization is "understood to indicate the circulation of people, money, images, and ideas across the planet along multiple paths that, although extensive, do not extend everywhere" (Foster, 2008, p. 17). I would also add that the processes and effects of globalization are occurring at a rate not previously seen in history. A world system has evolved in which many in the global North are able to

benefit from the circulation to which Foster speaks. But globalization unevenly distributes opportunities for, and encounters with, new cultural practices and commodities, effectively limiting access and benefits to those in the global South. It should also be noted, that globalization has an uneven impact on the poor, working class, and racialized communities in the global North. As such, globalization is profoundly implicated in the reproduction of global inequality (Foster, 2008, p. 17). Ultimately, globalization is driven by political economic forces in which markets of consumption--the penetration of markets by transnational corporations throughout the world that have previously gone un-tapped--and production--the export of manufacturing plants and jobs to the global South--are spreading throughout the world to the benefit of some and detriment of others. As we shall see, such trends are visible in Basketball Without Borders as the NBA has attempted to use the program to tap new markets in the global South. Such commercialism can be detrimental to nations of the global South, because it overshadows the developmental capacities of the program and reinforces hegemonic practices of the global North. To negotiate the waters of globalization, it is necessary to explore the expansion of neoliberal ideologies, and global capitalism.

The dispersion of neoliberal ideology that was largely taken up from the 1970s onwards has roots in the 1950s. Although the State remained influential during the 1950s and 1960s, neoliberal policies began to emerge and afford more weight to transnational financial institutions--predominantly the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and transnational corporations--during this time. Interestingly, this was the same period in which the 'Western' conception of development was set in motion by U.S. President Truman's 1945 inauguration speech, further illustrating how neoliberalism, globalization,

and development intersect. The movement towards neoliberalism was guided by the belief that the role of the state in economics and social services should be reduced to allow financial institutions and TNCs to be the driving force for major social and political decisions within a free-market (George, 1999). The central facets of neoliberalism include the rule of the market, cutting of social services, deregulation, and privatization, which are aimed at restructuring power relations into the hands of the elite, and allowing wealth to “trickledown” to the rest (Martinez & Garcia, 2000). These neoliberal ideologies are exported to the global South through structural adjustment programs which often require privatization of industries that were previously nationalized (water, for example), and cuts to health care, education, and other social services. An ironic and sad consequence of neoliberal globalization is that the free market capitalist ideologies it promotes encourage transnational corporations--corporations like the NBA--to enter these nations of the global South to fill the void in these sectors that have been created through the very same neoliberal philosophies. Although the NBA may believe in the worth and altruism of their efforts the conditions that have created the “need” for their involvement must be called into question.

Historically, capitalism has been a driving force of social change that has redefined power structures, means of production, and social relations. Through forces of globalization--the increasing ease of travel, communication, technological efficiency, and globalized media, for example--free-market neoliberalism as a catalyst to social change has itself become globalized. Commercialism and commodification--two hallmarks of capitalism--have been exported throughout the world, reaching new expansive markets through globalized media (e.g. television, the internet) over the past two decades. Brand

names like MTV, Nike, and the Chicago Bulls, for example, have become household names in many parts of the globe, competing with local cultures, and heralding materialism as the measure of wealth, success, and happiness. Anthony Giddens (1998) argues that branding is so pervasive that it has become a defining mark of this period in history. He writes, “the emergence of modernity is first of all the creation of a modern economic order, that is, a capitalist economic order” (Giddens & Pierson, 1998). A look at the practices and mediums which allow for the near-instantaneous movement of ideologies, commodities, and images across international boundaries help explain the proliferation of capitalism globally. The terms “distanciation” and “disembedding” describe the fluid, changing relationship between the global and the local. Time-space distanciation refers to the movement of social relations across time and space, so that commodities, information, and ideologies can be shared quickly and across a vast geographical landscape. Disembedding refers to “mechanisms that... lift out social relations from localized contexts of interaction and... restructure them across indefinite span of time-space” (Foster, 2008, p. 19). The movement of these mechanisms between the global North and South does not occur equally: The nature of distanciation and disembedding is often unequal, producing inequalities that will be discussed further in the next section.

Critiques of neoliberal globalization

Theories of globalization hold two central facets: the expansion of a capitalist world economy, and the spread of cultural beliefs, practices, and commodities throughout the world. Despite the potential benefits that an exposure to global products and ideas can bring, globalization can hold equally damaging components. Investment in the global

South by the global North through the governance of the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, have widely (although not exclusively) proven to be beneficial for corporations and governments of the North, and of detriment to those in the South. Ultimately neoliberal globalization has contributed to the expansion (in reach and influence) of TNCs, exacerbated global inequality, and has spurred conflict within and between countries. Reduced global trade barriers allow for owners of capital (i.e. transnational corporations) to take their resources where they are most in demand. The movement of neoliberal economic policies to the global South contributes to the transformation and destruction of political measures aimed at challenging this free market ideology including collectives defending worker's rights, work groups, and the nation state (Rodrik, 2004).

Meanwhile, groups with restricted mobility--often unskilled and semiskilled workers--are disadvantaged and subject to poor working conditions or job loss (Rodrik, 2004). The fact that globalization has made the supply of workers more elastic undermines the social ties between workers and employers, causing workers to incur a larger share of the cost of improvement in work conditions, greater instability in earnings and hours worked, and the erosion of their bargaining power (Rodrik, 2004). The visible effects of globalized neoliberal economics include rampant poverty and subsequent ill-health of (increasingly) marginalized populations, and growing disparities in incomes locally and globally. The non-governmental organization Oxfam, has seen how the current economic policies have failed in achieving poverty reduction in much of the developing world, and in reality, current patterns of growth are reinforcing, rather than reducing, existing inequalities in income (Oxfam, 2004).

Transnational corporations have unequal access to the benefits of trade liberalization, while those of lower socioeconomic standing--predominantly in the global South--lack access to land, credit, good health, or infrastructure, often as a result of neoliberal development policies (Foster, 2008). When opportunities do arise through globalized processes they often do so through the purveyance of the global North or transnational corporations which have mixed motives. This is seen in *Basketball Without Borders*, as the campers receive the attention and aid of the NBA because they are part of the broader commercial ambitions of the league in the global South.

Inequalities within and between nations can also foster social and political conflict (Rodrik, 2004). In his paper "Globalism's Discontents", Joseph Stiglitz (2004) compares the economic development of countries that have managed their own economies, to those that have had it managed by the IMF and other international financial institutions. He argues that the countries that managed globalization on their own, such as those in East Asia, have largely benefitted economically, whereas those who have had their economies managed for them have not prospered. The capitalist market "fundamentalism" that these institutions have pushed upon developing countries has not only undermined emerging democracies, but also widened the gap between the center and periphery, economically and technologically (Stiglitz, 2004). The liberalization of financial markets in the periphery has left these countries open to rapid influx in investment, followed by rapid divestment market conditions change, leaving economic devastation. The proliferation of corporate led neoliberal ideals has highlighted and perpetuated many of the inequalities between the global North and South, ultimately placing more power in the hands of

TNCs and global financial institutions while compromising the autonomy, and power of the nation state.

Decline of the nation state

Neoliberal ideologies are heralded as a means to encourage international investment so as to increase the global South's participation in the global economy, and thus promote development. However, this trend has been led by economic policies that have largely benefitted transnational corporations at the expense of local governments and peoples. As a result, older patterns of nation-to-nation linkages have begun to lose their influence both economically and politically. This is a result of the influence that has been afforded transnational corporations over disenfranchised workforces, underdeveloped economies, and loose international labour laws. These factors, in conjunction with the onslaught of western images and popular culture through global media have challenged the ability of local governments to resist these globalized forces (Ohmae, 2004).

Moreover, as the means of production have been exported to the global South, it is often difficult to identify the roots of production and consumption of a product to any particular country: products are both produced and consumed globally. As Rist (2002) notes, globalization has allowed transnational corporations to "break loose from their nations-state of origin, by means of relocation or cross-frontier mergers and acquisitions" (p.224). This has been termed "production fetishism" which is defined as "an illusion created by contemporary transnational production loci that masks translocal capital, transnational earning flows, global management and often faraway workers in the idiom of spectacle of local control, national productivity, and territorial sovereignty"

(Appadurai, 2004, p. 107). Thus, TNCs are able to invest where profits are highest, often in areas where labour regulations are weakest, and have a pronounced effect on the economies of nations in the global North and South.

Furthermore, attempts by local governments and peoples to reclaim these productive and consumptive patterns at a national level through economic sovereignty, often results in the opposite effect. Ohmae (2004) argues “reflexive twinges of sovereignty make the desired economic success impossible, because the global economy punishes twinging countries by diverting investment and information elsewhere” (p. 214). Thus it would seem that those who are subjected to these neoliberal development practices are exposed to harsh and often detrimental policies of economic growth, while those who resist are disadvantaged by exclusion from foreign trade.

Such global forces have led to an economically, and arguably culturally, deterritorialized world. Deterritorialization brings “labouring populations into the lower-class sectors and spaces of relatively wealthy societies, while sometimes creating exaggerated and intensified sense of criticism or attachment to politics in the home state” (Appadurai, 2004, p. 105). Global economic forces that create such deterritorialization (including structural adjustment programs, low tariffs, and other economic policies geared towards opening economies for foreign trade) allow for finances, commodities, and people to move more freely throughout the world. Nations are forced to avail themselves to such policies by “forces of media, technology and travel that have fuelled consumerism throughout the world and have increased the craving, even in the non-Western world, for new commodities and spectacles” (Appadurai, 2004, p. 106). Globalization erodes political power by following the flow of the market, and, as noted

by Rist (2002), “worsens the lot of workers-consumers by making their possibilities (or conditions) of employment dependent upon criteria of the ‘virtual economy’” (p.224).

Although the nature of the discourse surrounding BWB prevents an understanding of how the governments of South Africa, Argentina, or China, conceptualize sport for development, I think it is safe to assume that the NBA has little trouble entering these nations to implement the program. If there is indeed resistance to BWB, it is unlikely to come from these governments as the program emerged through the neoliberal policies that participation in the global political economy requires.

Ultimately, globalization is seen to threaten the power and influence of the state. The social responsibilities of the state have been lessened, serving to widen the gap not only between economically rich and poor countries but also within them (Rist, 2002). It must be noted however, that there is a strong argument to be made that the nation state is not in fact in decline, but rather that the nature of the state is changing due to exposure to these new transnational forces. Similar to the cultural pluralism theory that will be presented later, this view subscribes to the belief that while the characteristics of the nation state are changing, the ultimate power of the state will not disappear.

World systems theory

The neoliberal policies that have been promoted through globalization have an overall negative effect on countries in the global South, while broadly benefiting those in the global North. This is complicated however, by the fact that there is an increasing disparity in socioeconomic classes within, as well as between nations. Although the nature of the relationship between the global North and global South is hotly contested academically and politically, the theory that has received the most attention is Immanuel

Wallerstein's "world systems theory." In Wallerstein's view, the current world system is marked by a global unity under a single division of labour and multiple cultural systems (Wallerstein, 2004, p. 63). World systems can be seen as a world empire, with a common political system (historically unstable structures), or a world economic system without a common political system (as is the current global order) (Wallerstein, 2004, p. 63). In this view, the current system of commerce and communication has resulted in political, economic, and social networks across the globe that do not operate on equal ground.

Wallerstein (2004) argues that the world is comprised of four interdependent sectors whose positions in the global capitalist economy have been determined through colonial histories and economic wealth. These sectors include the "core" (comprised of Northwest Europe, North America, and Japan), the "semi-periphery" (including Eastern Europe, North Africa and parts of Asia), and the "periphery" (most of Africa, parts of Asia, and the Indian subcontinent) (Darby, 2001, p. 234). Despite the assertions of its proponents, the spread of a capitalist ideology, and ultimately globalization, has failed to integrate underdeveloped nations into the international economic order that would encourage development, as many of the nations in the semi-periphery and periphery remain export-oriented and dependent on the global North. Although Wallerstein's world systems theory may be seen as oversimplified, I find it useful for the purposes of this thesis to describe the relationships between the global North and South.

In Wallerstein's view, attempts at international development have exacerbated the inequities between the global North and South and resulted in systematic underdevelopment. The resultant "development of underdevelopment" in which the economic structure of the global South is not an earlier stage in the "transition" to

industrialization as transnational financial institutions claim, but rather the result of being involved in the world-economy as a peripheral, raw material-producing area. Essentially, underdevelopment is seen as a product of global capitalism that is dependent on production and consumption classes where nations of the global South become primarily export economies (Wallerstein, 2004, p. 64). As I will argue, the symbolic consequences of BWB serve to construct nations of the global South as material-producing areas--in terms of athletic resources--that can be utilized by the NBA. Such constructions exemplify the development of underdevelopment that has exacerbated global inequality and contributed to job insecurities, social unrest, and economic disparities.

Homogenization theory

By bringing about exposure to new thoughts and commodities, globalization holds implications for the sovereignty of nation-states, and raises questions about how these forces may contribute to cultural imperialism or cultural hybridity. The central feature of theories of cultural homogenization typically associate globalizing media with the spread of American beliefs, practices, and goods, a process referred to as “Americanization”. Some scholars, including Edward Said (1994), believe that Americanization is part and parcel of American imperialist ideology, in which the United States--and TNCs--seek to penetrate global markets to promote and sell Americanized products be they Nike, MTV, McDonald’s, or the NBA. Although this observation seemingly contradicts the argument about the decline of the nation state, the point must be stressed that this trend is not necessarily led by the United States, but rather is reflective of the culture and economic power of the global North (and its most culturally

and economically affluent nation, the United States) through globalizing/globalized practices and mediums.

Americanization is synonymous with what Jonathan Friedman has called “strong globalization” to which he attributes the production of similar kinds of subjects across the globe, who interpret globalized objects and images in the same manner (Friedman, 1995). Friedman argues that this form of strong globalization incites alarm among people who see it as the creation of a global monoculture at the expense of indigenous and deeply-rooted historical cultures. An apt example of this, presented here by well-known environmentalist David Suzuki:

You go to the deepest parts of Papua New Guinea or Africa or South America, the kids are rocking around in Adidas shorts, they’re wearing Nike running shoes, they’re listening to Madonna on their Sony transistors and they’re drinking Coca-Cola. We’re monoculturing the planet...Even the diversity that exists between Holland and Germany and France and England and Canada – those differences are being over-ridden by the global culture. (Foster, 2008, p. 6)

In this view, the homogenizing force of an Americanized global monoculture is conveyed through the “consumption of universally branded commodities”, Nike and Coca-Cola being fitting examples of universally recognizable, and available commodities (Foster, 2008, p. 6).

As I will show, BWB is a tool through which the NBA is attempting to universalize its brand name in global markets and which contributes to Americanization. NBA commissioner David Stern has attempted to take advantage of more liberalized international markets to promote his product (the game itself, NBA players, and related

products such as jerseys, shoes, and video-games) through globalized media to increase the consumer base of the NBA. The growing popularity of basketball internationally holds consequences both locally and globally. The spread of the corporatized version of basketball, conventionally a North American game, is emblematic not only of the expansion of markets globally, but also of (North) American culture embedded in the game and the NBA itself. This is to say that BWB is promoting neoliberal and capitalist ideologies and American culture through the game of basketball through its market penetration, product promotion, and competition. This Americanization occurs implicitly through an exposure to people (the players, coaches, broadcasters and so forth), as well as to the culture of the game promoted during telecast on major overseas networks (Agnew, 2005). BWB reinforces American images and ideologies as characterized by the American NBA players who serve as camp leaders and the American corporations (such as Nike, McDonald's, and the NBA itself) that are prominent in the camps (Falcous & Maguire, 2005).

However, Americanization theories are problematic in their failure to afford agency to those in the global South. Theories of cultural homogenization provide little insight into how American cultural products and values may be taken up differently in varying localities. Although homogenization theories certainly have merit, the complexities of globalization do not allow for an easy description of its intricacies. While some areas may experience culture loss, others may confront, reject, or change for the better as a result of such exposure. Globalized neoliberalism is far too complex to be understood through one, rather homogenizing, theoretical lens.

Hybridity /cultural pluralism

Appadurai (2004) argues that the central problem of globalization theory is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural hybridity perspectives. He suggests that the homogenization argument gets reduced to Americanization, with a failure to recognize how information, images, and practices can become indigenized. He argues that the new global cultural economy is a “complex, overlapping disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models,” and is thus far too complex to be explained by unilateral homogenization theories (Appadurai, 2004, p. 102). Moreover cultural homogenization theories are seen as weak in this view for their depiction of the “rest as victims of the west” and denial of agency to non-western peoples (Foster, 2008, p. 8). The imperialist view of cultural homogenization sees the West as the source of knowledge, power, and righteousness, that is free, if not responsible, to deliver expertise to the global South. As argued by Said (1994): “In this view, the outlying regions of the world have no life, history, or culture to speak of, no independence or integrity worth representing without the West” (p. xix).

Many scholars have argued that the problems with theories of cultural homogenization are rooted in the cultural relationships between the global North and global South. Their arguments highlight the agency of the periphery and the ability of localities to resist, transform, or adopt elements of foreign cultures. Globalization allows for the movement of ideologies, products and practices and, as such, cultures of the global South are also exported and incorporated in the global North. Hannerz (2004) argues that the relationship of popular culture, or culture generally, in the center/periphery dichotomy is complex and cannot be reduced to the global South having a passive role in cultural construction. Rather, globalization can provide access to a wider

cultural inventory with new resources of technology to be integrated, adopted, or rejected (Hannerz, 2004). An influx of images, commodities, and ideologies do not enter a vacuum but pre-existing cultural formations and as such, center/periphery relationships in culture are not a mere reflection of political and economic power (Hannerz, 2004).

“Weak globalization” is presented as a response to theories of strong globalization that are associated with homogenization. In this view localities assimilate the global into their own practices and meanings. Rather than a static collection of beliefs and practices, this vision sees culture as a constantly changing historical and social process to which globalization poses little threat (Foster, 2008, p. 6). Such a cultural pluralist approach to globalization addresses many of the weaknesses of homogeneity theories by affording more agency to individuals rather than intangible forces of globalization in both the periphery and center. Here people are viewed as being just as active as any other economic agent in assessing, accepting, or rejecting products/ideas. Weak globalization allows for interactions between people simultaneously producing and consuming goods, images, ideas in different localities. In illustrating this, Foster (2008) notes:

The product, understood as a sequence of transformation or as a process of qualification and requalification links consumers into the different networks coordinating all the agents involved in production, design etc – agents who must likely never encounter each other face-to-face or even know of each other’s existence in precise terms. (p. 7)

Commodities of foreign origin can become assimilated to a new social setting; these products may not even be seen as foreign or out of place (Foster, 2008, p. 18). Thus a cultural pluralist position accounts for multi-lateral movement of cultural practices and

images. Rather than globalization as a synonym for Americanization, cultural pluralism sees a more equal movement in which the global North is subject to new goods, ideas, and images from the global South.

Thus the cultural pluralist perspective sees globalization as a reciprocal process where global dis-embedding and local re-embedding forces are in flux producing altered, hybrid cultures. Such hybrid processes have also been termed “glocalization”.

Glocalization involves “ongoing, calculated attempts to combine homogeneity with heterogeneity and universalism with particularism” and has been popularized by the mantra ‘think global, act local’ (Foster, 2008, p. 35). The NBA attempts to engage in glocalization through the marketing of their product locally and globally via the use of their athletes of various nationalities. For example, NBA players from economically developing nations such as Yao Ming (China), Manu Ginobili (Argentina), or Peja Stojakovic (Serbia) are used to promote products in the global North. Similar attempts are visible in BWB where NBA players like Luc Richard Mbah a Moute (Cameroon), once a BWB camper, market the program. This glocalization allows consumers to relate more readily to the product as a more profound connection is made when it is perceived as being local.

Although cultural pluralist perspectives provide a more inclusive definition that affords agency and power to persons that homogenization theory marginalizes, it too is not without weakness. Similar to the argument made previously concerning the political economy of globalization, cultural pluralism accounts for the agency of the consumer, yet not all people throughout the world have the ability to consume on the same level. On this account, Foster (2008) notes; “[cultural pluralism] risks obscuring the inequalities

among different economic agents bound together by product inequalities not necessarily in qualifying products, but in determining which products are available in the first place as well as when they are available to whom” (p. 8). Thus the argument that proposes globalization as the great equalizer in that it allows everyone access to the means of production and consumption is flawed in that it fails to see how globalization can exacerbate rather than address inequity. Although we are all affected by globalizing commodities, the extent to which we are affected is dependent upon global positioning and socioeconomic status.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented theories of globalization that set the framework for this thesis. Ultimately, neoliberal globalization is driven by transnational corporate capitalist forces in which the search for new markets--in terms of both production and consumption--implicated in the reproduction of global inequality. This inequality is produced through the uneven distribution of opportunities for and encounters with cultural practices and commodities. As we shall see, it is under these conditions that Basketball Without Borders has emerged as an “acceptable” development program. Globalization allows for the spread of ideologies, commodities, and cultural practices to an extent and at a speed not previously seen. While advocates of neoliberalism argue that globalization is beneficial for all as it brings forth opportunities for interaction and communication, there are more numerous examples of its detrimental capacity. Forces of globalization and neoliberalism have increased the reach and influence of TNCs, spurred conflict within and between nations, further marginalized populations in the global South (and increasingly the global North), and contributed to disparities in incomes locally and

globally. The underdevelopment of countries in the global South is a direct result of colonial histories that positions these nations as export-oriented and placed them on the periphery of the global economy. Regardless of whether globalization is seen as creating homogenous, heterogeneous, or hybrid cultures, what is important to note is the movement of information, images, and ideologies does not occur equally amongst those in the global North and South. This movement is occurring in favour of those in the North who control a much greater proportion of the power in the globalized world as dictated by TNCs and global financial institutions. The development paradigm is tied to these theories of globalization, as integration of the global South into the international economic order has conventionally been seen as the marker of development.

Chapter 3: Review of Literature

Within the context of neoliberal globalization, the feasibility of corporatized sustainable development must be called into question. More precisely, given the increasing reach and influence that transnational corporations have been afforded, and given their adoption of “socially responsible” agendas in the global South, the question becomes what kind of development is being advocated? An analysis of *Basketball Without Borders* allows for a critique of the phenomenon of international development generally, and corporate-based sport for development programs in particular. Of late, corporate development programs operating in the global South with a philanthropic or charitable outlook have received increased attention in academia, yet this attention has largely not been translated to the general public, where popular representations of such programs remain largely unquestioned. Development aid, regardless of the form it takes, is often unquestioned and seen as beneficial amongst the North American public: little critical analysis is paid to the effectiveness of these programs. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, how these programs are taken up by the recipients of this aid may be overlooked or ignored all together. These issues are exemplified in *BWB* where superficial arguments about the benefits of the program are made, and the voices of those in the global South are limited. With the proliferation of these development practices, and their increasing corporatization, it is necessary to fully consider the breadth of implications that these programs hold.

In this chapter, I explore theories of development to understand how international aid initiatives operate. I apply these theories to sport for development and peace to evaluate the role that sport can play in such development initiatives, as well as the

shortcomings that they may hold. I consider how development programs in general, and sport for development in particular, can serve to reinforce racialized and neocolonial ideologies regarding the positioning of bodies in different locations. To explore these themes, this chapter is divided into three subsections. First, a brief history of development is presented. Second, critiques of the ideology of development are discussed, including “dependent underdevelopment theory”, and “post-development”. Third, how development can reflect practices and ideologies of neo-colonialism and imperialism are explored.

A brief history of development

Development has historically taken many forms: from the “development” of the colonial production-based cash crops of the global South (roughly from the 15th to 20th centuries), to the Marshall plan for the economic development of Europe after the Second World War, to the attempted integration of much of Asia, South America, and parts of Africa into the global economy in the current era of development aid. While these forms of development had differing political and economic motivations, a central theme has been the global North’s assumed benevolence and the global South’s dependence upon it. In this section, a definition and history of development will be presented followed by critiques and responses to these endeavours, including theories of “dependent underdevelopment”; “dependent development”; and “dependency reversal”.

The history of international development is complex and contentious. Central to the complexities of development are myriad organizations invested in development (the “development administration”) that make it difficult to come to an understanding of how development is manifested. This group includes, but is not limited to: the World Bank;

the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF); the Food and Agriculture Organization; the World Health Organization; the United Nations Educational, the Scientific and Cultural Organization , and the International Labour Organization. Moreover, those in both the global North and South that work for government development ministries and those who work and volunteer for the thousands of NGO's committed to development also comprise this group (Rist, 2002, p.256). To address these contingencies I find Gilbert Rist's rather complicated definition of development to be appropriate. Rist (2002) defines development as:

... a set of practices, sometimes appearing to conflict with one another, which require – for the reproduction of society – the general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations. Its aim is to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) geared, by way of exchange, to effective demand. (p.13)

Fittingly for the complexities of development, this definition needs to be unpacked. By the “reproduction of society” Rist is drawing on world systems theory to allude to how development practices reproduce this system by “expanding the area within its grasp” (Rist, 2002, p.13). The “transformation and destruction of the natural environment and social relations” illustrates the industrialization, commodification, and privatization of natural resources that are converted into product for sale or export (ore into steel, oil into exhaust gas, or trees into paper for example) and the ways in which this changes social relations through, for example, the creation of wage-labour (Rist, 2002, p.14). Finally, “to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) geared to effective demand,” refers to the promotion of production and progress as the be-all and end-all of

development. Here, most development practices hold increased production and economic growth as the true marker of development and the creation of disposable income that can be used to buy more products. As Rist (2002) notes “people produce in order to sell, and they sell so that they can buy something else” (p.17).

Although ‘development’ ideology had existed for centuries, especially in the Western mindset, the contemporary understanding of development that marked a break from colonial linkages towards a new era of “compassionate development” can be traced to January 20th, 1949 (Esteva, 1992). On this day, in the fourth point of his inauguration speech, U.S. President Harry Truman, called for a new worldview where the global South would follow in the footsteps of the U.S., down a path of industrialization, and into a new world of global capitalism, materialism, and consumerism. Truman stated:

We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advance and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. The old Imperialism – exploited for foreign profit – has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing. (quoted in Esteva, 1992, p.6)

At the time of this speech, much of the world was recovering from the fallout of the Second World War and, in the wake of the breakdown of the European colonial powers, the emergence of the new development outlook trumpeted by Truman became tied to Cold War ideology. The discourse framed in “Point Four”--and as a result, much of the discourse of the time--changed the construction of the global South from colonial appendages to “underdeveloped” areas that required the aid of the North. Importantly, this change to development was rooted in a desire to simultaneously gain loyalty from

decolonizing countries and block their alliance with the Soviet Union (Sachs, 1992). The development of the global South would be achieved through industrialism under the supervision of the United States and transnational financial institutions, that, as Rist (2002) posits, would be final stage of social evolution for two billion people.

Prior to Truman's inauguration speech, "development" in the 19th and early 20th Centuries was tied to a political ethos in Europe of colonial domination: as Esteva (1992) notes, economization and colonization were synonymous. What Truman had succeeded in doing in his speech was to "free the economic sphere from the negative connotations it had accumulated for two centuries, delinking development from colonialism" (Esteva, 1992, p.17). Yet January 20, 1949 did not signal the dawn of development, but rather the reproduction of underdevelopment. The discursive construction of the global South shifted, so as to label the South as a "homogeneous, narrow minority" (Esteva, 1992, p.7). This minority was in need of intervention so as to reach the economic (and by association, intellectual and cultural) level of the global North, and served to (re)produce the hegemonic relationship between these two regions (Esteva, 1992). Moreover, the path to development at this time was believed to be solely through economic growth, where increasing the Gross National Production (GNP) of economically underdeveloped areas would lead to their incorporation into the global free market, and bring with it all the benefits of capitalism (Esteva, 1992). This belief in the necessity of economic growth as the sole determinant of development was problematic for numerous reasons: centrally, ignoring the social and human costs of development.

Despite this call for a new era of development, the six decades since Truman's speech have witnessed the reproduction of a system akin to that of the colonial era.

When little progress had been made in the decade since Point Four, a new United Nation's resolution, the *Proposal for Action of the First UN Development Decade* (1960-70), sought to focus not only on economic development, but change. This change was to include social, cultural, and economic practices that would be measured qualitatively as well as quantitatively: as the proposal concluded, "the key concept must be improved quality of people's life" (Esteva, 1992, p.13). Despite this new found optimism for development, throughout the 1960s development not only continued to leave many behind, but even *created* poverty across large areas of the globe through stagnation, marginality and actual exclusion from social and economic progress (Esteva, 1992, p. 13).

The 1970s, or the "Second Decade" of development, brought two proposals seeking a unified approach to development and planning, the *International Development Strategy*, and a simultaneous UN resolution. These proclamations included components designed to address all sectors of the population, foster national development and encourage grassroots participation, encourage social equity and equitable distribution of wealth in the nation, foster employment opportunities and to meet the needs of children (Esteva, 1992, p.13). However, yet again, the goals for unified development were not met. Disputes surrounding resources for allocation, and candidates for development contributed to significant problems during this time including, environmental degradation, famine, limited women's rights, poor habitat, and rampant employment (Esteva, 1992).

The next decade, the 1980s, is commonly referred to as the "lost decade" for development. As noted by Esteva (1992), despite progress from the four "Asian Tigers",

an “adjustment process” resulted in many countries “abandoning or dismantling, in the name of development, most of the previous achievements” (p.15). The 1990s brought about a new development philosophy with a movement toward undoing much of the damage of development in the North. The decade began on a note of hope; with the fall of the Soviet Union, it was possible to believe that a new era of development was at hand, void of Cold War politics, and characterized by the re-prioritization of the global South. With a decrease in military spending, massive funds could be mobilized for constructive, rather than destructive aims. The global South, might be able to take advantage of this “peace dividend” as the UNDP proposed (Rist, 2002, p.197). With this in mind, a team assembled by the UNDP Secretariat set out to elaborate on the concept of “human development”. The aims were twofold. First, to move away from development as measured by GNP, towards a new “human development indicator” (HDI) that combined three variable for each country: income, life expectancy, and level of education (and later, human liberty) (Rist, 2002, p.205). And second, to provide a means of monitoring the allocation of funds, both national budgets and official development assistance, to measure if these finances were really accomplishing what they set out to do (Rist, 2002, p.206). While strides were made towards ‘development’ during this time, few tangible advances were seen. Despite all the talk of the “global village” and the benefits of economic globalization, the gap between the rich and poor on a global scale continued to widen. As Rist (2002) argues, although Apartheid was abolished in the 1990s in South Africa, it was reborn on a global scale.

Now, in the 2000s, development has reached a new level in the political, corporate, and public realm. The decade began with much fanfare and renewed hope for

the possibilities of development on a multi-lateral, co-operative level. The United Nations adopted the “Millennium Declaration” in 2000, ratified by all members of the UN pledging to, “spare no effort to free our fellow, men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty”, echoing, perhaps ironically, the words of Truman 50 years prior (United Nations, 2008, p. 3). The Declaration outlined eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to be reached by the international community by 2015. The community was to: eradicate extreme poverty; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce childhood mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development.

While progress has been made over this past decade in areas of primary education, measles vaccination, antiretroviral therapy for AIDS, and curbing environmental degradation, the enthusiasm that rang in the decade faltered (United Nations, 2008). As UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon cautions, the road ahead has been made more challenging by the fact that the fact that the “benign development environment that has prevailed since the early years of this decade, and that has contributed to the successes to date, is now threatened” (United Nations, 2008, p. 3). The UN calls for “greater effort” towards many aspects of development needs, including: lowering the number of people living in Sub-Saharan Africa on less than a dollar per day; addressing the undernourishment of children living in developing nations; gender equality; improving maternal health; improving “slum conditions” of urban populations

in the global South; and a drop in foreign aid provided by the global North (United Nations, 2008, p. 4).

Thus, in the six decades since Truman's discursive construction of underdevelopment, the political (and physical) landscape of development has significantly transformed. What development actually entails is difficult to assess, yet it remains in the forefront of political and popular thought. In this development era two camps have emerged: those who believe in the power and practicality of development in its current construction, and those who question its worth. As Secretary-General Ki-moon reminds us, "...time has been lost. We have wasted opportunities and face additional challenges, making the task ahead more difficult. It is now our responsibility to make up lost ground – and to put all countries, together, firmly on track towards a more prosperous, sustainable, equitable world" (United Nations, 2008, p. 3). In this section I explore how BWB answers this call or is merely, as Sachs (1992) contends, is a reflection of the development discourse that allows for "any intervention to be sanctified in the name of a higher goal" (p.4).

Critiques of development/ alternative development theories

Before continuing, it is necessary to address critiques of, and alternatives to, theories of development. These theories have emerged in the wake of the limitations of dominant conceptions of development. Critiques of international development projects should not be seen as a wholesale condemnation of these initiatives as many have made positive contributions to societies and people in the global South, but rather an attempt to bring their shortcomings to light. In this section I present theories of dependent underdevelopment and post-development that have emerged as critiques of, and

alternatives to, development and theories. I also present a discussion of neocolonialism and imperialism to highlight the potentially harmful symbolic and material aspects of international development. With this in mind, the links between international development, imperialism, and neocolonialism can be explained.

Dependent underdevelopment theory. Dependent underdevelopment theory, proffered by Andre Gunder Frank, contends that the global North-dominated economic system, directly contributes, and in effect produces, underdevelopment in the global South. In this view, as long as current forms of exploitation exist, sustainable development is unrealistic (Darby, 2001). The usefulness of dependency theory is its ability to explain the links between developed and underdeveloped nations by illustrating how colonial powers (metropolises) and their dependents (satellites) are interconnected. First, the success of the metropolis “requires systematic draining of wealth from the satellites”. Second, “the satellite experiences its greatest depredation or growth in direct proportion to the presence or absence of the metropolis” (Klein A. M., 2007, p. 296). Frank (1991) argues that underdevelopment does not result from a lack of development--as there was no underdevelopment before development--but rather sees dependence on metropolises as the flip side of development within a world capitalist system: development in the core requires underdevelopment in the periphery. Moreover, he suggests that underdevelopment will persist as long as satellite nations continue to participate in the capitalist world system, and concludes that the road towards non-dependent development can only occur through a de-linking from this system and a transition to a “self-reliant socialism internally, or some undefined international socialist cooperation” (Frank, 1991, p. 28)

To take a sporting example, Klein (2007) shows how Major League Baseball (MLB) academies are emblematic of this dependent underdevelopment. In nations of the economic periphery like the Dominican Republic, MLB teams have established baseball academies, where teenage athletes moved from their homes to live in these academies where they are scouted for their potential to be drafted by Major League Teams. These players are paid monthly for their work, and can live in the camps for up to four years, after which they are signed or released (players cannot be signed before the age of 13) (Klein, 2007). Many see these camps as helpful and almost charitable. However, in an attempt to develop the professional North American game, the MLB--like other multinationals--is underdeveloping the local game. This is done through the removal of the best players from the local game, and by extension the local economy, as these athletes do not participate in other forms of work when at these academies. Not only do such practices support American interests by increasing access to new markets but also, on a cultural level, by “softening the hostile responses of Dominicans to American political and economic domination of their country” (p. 897). In conditions of extreme poverty the camps appear to provide a vehicle for youth to attain financial success, health and wellbeing, by providing youth with resources--such as nutritional meals--that they would otherwise be unlikely to receive. As Klein (2007) notes “while serving to reproduce US control, baseball takes on the appearance of a benevolent, even helpful, cultural institution” (p. 897).

As dependent underdevelopment has attempted to explain how the “causes, nature and manifestations” of dependency are explained, two other theories of dependency have taken divergent approaches (Darby, 2001, p.236). The theories of dependent

development and dependency reversal are more recent perspectives that have arisen in an effort to account for development in some areas of the global South. Dependent development holds a more optimistic stance on international development than dependent underdevelopment by taking into account the limited economic and social growth in some countries of the global South. However, this approach also sees the current construction of development as dependent upon ties to the global North. Meanwhile dependency reversal theory (building upon dependent underdevelopment, and arguably a pre-cursor to post-development theory) suggests that some countries of the global South could achieve development by escaping the dependency relationship, but fails to provide adequate examples of how this can occur (Darby, 2001, p. 236).

Post-development. Building on these alternative development theories, more radical theories have emerged as alternatives: these theories are categorized as “post-development”. Elaborating on Frank’s view of de-linking from the world capitalist order, post-development approaches argue that developing nations are unable to participate equally in the global economy because their exports are based primarily on the needs of the global North: markets, cheap labour, and raw materials. Post-development proponents, like Kiely (1999), associate development with a Eurocentric form of cultural imperialism: a vision that relegates development projects to “arrogant interventionism” in which difference is conflated with backwardness (Kiely, 1999, p. 34). Moreover, not only have development projects served to benefit those in the global North, but they have systematically harmed, rather than aided, those in the global South. Kiely (1999) writes:

The discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression, the

debt crisis, the Sahelian famine, increasing poverty, malnutrition, and violence are only the most pathetic signs of the failure of forty years of development. (p. 34)

Margaret Everett (1997) concurs with Kiely's view, but goes further to argue that underdevelopment has not been an unforeseen consequence of development projects but rather a well understood and supported outcome by those in the global North. She argues that development projects fail to eradicate poverty even before they are implemented, as the conditions upon which aid is based reinforce the structures of inequality that were responsible for poverty in the first place (Everett, 1997). Thus the argument is one of conscious underdevelopment of the global South for the profit of the global North. This notion further reflects colonial legacies, in which the entire economies of countries in the global South were geared towards producing economic prosperity in the global North. The extent to which development projects reproduce these colonial systems is exemplified by Western governments and TNCs that seek to develop markets that will aid them economically. These sentiments are reflected in the work of Richard Giulianotti (2004) when he notes that development in general, and especially sport for development, hold market expansion and profits above other forms of social development. He writes that development involves simply "aspiring to the Western model of consumption, the magical power of the white man" essentially calling development a neocolonial interventionist strategy (p. 361). Although post-development has attempted to afford more agency to people in the global South, they too have been accused of "reverse Orientalism" which "turns all people from non-western cultures into a generalized 'subaltern' that is then used to flog an equally generalized 'West'" (Kiely, 1999, p. 47).

Some have argued that sport for development and peace hold elements of post-development in they take a divergent approach to development that is seemingly more holistic and equitable. However, as seen in BWB, sport for development programs can also be divisive and driven by capitalist and consumptive motives. In this vein, many SDP programs often devolve into paternalistic discourses of responsibility and accountability, and are framed within Western ideologies. As Simon Darnell (2007) argues, sport for development projects operate within two discursive frameworks: “[t]hat of sport and play as universal and integrative social practices, and that of international development as the benevolent deliverance of aid, goods and expertise from northern, ‘First World’ to the southern, ‘Third World’” (Darnell, 2007, p. 561). These two discursive constructions effectively frame SDP initiatives from the perspective of the global North. SDP programs can contribute to this othering and paternalism by holding “western” sport as universal and inclusive and experts from the global North as the holders of knowledge to be bestowed upon the passive, acceptant, appreciative Global South.

Post-development ideologies go as far as rejecting the idea of development all together. Some scholars, including Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2000) have rejected the idea of international development in general because it imposes Western views on those in the global South, contributes to environmental degradation and cultural homogenization, and has yet to be proven successful (p. 175). From this perspective, development is seen as reinforcing the hegemony of the global North because international development projects, including those focused on sport, often define non-Western people as

underdeveloped and in need of aid that can only be provided by the West (Everett, 1997, p. 137).

Neocolonialism/imperialism

The similarities in the management paradigm of international development and that of the colonial era are pronounced. The extent to which sporting initiatives operate from a position of Western superiority and whiteness and participate in modalities of neocolonialism requires analysis. This is reflected in the work of Klein (2007), who writes “the role of American sport in the Third World cultures offers us a particularly interesting view of the processes of culture change and neocolonialism” (p. 897). In this section, a review of the literature of neocolonialism is used to explore how globalized sporting leagues, events, and development projects (re)produce the hegemony of the global North.

Development aid often holds those in the global North as the possessors of knowledge and power, while marginalizing and patronizing those in the global South. As noted by Simon Darnell (2007) “the commitment to global justice and equality that characterizes the progressive nature of the development mandate is complicated by a professional hegemony based on racialized and spatialized notions of superiority” (p. 562). The discourse of development that frames such endeavours as the imagined benevolent deliverance of aid is similar to the benevolence of colonialism in which exploitation and oppression were justified because of “immaturities and incapacities of non-whites” (Darnell, 2007, p. 562). The idea of international development is predicated on the recognition, yet simultaneous dismissal of the historical roots of underdevelopment as colonial legacies are often left out of development ideologies. This

serves to reinforce the passivity or inferiority of racial others and reaffirm wealth and privilege as characteristics of whiteness (Darnell, 2007).

Development projects not only reflect and (re)produce the hegemony of the global North but often construct stereotyped and passive images of those in the global South. Development projects frequently speak for, and presume to understand the experiences of the recipients of aid, which may serve to remove their voice, constructing a “depoliticized, dehistoricized ‘native’ who is seemingly grateful for material means that provide respite from his/her marginalization” (Darnell, 2007, p. 570). The recipients of aid are labelled as appreciative since they do not, or seemingly cannot, question the historical, and geo-political order that produced the conditions that development was designed to improve (Darnell, 2007).

As many TNCs are attempting to “develop” the markets of the global South and spread a consumer-capitalist ideology, these groups have been accused of imperialist ambitions both economically and culturally. In the words of Said (1994), such imperialist ideologies hold the “source of the world’s significant action and life in the West, whose representatives seem at liberty to visit their fantasies and philanthropies upon a mind-deadened Third World” (p. xviii). Said argues that we are in an era of modern imperialism in which the “overlapping experience for Westerners and Orientals, the interdependence of cultural terrains in which colonizers and colonized co-existed and battled each other through projections as well as rival geographies, narratives, and histories, is...essential about the world in the past century” (Said, 1994, p. xx). This global governance has privileged those in the West where western culture is projected

upon the periphery and is ever-present through expansion, administration, investment and commitment.

As previously argued, the most adverse effects of globalization in the global South have arisen from the liberalization of financial and capital markets through the policies of international financial institutions like the IMF. This neoliberal ideology, in conjunction with other development policies such as structural adjustment programs, have not only failed to provide adequate aid and development, but are wrapped in discourses and ideologies of paternalism, imperialism, and neocolonialism (Stiglitz, 2004). The IMF often speaks of the importance of the “discipline” provided by capital markets, insinuating that those in the periphery are incapable of managing their own economies because of a lack of discipline, laziness, or incompetence. Joseph Stiglitz (2004) has called attention to the paternalism of these transnational institutions, who exhibit a new form of the old colonial mentality; “we in the establishment, we in the North who run our capital markets, know best. Do what we tell you to do and you will prosper” (p. 202). Similar to Said’s (1994) remarks on overseas rule, Stiglitz highlights the dangers of what he sees as “global governance without global government” (Stiglitz, 2004, p. 202). He sees neoliberal globalization as problematic in that TNCs and global financial institutions are often not accountable to anyone but themselves. On this, Stiglitz remarks “international institutions like the WTO, the IMF, the WB, and others provide an ad hoc system of global governance, but it is a far cry from global government and lack democratic accountability” (p. 204).

Robert Foster (2008) expands upon this point by arguing that the emergence of corporate citizenship implies that corporations can play the role of citizen or government. Not only would they have rights and obligations similar to any other citizen, but also the entitlement to administer and guarantee these rights, thus making them less like citizens, and more like states (Foster, p. 164). He argues that corporations, like the Coca-Cola company, that operate both globally and locally become “integral parts of a transnational apparatus of governmentality” (p. 164). So the argument goes, globalization has not only allowed an ease of trade, importing of goods to the center, and outsourcing of labour to the periphery, but also the outsourcing of governmentality through the co-optation of state functions by NGOs, the UN, and importantly, transnational corporations. The influence of corporations in both the global North and global South should not be underestimated, in an age where 51 of the world’s 100 largest economies are corporations, the power of local governments is diminished to such an extent that “corporations wield tremendous influence over nearly every element of your existence” (Foster, 2008, p. 187).

Similarly, Darby (2001) argues that the diffusion of football to Africa reflects aspects of imperialism and neocolonialism. He notes that the expropriation of football migrants from Africa to Europe by wealthy European clubs can be seen as an extension of “the economic imperialism of the post-colonial period during which first world development has been sustained by exploitation of other parts of the world” (Darby, 2001, p. 235). Thus the hegemony of the global North allowing for the exploitation of those in the global South continues unabated and is akin to broader neocolonial exploitation. Darby (2001) argues:

After the flight of brains Africa is confronted with the muscle exodus. The rich countries import the raw material – talent and they often send to the continent their less valuable technicians. The inequality of the exchange terms is indisputable. It creates a situation of dependence...The elite of African football is out of the continent, hence the pauperisation of some clubs and whose evil effect is the net decrease of the game quality and of the most of the national championships. Prestigious clubs are regularly deprived of their best elements and even the juniors cannot escape the veracity of the recruiting agents, who profit from the venality of their leaders. (p. 236)

This neocolonial exchange is not only apparent in soccer. Klein (2007) calls the baseball academies in the global South, MLB's "counterpart to colonial outposts", noting "it is the physical embodiment of the franchise overseas operating more or less in the same capacity as a plantation: locating resources (talent) and refining them (training) for consumption abroad" (p. 905). Neoliberal globalization has allowed not only for the spread of a global capitalist order in which those in the global North benefit unequally in the movement of images, ideologies, and practices, but has also served to create a neocolonial, imperialist order in which the resources of the global South are exploited for their *consumption* in the global north, increasingly through the use of sport.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided an overview of theories of international development in order to establish how Basketball Without Borders articulates, or not, with understandings of how international development programs operate from the perspective of the international community. Through this review of literature, I have

examined how sport for development programs provides opportunities to push forward the development agenda as well as the detriments of corporate sport for development.

As I have shown, the idea of development has a long and contentious history. While approaches to development have taken many forms, and have increasingly incorporated more holistic approaches, capitalist economic development remains a common theme throughout the history of development. As discussed in the previous chapter, the ideology of development and neoliberal globalization are inextricably linked. As globalization is led by--and is arguably most advantageous to--transnational corporations and financial institutions (e.g. the World Bank and International Monetary Fund), so too is development. Neoliberal economic policies as implemented through structural adjustment programs pervade development programs. Despite the changes that have been made in some countries of the global South--including primary education, disease control, vaccinations, the provision of pharmaceuticals for HIV/AIDS, curbing of environmental degradation, and the advancement and protection of rights of marginalized people--development from the global North remains fraught with contradictions, and limitations.

Critiques of development have attempted to bring some of the harmful aspects of development to light. Theories of dependent underdevelopment, dependent development, dependency reversal, and post-development take the approach that the very idea of neoliberal capitalism rests upon global inequality. As such, global North-dominated development directly contributes to, and in fact produces underdevelopment. Thus, the current construction of development serves to reproduce global inequality not only through the exacerbation of economic issues, but also through the construction of neo-

colonial ideologies and practices. Development projects often reflect and (re)produce the hegemony and imperialism of the global North by constructing a stereotypical and historically rooted image of those in the global South as the passive recipients of aid. This simultaneously constructs those in the benevolent global North as the possessors of knowledge and wealth to be bestowed upon an appreciative global South.

In the previous two chapters I have attempted to establish the historical, economic, and political context that has allowed for a corporate sport for development program like Basketball Without Border to emerge. The program is emblematic of the forces of neoliberal globalization that have afforded transnational corporations like the NBA increasing influence and reach into the global South to search for new markets of consumption and production. Neoliberal policies have also been extended to the international development paradigm, where structural adjustment programs have resulted in a limited role of government, and created a void which corporations have begun to fill as the harbingers of development. Ultimately, this has resulted in the systematic recreation of neocolonial ideologies and the (re)production of underdevelopment through the exacerbation of global economic inequalities and the mapping of the global South from the perspective of the global North. Given these conditions, I now explore whether a corporate sport for development program like BWB is a viable means to development or rather a veil for these capitalist ambitions.

Chapter 4: Historicizing Basketball Without Borders

Having established the political and economic context that has enabled the emergence of corporate sport for development programs like Basketball Without Borders, I now move towards an analysis of the symbolic and material consequences of such initiatives. In the following two chapters I demonstrate how BWB's ties to transnational corporate capitalism overshadow its capacity to contribute to development. At the core of BWB lie two fundamental philosophies: the idea of sport as a viable tool of international development and the NBA's competing pursuit of its capitalist agenda while framing its programs as a venture in global corporate social responsibility. In this chapter, I map the historical moments and movements that have contributed to the creation of a program that merges these three trends: sport, development, and global corporate social responsibility.

I begin by presenting an overview of sport for development and peace, and arguments for and against its use as a tool of development. I then present an argument that challenges the viability of transnational corporations acting as development practitioners by demonstrating that the league's desire for global market expansion trumps its development ambitions. To further interrogate the competing messages the NBA promotes, I also provide a critique of global corporate philanthropy.

What is sport for development and peace?

Sport is increasingly recognized as an important tool in helping the UN achieve its objectives, in particular the Millennium Development Goals. By including sport in development and peace programmes in a more systematic way, the United Nations can make full use of the cost efficient tool to help us

create a better world. (Ki-moon quoted in United Nation Sport for Development and Peace, 2008)

The proclamation of 2005 as the International Year of Sport and Physical Education was a culminating moment in SDP history, marking its official acceptance as a tool of development in the eyes of the international community. The 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights asserted that all persons have the right to: “rest and leisure, a standard of living adequate to their health and well-being and that of their family, free and compulsory primary education, and participation in the cultural life of the community” (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2008, p. 7). Thirty years later, the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) General Conference adopted the “International Charter of Physical Education and Sport” stating that “access to physical education and sport should be assured and guaranteed for all human beings” (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2008, p. 7). Since this time, the international community, led by the UN and NGOs, have attempted to harness the power of sport for development internationally.

Over the past decade, the UN and its various subcommittees have published multiple volumes on the value, implementation, and evaluation of SDP.³ Each of these reports promotes the use of sport as an important part of humanitarian and development work as sport is understood in SDP programs to have a powerful social influence that can simultaneously reach distant and diverse people in the global North and South. As such,

³ These recent publications include: “Achieving the Objectives of the UN through Sport” (2008); “Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations for Governments” (2008); Report on the International Year of Sport and Physical Education” (2005); “Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals” (2003); “Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group: From Practice to Policy” (2003); as well as two UN General Assemblies on the matter: “Sport as a Means to Promote Education, Health, Development, and Peace” held on December 5, 2008 and “Sport for Development and Peace: Building on the Foundations” held on October 3, 2008.

the reports call upon governments, NGOs and the private sector to integrate sport into their development programs. The “Maggingen Call to Action 2005” adopted at the Maggingen Conference of Sport and Development in 2005 identified ten stakeholders to contribute to sport for development: sport organizations, athletes, multilateral organizations, bilateral development agencies, governments across all sectors, armed forces/international peacekeeping missions, NGOs, private sector/sport industry, research institutions, and the media (Special Advisor to the United Nations Secretary General on Sport for Development and Peace, 2008).

The International Platform of Sport for Development lists 130 NGOs, government organizations, and corporate programs that enlist sport as a means of development. This list includes: *Right to Play (RTP)*⁴, *EduSport* and *Sport in Action* (Zambian charities using sport for community development), and *Kicking AIDS Out* (using sport to build awareness about HIV/AIDS) (International Sport and Culture Association, 2008).

Governmental organizations in the global North are active in the implementation of SDP programs, as are integrated efforts under umbrella organizations such as UNESCO.

These government programs include: “Sport for Peace in the Economic Community of West African States” aimed at using sport for cohesion and cooperation in West Africa; “The Fraternal Encounter” in which Member States join efforts for inter-cultural exchange and communication; DIAMBARS, involving the creation of football schools to train and educate children in Senegal; the Mathare Youth Sport Association promoting soccer as a vehicle for the social inclusion of girls and women, school retention and

⁴ Right to Play is an NGO based in Toronto, with posts in other Western countries including Norway, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the UK, the US, as well as China and Dubai, and operates throughout Africa, parts of the Middle East (the occupied Palestinian territory, Lebanon, Dubai, and Jordan), and parts of Asia (Azerbaijan, Pakistan, Thailand, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and China).

environmental cleanup; and the YSPE project in Mozambique to raise awareness of HIV and AIDS through sport and physical activity (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2007). Corporations have also engaged SDP programs as sponsors, and have spear-headed their own projects. These programs include: the NBA's Basketball Without Borders; Major League Baseball's "Pitch Hit and Run", "Play Ball!" and "Envoy" program for youth development operating internationally, as well as their elite camps for athlete development⁵; Nike's "Let Me Play" and ninemillion.org programs; the Union of European Football Association's program for social responsibility; and the Laureus foundation's aim to use sport for social change (founded by Mercedes-Benz, IWC Schaffhausen, and Vodafone).

To make SDP initiatives further visible, over 75 famous athletes have been appointed as "Ambassadors" or "Spokespersons" for the UN including David Beckham, Roger Federer, and Maria Sharapova. In addition to working with people in the global South, highly-visible celebrities or athletes can also draw the attention of the North American consumer class to the work that they do and the products they promote. As I will demonstrate with BWB, celebrities are often included in SDP as a means to increase the visibility and raise awareness of these programs. However, celebrities also hold the potential to obfuscate the issues at hand by affording more attention to their actions, and away from root causes of underdevelopment.

⁵ MLB's "Pitch, Hit and Run" introduces children to baseball through a series of classes as part of their school's physical education program. The program has reached more than 3 million children in Australia, Germany, Italy, Korea, Mexico, Puerto Rico, South Africa, and the United Kingdom. "Play Ball!" provides equipment, apparel, and coaching material to support baseball organization and has contributed to the establishment of more than 60 leagues in Germany, the United Kingdom, and South Africa. The "Envoy Program" sends professional, college and high school coaches to "needful" baseball organization around the world. Finally, the league's Elite camps bring together the world's top 15 to 16 year old males for on-field instruction. The camps invite 40 to 50 of the leading players from a country or region to participate in training regiments and life skill sessions (MLB International, 2009).

Arguments in favour of sport for development. The movement towards sport as a tool of development is economically and politically significant. UNESCO sees sport as an effective tool of development arguing that sport is “a recognized instrument for promoting peace, as it disregards both geographical borders and social classes” (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2007). UNESCO goes on to declare that sport holds a significant role in promoting social integration and economic development, and promotes the ideals of peace, fraternity, solidarity, non-violence, tolerance and justice. Moreover, sport is seen as tool to strengthen social ties in post conflict situations, and to promote health and wellness in the face of extreme poverty, and pandemic illness including HIV/AIDS (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2008). SDP is held as a means to empower participants and communities by “engaging them in the design and delivery of activities, building local capacity, adhering to generally accepted principles of transparency and accountability, and pursuing sustainability through collaboration, partnership and coordinated action” (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2008, p. 3). Sport is also promoted as a catalyst to achieving the Millennium Development Goals when used in conjunction with national Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) that provide a framework for the attainment of growth and reduction of poverty (see Table 1). Numerous countries (including Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, and Uganda) have integrated sport into their PRSPs (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2008, p. 9)

Table 1 *Sport and the Millennium Development Goals*

MDGs	Contribution of Sport
<p>1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger</p>	<p>Participants, volunteers and coaches acquire transferable life skills which increase employability.</p> <p>Vulnerable individuals are connected to community service and supports through sport-based outreach programs.</p> <p>Sport programs and equipment production provide jobs and skills development.</p> <p>Sport can help prevent diseases that impeded people from working and impose health care costs on individuals and communities.</p> <p>Sport can help reduce stigma and increase self-esteem, self-confidence and social skills.</p>
<p>2. Achieve universal primary education</p>	<p>School sport programs motivate children to enrol in and attend school and can help improve academic achievement.</p> <p>Sport-based community education programs provide alternative education opportunities for children who cannot attend school.</p> <p>Sport can help erode stigma preventing children w/ disabilities from attending school.</p>
<p>3. Promote gender equality and empower women</p>	<p>Sport helps improve female physical and mental health and offers opportunities for social interaction and friendship.</p> <p>Sport participation leads to increased self-esteem, self-confidence, and enhance a sense of control over one's body.</p> <p>Girls and women access leadership opportunities and experience.</p> <p>Sport can cause positive shifts in gender norms that afford girls and women greater safety and control over their lives.</p> <p>Women and girls with disabilities are empowered by sport-based opportunities to acquire health information, skills, social networks, and leadership experience.</p>

4. Reduce child mortality	<p>Sport can be used to educate and deliver health information to young mothers, resulting in healthier children.</p> <p>Increased physical fitness improves children’s resistance to some diseases.</p> <p>Sport can help reduce the rate of higher-risk adolescent pregnancies.</p> <p>Sport-based vaccination and prevention campaigns help reduce child deaths and disability from measles, malaria and polio.</p> <p>Inclusive sporting programs help lower the likelihood of infanticide by promoting greater acceptance of children with disabilities.</p>
5. Improve maternal health	<p>Sport for health programs offer girls and women greater access to reproductive health information and services.</p> <p>Increased fitness levels help speed and post-natal recovery.</p>
6. Combat HIV and AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	<p>Sport programs can be used to reduce stigma and increase social and economic integration of people living with HIV and AIDS.</p> <p>Sport programs are associated with lower rates of health risk behaviour that contributes to HIV infection.</p> <p>Programs providing HIV prevention education and empowerment can further reduce HIV infection rates.</p> <p>Sport can be used to increase measles, polio and other vaccination rates.</p> <p>Involvement of celebrity athletes and use of mass sport events can increase reach and impact of malaria, tuberculosis and other education and prevention campaigns.</p>
7. Ensure environmental sustainability	<p>Sport-based public education campaigns can raise awareness of importance of environmental protection and sustainability.</p> <p>Sport-based social mobilization initiatives can enhance participation in community action to improve local environment.</p>

8. Develop a global partnership for development

Sport for Development and peace efforts catalyze global partnerships and increase networking among governments, donors, NGOs and sport organizations worldwide.

Where sport has perhaps its greatest potential is in the realm of peacekeeping and rehabilitation in post-war areas. In the view put forth by the UN, sport is an apolitical medium that can cross boundaries and initiate contact between antagonistic groups. As stated by the Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport and International Development (2003), “sport can be an ideal forum for resuming social dialogue and bridging divides, highlighting the similarities between people and breaking down prejudice” (p. 4). The Task Force goes on to highlight the ability of sport to provide a sense of normalcy, structure, and a means to channel energies away from self-destruction. This, they claim, is particularly beneficial for refugees and internally displaced persons by providing positive and productive activity and psychosocial benefits that can address the trauma of flight and displacement. Moreover, the Task Force highlights the use of sport as a positive means in rehabilitating child soldiers offering a space to play and providing outlets for aggression to build positive connections with peers and adults (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport and International Development, 2003, p. 15).

Among the proponents of SDP there is general agreement that sport has the capacity to connect people and communities as participants and spectators at a local and global level. According to promoters of this view, sport serves to create a common ground upon which groups can interact, work together, and provide a vehicle for education and wellness (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group,

2008). As the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (2008) states:

Sport is increasingly being used to promote health and prevent disease, strengthen child and youth development and education, foster social inclusion, prevent conflict and build peace, foster gender equity, enhance inclusion of persons with disabilities and promote employment and economic development. (p. 6)

Moreover, sport is commonly believed to increase life expectancy, and reduce the likelihood of many non-communicable diseases (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport and International Development, 2003, p. 3). According to the UN, when incorporated into the school curriculum, sport can improve a child's ability to learn, raise awareness of healthy living and disease prevention, respect for the environment, and aid in creating social relationships (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport and International Development, 2003). The view of sport as universal and socially integrative is so pervasive that the UNESCO's International Charter on Physical Education and Sport, referencing the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, states that "access to physical education and sport should be assured and guaranteed for all human beings" (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport and International Development, 2003, p. 7).

In their work on human rights and sport, Bruce Kidd and Peter Donnelly (2000) highlight historical incidents where sport contributed to social change. They point to: the anti-Apartheid movement, which saw the international community boycott South Africa in 1985 in nearly all sports; the Brighton Declaration on Women and sport (and Title IX) promoting gender equity; and advances in children's and worker's rights through sport

(Kidd & Donnelly, 2000). However, all of these examples were spurred by political actors and social movements and thus raise questions as to whether sport is an impetus for political awareness and change, or merely a vehicle for it.

The UN report “Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals” also highlights the potential economic benefits that sport can bring to the global South. The report states the economic potential for sport to increase the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of nations through such activities as the manufacturing of sporting goods, hosting of events, sport-related services, and the media. As evidence to this claim, the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport and International Development (2003) states that sport activities added an extra 1.7% to the GDP of the UK in 2002 (p. 3). However, this evidence is problematic in that the economic viability of sport in the UK cannot necessarily be translated to the global South. Sport is also held as a catalyst for economic development because a population-wide increase in physical activity can create a healthier and more productive work-force. Moreover, the lessons learnt through sport (teamwork, leadership, discipline, and the value of effort), according to this view, “provides young people with a constructive activity that helps reduce levels of juvenile crime and antisocial behaviour” as well as giving alternatives to child labour (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport and International Development, 2003, p. 4).

Arguments against sport for development. Despite the claims to the socially integrative and progressive powers of sport, there are numerous examples of sport running counter to these ideals. Sport is not an inherently positive or negative social practice: having potential for both, its value is dependent on context. Within a context of

neoliberal globalization, the export of sport as a tool of development in the global South holds potential to be a force of division rather than development. To its credit, the UN recognizes that sport, if improperly implemented, may be detrimental to the development agenda. They note that commercial and high-performance sport programs are not appropriate for development and peace because their primary objectives are tied to commercial gain and place restrictions on who can participate (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2008, p. 13). This raises serious concerns as to the use and practicality of BWB in that it is primarily a commercial and high-performance endeavour, clearly tied to the promotion of the NBA brand in new markets and geared only towards the most talented male athletes in any given region. Thus while sport is heralded in the international community as a tool for social integration, economic development, and peace, we need also be aware and cautious of the potential detriments of sport. For every example of sport as a powerful medium in which diverse and distanced people can come together on common ground, there are equally numerous examples of sport as a source of hostility and exploitation. In this thesis I draw attention to some of the potentially detrimental aspects of SDP including the reproduction of neo-colonialism and underdevelopment.

Sport and globalization

A central undertaking of this thesis is to explore not only why transnational corporations like the NBA have taken up global social responsibility and development initiatives, but also to explore why sport specifically has been co-opted for these purposes. In this section I consider the increasing globalization of sport--its historical roots, corporate branding, the globalization of the NBA, and athlete migration---and its

implications for the Basketball Without Borders program. This is an important literature to explore as it is crucial to consider not only how sport is being globalized and exported throughout the world, but also the extent to which the NBA is promoting its brand in new markets. Through globalized media, sport has become increasingly universal and homogenized, as games are exported, adopted, and played to an extent not previously seen (Tomlinson, 2005). This is exemplified through mass participation of athletes and spectators in global sporting events such as the Olympics and the World Cup (Tomlinson, 2005). The growing popularity of sport in terms of participation and viewership has not been lost on transnational corporations seeking to profit from local and global games. While corporate branding of sport is not a new phenomenon, over the past three decades sporting sponsorships have intensified (Falcous & Maguire, 2005).

Roots of sport globalization. Having roots in nineteenth century British imperialism, the globalization of sport can be traced to colonial outposts and the movement of soccer along colonial trade routes (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007, p. 1). As Kidd (2008) notes, in the nineteenth century missionary coaches and teachers “driven by both improving and controlling political, ideological and commercial motives, took sports to virtually every corner of the non-European world” (Kidd, 2008, p. 371). By the early twentieth century sport in the British empire had not only become part of cultural practices and immensely popular, but also economically significant. By the mid-to-late 1900s, this popularity expanded globally, aided by the emergence of technologies that allowed sporting events to be broadcast throughout the global North and increasingly in the global South. As the century progressed, corporations quickly saw the ability of sport to increase the notoriety of a brand and market penetration throughout the world (Smart,

2007, p. 6). As Sut Jhally (1989) argues, the process of increasing commercialization of sport leads to a “massification of sports” and the search for “new mass audiences for advertisers, rather than the appeal of the ‘cultivated’ minority who really understand what sport are about” (p. 81).

In the 1980s, the lines between sport and corporate sponsors had become increasingly difficult to differentiate. During this time transnational corporations increasingly used sport to promote their companies on a global scale. Corporate brand names not only appeared on the clothing of athletes, but also the athletic stadia, and between athletic events to such a degree it became difficult to distinguish the competitions and the commercials that were being broadcast globally (Jhally, 1989). The sport-corporate branding nexus reached a new level at the hallmark 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games displaying the supposed superiority of the U.S. through their capitalist authority (Miller, Lawrence, McKay, & Rowe, 2001, p. 11). Sut Jhally (1989) has called the corporatization of the Los Angeles Olympics “perhaps the most spectacular example to date of this linking of the spheres of commerce and sports” (p. 79). The virtues of fair play, mutual assistance, self-improvement, and beauty and reverence upon which Pierre de Coubertin founded the Olympic games (Beamish & Richie, 2006) had been usurped by brand notoriety, competition, material accumulation--in a word, capitalism.

By the 1990s and into the 2000s, most global sporting events had become completely co-opted by corporations. As noted by Smart (2007), in the ten years between 1993 and 2003, “the global sponsorship market grew from \$10 million to \$27 billion...more than two-thirds of that market, \$18 billion, was attributable to sports related business activity” (p. 18). Massive resources were dedicated to the 1994 Winter

Olympics in Lillehammer, and the 2000 Sydney summer Olympics, both telecast throughout the world to promote not only the integration of Norway and Australia as increasingly important players in the world economy, but also the corporate sponsors that “brought us” these games (Miller et al., 2001, p. 7). The Beijing Olympics were estimated to bring in a \$3 billion revenue (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007). Today, the ubiquity of sport has proven profitable for transnational corporations as global events allow for the intersection of sport and consumer culture.

The globalization of sport is a significant aspect of neoliberal capitalism. In Jhally’s (1989) classic essay on the sport-media complex, he argues that sport has replaced religion as the “opiate for the masses” as it provides “circuses that narcotize large segments of the population” (p. 70). From a Marxist perspective, Jhally (1989) argues that capitalism--within which sport is a key institution--has “prevented workers from seeing the reality of their exploitation and has convinced them to identify with the system that dominates them” (p.71). Essentially, Jhally (1989) sees sport as celebrating the dominant order that “caters to the new cultural-emotional needs of the masses” that have been removed by the increasing bureaucratization and industrial production of capitalism (p. 72). He elaborates: “as one part of the social world robs people of meaning and emotional gratification, another part offers it to them in the form of commodified spectacles. Sport offers excitement and emotional gratification denied to the citizens of a corporate society” (Jhally, 1989, p.72). Thus the export of sport globally can be seen as part and parcel of the increasing globalization of neoliberal capitalism. Sport is not only a tool to promote products internationally, but rather, promotes the very essence of capitalism throughout the world.

Branding. The 1990s marked a significant change in corporate branding. During this time, TNCs (e.g. Marlboro, IBM, Levis, Apple, and Nike) began investing the majority of their revenues in advertising rather than production. As a result, the notoriety of a brand became more profitable than the product itself (Klein, 2000). Brands came to represent a meaning, a lifestyle that a certain corporation embodied, and that anyone could have through the consumption of this product. As Naomi Klein (2000) remarks, “if brands are about ‘meaning’ not product attributes, then the highest feat of branding comes when companies provide their consumers with opportunities not merely to shop, but to fully experience the meaning of their brand” (p.146). As corporations seek to increase their international consumer base, their focus is not only fixed on the global, but includes national and club teams so as to promote the brand at a local level. In sport, teams that were once owned by local businesses, or national teams, have been purchased by transnational corporations. This is exemplified by the fact that Nike “owns” the Italian, Brazilian, and Nigerian national soccer teams, or that a fourth division German soccer team bought the entire Cuban national team (Miller et al., 2001). Essentially, the nation has become a club, and the club has become a corporation (Miller et al., 2001).

Broadly, the globalized nature of sport and its subsequent corporate sponsorship has contributed to an increase in popularity and profitability for transnational corporations. Since the late 1970s, sponsorship of international games and clubs has rapidly increased. This focus on international games can be traced to a saturation of the North American televised sport market as a result of deindustrialization in the 1970s, the export of labour overseas, a stagnant national market, and the increasing global access to media. Transnational corporations began promoting basketball, American football, and

baseball as international games, profiting from a growing international fan base, and subsequently planting the seeds for the development of sport--and athletes--globally (Miller et al., p. 15). Today, television revenues are a significant source of wealth for transnational sponsors; revenues from the sale of World Cup broadcasting rights, for example, increased from 95 million Swiss Francs in 1990 to 134 million in 1998, to more than 1.5 billion in 2006 (Smart, 2007, p. 7).

Why is sport such a potent tool of commercialism? Falcous and Maguire (2005) argue that sport allows for synergy amongst media sources that may include other elements and are media outlets to broadcast to audiences throughout the world simultaneously. The promotion of a brand through a sporting team or celebrity is favoured over other forms of sponsorship because, as noted by Smart (2007), “popular sporting events constitute one of the few cultural forms that retain a capacity to attract a global audience...and thereby they offer businesses a unique global promotion platform” (p. 19). The 2004 Olympics in Athens, for example, were watched by 3.9 billion people around the world (Giulianotti, 2004, p. 2). In all, by 2006, the sports sponsorship market saw continued increase to reach a net worth of \$43 billion (Smart, 2007, p. 19). Few other mediums capture the imaginations, emotions, and attentions of such a vast body of peoples.

Any discussion of the globalization of sport would not be complete without a discussion of the biggest transnational sporting corporation, Nike, which grossed over \$18.6 billion in 2008 (Opportunities for Growth, 2009). Nike is a true transnational corporation: despite being based in Portland, Oregon, Nike shoes contain parts produced in five countries, with each shoe passing through the hands of more than 100 people

(Miller et al., 2001). Officially, according to government regulators, Nike does not produce any shoes – it is a manufacturing company that makes nothing; it simply manages, promotes and distributes (Miller et al., 2001). Most of Nike’s products are made by subcontractors in Southeast Asia and Latin America, where it has been accused of imposing sweatshop conditions on nearly half a million predominantly female labourers. As Miller et al. (2001) state, Nike has not only successfully exported labour, but also consumption. The non-US receipts from its products grew from 27% to 37% of total revenues in the 1990s (Miller et al., 2001, p. 58). While this fact may merely represent another facet of globalization in that products are no longer localized, it also demonstrates the means by which neoliberal ideologies have allowed corporations to profit at the expense of the marginalized global working classes.

The globalization of the NBA. Since the 1990s the NBA, under the guidance of Commissioner David Stern, has sought to export its product globally. Throughout these two decades, the NBA has become more popular than ever, having successfully recruited players and audiences from every continent. The NBA, like other professional leagues, has adopted a global outlook because of what Miller et al. call “the classic capitalist problem of overproduction” (Miller et al., p. 38). As with other corporations, the NBA had largely saturated the North American market in the late twentieth century in terms of athletes (along with their increasing wages), and reliable consumers. As such the league went in search of newer cheaper talent and consumers. During the 1990s, the league opened offices in Switzerland, Spain, Australia, Hong Kong, and Mexico. The NBA now draws approximately 15% of its merchandising revenue from international markets, it sponsors youth leagues in Latin American as a source of recruitment, and it has started

organizing exhibition games in Mexico, Israel, Japan, England, and China, amongst other places (Miller et al., 2001, p. 15). The NBA was able to market itself so efficiently during the 1990s by promoting not only its product (the game itself) but also its celebrities (most famously, Michael Jordan). As noted by Miller et al. (2001), a survey of Western European youth across 44 nations in 1997 found 93% recognition of the Chicago Bulls logo (the team for which Jordan played), while Magic Johnson was the most featured person in coverage of the 1992 Olympics (Miller et al., 2001, p. 15).

The NBA has successfully marketed itself as a “global brand” that operates on multiple levels as a local and global entity (Falcous & Maguire, 2005, p. 14). Markets are approached from a local level, in which cultural differences are co-opted and conformed to fit an image of the NBA as a simultaneously local and global brand. These local promotion initiatives often utilize migrant players in their marketing strategies. Such players have included: John Amaechi (England), Detlef Schrempf (Germany), Vlade Divac (Yugoslavia), Yao Ming (China), Dikembe Mutombo (Zaire), Peja Stojakovic (Yugoslavia), Pau Gasol (Spain), Andrei Kirilenko (Russia), Hedo Turkoglu (Turkey), and Tony Parker (France) (Falcous & Maguire, 2005, p. 16).

The NBA has also been active in cross-promoting itself with other transnational corporations including the aforementioned Nike, and the Coca-Cola Company. The NBA and Coca-Cola have agreed to an unprecedented “100-year global marketing partnership” that includes increased global advertising and grassroots activities for “Sprite”, as well as new initiatives for international growth and awareness (Miller et al., 2001, p. 6). This has been extremely beneficial for both parties, as the NBA has benefited from the brand recognition of one of the most well-known and profitable transnational corporations, and

Coca-Cola saw its product “Sprite” earn the biggest growth of any soft drink in the world in the 1990s. During this time, the “joint brand-building” of the two corporations saw over 100 NBA-Sprite promotions in 47 countries during that period (Miller et al., 2001, p. 6). Thus the globalization of the NBA is reflective of broader ideologies, policies, and structures of neoliberalism in which transnational corporations have been able to profit by penetrating international markets through globalized media. This has had vast repercussion for audiences at home and abroad, as well as international working and consuming classes as the NBA brand, like that of many other TNCs , is now ubiquitous.

Transnational labour movement. Central to globalization of sport, and the phenomenon of sport for development in general, is the movement of athletes across geographical boundaries. Traditionally, athlete migration occurs from global South areas into the North, as wealthy teams and leagues in the core are able to pull these players away with lucrative contracts that leagues in the global South cannot match. This offers interesting parallels with broader issues of labour migration occurring in other industries, reflecting neoliberal, and neocolonial systems of producer and consumer nations. What is unique about sport for development programs is that the movement of athletes also occurs in the opposite direction as transnational corporations seek to promote their product through localization, in which players that have moved to the core and gained success and popularity are used to promote the consumption of the product (in this case the NBA) and the local level.

Labour migration has become a central aspect of elite sport; a fact reflective of sport’s increasing incorporation as a central facet of the capitalist world economy. Although not a new phenomenon, the process of athlete migration is speeding up,

occurring over a wider geographical area, and within in greater number of cultures (Maguire & Bale, 1994, p. 5). While athletes are traditionally not thought of as workers, Maguire and Bale argue that they are not unlike other sectors of the workforce who migrate within nation-states, between nation-state in the same continent, and trans-continentially (Maguire & Bale, 1994, p. 1). The sport migration process is arguably most pronounced in soccer where players move back-and-forth across Europe, as elite soccer talent is often purchased by the wealthy European leagues, drawing labour from across the globe. However, similar trends are prominent with the movement of athletes in the NBA, MLB, the National Football League (NFL), the National Hockey League (NHL) and their European counterparts (Maguire & Bale, 1994, p. 2). Moreover, it should also be noted that athlete migration does not solely occur within and between these two continents as numerous African, Asian, and South American athletes are actively being purchased, traded, and signed into North American and European, soccer, basketball, and baseball leagues.

Maguire and Bale (1994) also highlight how the proliferation of sports labour migration has come to be. They note several key features that have led to the expansion of sport migration including an increase in the number of international agencies, the growth of globalized forms of communication, the development of global competitions and events, and the changing notions of rights and citizenships to a more international standardization (Maguire & Bale, 1994, p. 5). Labour migration does not only involve athletes but also the entire political economy of sport.

Corporate philanthropy

Recently, corporate branding has branched into a new realm of compassionate consumption. This has involved an increased and concerted effort led by transnational corporations and global celebrities, but also in part by non-governmental organizations and international governing bodies to harness the consumer power of the global North. While the literature of this emergent field is limited, two sociological texts interrogate the phenomenon of global corporate philanthropy: Samantha King's *Pink Ribbons Inc.: Breast Cancer and the Politics of Philanthropy* (2006), and *Brand Aid: Development Capitalism, Celebrities, and Consumption* (2006) by Lisa Ann Richey and Stefano Ponte. These texts explore the dynamics of corporate philanthropy, corporate social responsibility, and the politics of giving in two distinct yet similar movements: the pink ribbon campaign to support breast cancer research and awareness primarily in North America and the Product (RED)TM campaign initiated by U2 lead singer Bono to support HIV/AIDS treatment primarily in Sub-Saharan Africa.

In her work, King (2006) discusses the use of cause-related marketing surrounding breast cancer by various corporations and foundations to promote participation amongst (predominantly) middle and upper classes in consumer-based philanthropic activity. These campaigns seek to profit from the purchasing powers of the global North by donating a certain percentage of profits from products with a pink ribbon label. King (2006) argues that programs such as these are part of a range of strategies in which transnational corporations seek to engage local markets by presenting themselves as more than a commercial entity, rather as a philanthropic body that is part of the local community (p. 84). This movement towards harnessing Western consumerism for development allows the consumer the appearance of participatory action in global

philanthropy while maintaining capitalist consumption. The movement towards harnessing Western consumerism by shifting the focus of the consumer to the appearance of participatory action in global philanthropic campaigns is a significant evolution in neoliberal capitalist ideology. As King (2006) argues, the ideal “citizen as a consumer” has been remoulded into “citizen as volunteer” in which “strategies of government designed to replace the passive, dependent citizen of the welfare state with the active consumer-citizen of neoliberalism have frequently placed, often with great public fanfare, volunteer-development programs at their core” (p. 73). This is a significant evolution in neoliberal capitalist ideology, as individualism and consumerism are presented as a path towards global development.

Lisa Ann Richey and Stefano Ponte (2006) discuss similar trends in the highly popular (RED) campaign. Through the corporate sponsorship of American Express, Gap, Converse, Motorola, and Armani, (RED) takes a similar approach to the pink ribbon campaign by harnessing the consumptive powers of the Western world through a wedding of consumption, trade, and aid. As Richey and Ponte (2006) note this effectively associates consumption in the global North to “dying Africans with designer goods” and proposes compassionate consumption as a new social contract that can generate “a sustainable flow of more support to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria” (p. 1). Such “Brand Aid”, as Richey and Ponte call it, utilizes popular fashion, technologies, commodities, and celebrities to create a world in which the West can consume as much as they want without depriving those in other parts of the world – a “win-win” approach to solving poverty and disease (Richey & Ponte, 2006). Again,

while this seemingly provides aid to Sub-Saharan Africa, programs such as these should not escape critique.

Despite the potential benefits of GCP, there are arguably as many (if not more) problematic aspects of these programs. Often, they are gendered, as in the case of the Pink ribbon campaign that reproduces associations between women and shopping; classed, as it is often only those who are affluent enough to buy products that participate; and racialized, as in the case of Product (RED)TM and BWB as often people of colour are portrayed merely as people in need. Moreover, the proposition that the key to solving national and international health issues is dependent on the consumer trends of the Western world is problematic. Often, GCP initiatives go unchallenged in the media and the general public because any amount of giving, no matter how gendered, classed, racialized, or miss-spent, is seen as good. BWB can be seen as participatory in this trend of GCP as they are attempting to promote themselves--and subsequently increased their revenues--as a form of benevolent philanthropy. The NBA participates in this ideology of compassionate consumption, in that despite their motivations to increase their market-base and recruit internationally, their efforts are framed as charitable and beneficial for all.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the commercial motivations for the NBA's creation of Basketball Without Borders. Governmental organizations, NGOs, and the UN all promote access to sport as a human right because of its alleged ability to contribute to peace, and its promotion of social integration, economic development, health and wellness, and individual and community empowerment. Despite these proclamations,

however, it is important to consider that much of the evidence to support these claims is anecdotal. Moreover, the ability for sport to contribute to sustainable economic and structural development in the global South is dubious given that these claims are mostly, if not entirely, individual in nature, as opposed to economic or political. Even if we were to accept the beneficial aspects of sport at a face value, and presume that sport has *something* to contribute to development, the NBA's corporate agenda is in direct opposition with these claims as it focuses on elitism and individualism. Moreover, the NBA's use of sport as tool of development is contentious given that the UN itself argues that commercial and high-performance sport programs are not appropriate for development as their objectives are tied to commercial gain and place restrictions on who can participate.

In this chapter I also interrogated why a transnational corporation like the NBA would take up an endeavour such as sport for development and peace. Since the mid-to-late 20th century, the popularity and profitability of sport increased via the proliferation of globalized media that enabled broadcasting throughout the global North and increasingly in the global South. Towards the end of the twentieth century, transnational corporations began to invest in the profitability and ubiquity of sport in order to capitalize on its ability to reach a geographically diverse audience. During the time, the NBA, like many other TNCs, began seeking global market expansion. In order to reach new markets, the NBA promoted its game, and its celebrities, throughout the global South, Europe, and Asia. While Stern has been focus on increasing the global market-share of the NBA, he has also been focused on increasing its audience in North America, primarily amongst its white viewership, an issue that is tied to popular conceptions of the league's image. As

such, the NBA also been active in promoting itself as a charitable organization and has actively used its celebrity athletes as the face of this philanthropy. Thus, given the confluence of the global marketability of sport, the NBA's desire for international market expansion, Stern's concern for the league's image, and the more recent successes of global corporate philanthropy made visible through the pink ribbon breast cancer research campaign and product (RED), the NBA's ambitions with Basketball Without Borders become clearer. In light of these neoliberal corporate capitalist trends and the dubious capabilities of sport as a tool of development in the first place, it becomes clear that the philanthropic and developmental aspects of BWB are tangential to its commercialism.

Chapter 5: Discourse Analysis

Given the contradictions that pervade corporate sport for development, in this chapter I explore the symbolic consequences of entrusting development programs to transnational corporations and how this serves to reproduce dominant ideologies surrounding the global North and South. As previously discussed, SDP creates spaces of interaction across geographical boundaries between bodies from the global North and South. Often these movements and interactions do not occur equally, but rather reflect the economic and political hegemony of the global North. From a Foucauldian perspective, development is itself a discourse that constructs its own reality by producing and reaffirming dominant ideologies surrounding North/South, developed/developing, white/black dichotomies. Through the discourse presented and the practices they reference, it is apparent how BWB reflects broader trends in neoliberal globalization and the increasing influence of TNCs. I have identified three conceptual threads through which to explore how the knowledge construction operates: sport, development, and capitalism; the discovery of resources; and encounters with ‘the other’. These sites allow for an exploration of the structural and symbolic consequences of a transnational corporation like the NBA entering the global south for the purposes of promoting development through sport.

Sport, development, and capitalism

In its long and complex history, international development has taken many forms. Sport for development and peace is one of the more innovative and celebrated endeavours in the long list of development programs. Despite its proliferation among a wide range of groups (governmental, non-governmental, and corporate), SDP remains in

its infancy and, as such, its implications and repercussions have yet to be seen. As a result, it is difficult to evaluate the structural and symbolic consequences of SDP.

Similar to Sach's (1992) questioning of what *development* actually looks like, here I question what *sport for development* looks like. As Sachs argues, in the four decades since Truman's trumpeting of the development era, the historical and political conditions which had given rise to the idea of development as a political project have been blurred. Sachs (1992) states, "by now development has become an amoeba-like concept, shapeless by ineradicable. Its contours are so blurred that it denotes nothing...though development has no content, it does possess one function: it allows for any intervention to be sanctified in the name of a higher goals" (Sachs, 1992, p. 4). Thus, although the it is not clear exactly how the NBA believes its program contributes to sustainable development in the global South, the corporation's intervention in the global South is sanctified and largely un-criticized in the global North because it is assumed as righteous and inherently good.

As I have shown, SDP is viewed as a path to "development" by the International community through its propensity to promote integration, economic development, and its role in contributing to the Millennium Development Goals (UNESCO, 2007). Despite these claims, the NBA's use of sport as a development tool is problematic for at least four reasons: First, the evidence to support these claims is primarily anecdotal. Second, as Fusco (2005) argues, sporting landscapes are often sexist, homophobic, classed, ablest, patriarchal, and imperialist (p. 285). Third, the benefits of sport that are promoted by the UN are primarily social in nature: ideals of social integration, peace, fraternity, solidarity, tolerance and justice (UNSECO, 2007). Although these are essential aspects of

“development” they seemingly do not address other more systemic economic and political conditions. Fourth, the UN itself notes that commercial and high-performance sport programs are not appropriate for development and peace because their primary objectives are tied to commercial gain and place restrictions on who can participate (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2008, p. 13). Yet BWB’s approach to development is primarily through the creation of sport-related infrastructure, the donation of basketball goods, and coaching. It is unclear how the league proposes that this form of aid meets the development mandate as proffered by the UN and others in the international community. What is clear, however, is the disjoint between the political claims of SDP and the approach taken by BWB. Donating basketball resources and clothing to a nation’s elite athletic talent, rather than those in most need, does little to address deeply-rooted underdevelopment and raises questions about the symbolic and material consequences of wedding SDP with the promotion of capitalist consumer culture. The conflicting ideologies of capitalism and development are highlighted in this quote provided by the NBA at the 2005 BWB camp in Shanghai:

The NBA and FIBA also will donate products, such as basketballs, rims and sporting goods to local basketball federations. In addition to supporting the inaugural camp in Asia, BWB Marketing partners will continue to work with the NBA and FIBA to support basketball development throughout the region. McDonald’s will deliver messaging on the importance of balanced, active lifestyles through on-site presence and customized programming. Reebok will provide on-court apparel, footwear, sports bags and towels for all campers, as

well as charitable product donations to local community organizations in the Beijing Area. (National Basketball Association, 2005a)

In the face of more pertinent issues including rates of morbidity and mortality, poverty, and political instability, providing Reebok footwear, sports bags, and towels, is seemingly more of an exercise in product promotion than personal, economic, or social development. This is further reinforced by the troubling use of one of the largest TNCs-- McDonald's--as a source of knowledge and expertise in proper nutrition, raising questions about the sincerity of the NBA's social responsibility initiative. The donation of basketball equipment can certainly provide temporary reprieve from political unrest, extreme poverty and malnutrition, however it simultaneously reinforces the league's corporate capitalist ambitions for market expansion, and raises question as to how it contributes to tangible and sustainable development.

Although the NBA has been active in building reading and learning centers, and educating campers on social skills and health issues (a notion that is itself problematic), these aims are seemingly peripheral to their sport-development ambitions--ironically the aspect of BWB that contributes the least to development. While the reading and learning centers receive some attention in the discourse, they are not central to the NBA's operations as they are only discursively presented when the NBA celebrities are observers to local health initiatives, or to draw attention to the league's philanthropy. By recognizing the importance of education and healthcare yet remaining focused on sport, the NBA shows, in my view, how sport and corporatization conflict with development.

This corporate, neoliberal approach to development that is paramount in BWB is further reflected through the program's individualist approach to structural development

in the global South. The league's attempts at other forms of structural development include the donation of funds to basketball training facilities that may not be as useful or as practical as other forms of development-- hospitals, roads, water systems for example. Moreover, as is reflected in the quote by director of scouting for the Dallas Mavericks, Amadou Gallo Fall, the league takes an individualist approach to development that is problematic:

In some of these countries there may not even be an indoor gym. Senegal is one of the premier countries in terms of basketball talent, and there is only one indoor gym in the whole country. All of these kids will be well clothed and play in good facilities, so hopefully when they experience that side of things they'll get motivated when they go back to their own countries, to build infrastructure and create better conditions. Not just in basketball, but in their whole life. (National Basketball Association, 2003a)

Here again the development of basketball facilities and talent is prioritized over other forms of development. This reaffirms the divergent ideologies of capitalism and development that are at the root of BWB. To revisit Klein's (2007) work on baseball academies in the Dominican Republic, he argues that in developing nations, attention to sport can come at the expense of other pursuits such as education or other forms of employment. Promoters of sport argue that where educational and employment opportunities are scarce in developing nations, sport can be one of the few opportunities for economic independence. This notion is, however, in and of itself problematic and reflective of neoliberal globalization. These academies--and similarly BWB--can be

misguided and exploitative as the promotion of individual economic success should not be prioritized over the deliverance of aid at a population level. Moreover, valuing sport over other ventures may contribute to the globalization of the “American Dream” promoting ideologies that anyone can “make it” and achieve fame and fortune through sport and thus serving to obfuscate and reproduce the conditions that have led to under-development.

BWB’s approach to development is emblematic of broader trends in neoliberal globalization. Despite the vague approach it takes to development, what is clear is that the NBA and its sponsors are promoting neoliberal capitalist ideologies. Elitism, individualism, and privatization pervade BWB. In the following quotes, it is clear that the league is less focused on social responsibility and more set on their capitalist ambitions. If the league were truly committed to development and having a lasting impact on children, it would seek a much wider audience, and focus especially on the facets of SDP that the UN supports. By only selecting the most talented 50-100 under nineteen year-old males to participate in the camp the league is ignoring areas where it could have its most profound benefits. This quote by former NBA player and BWB ambassador Dikembe Mutombo highlights the approach to development that promotes such neoliberalism:

We try to set an example and pray that others will follow. At BWB we are trying to reach so many people all over the world and teach them about playing basketball, and to be better citizens. As long as we can reach some kids and get them to change their lives, it is worth it. If we can reach 100 of those kids and

send them back to their communities, other kids will see how they do and follow their example. (Georgetown, 2005)

The desire to cater to a region's elite talent and then hope they return to their communities to impart their new-found knowledge and skills is emblematic of the "trickle-down" approach of traditional neoliberal conservative economics in which the wealth of the few is supposed to trickle-down to the many in a free-market system. Rather than create a grass-roots initiative in which the NBA could reach a broader audience, the league has chosen to target only the most talented basketball players. Such an approach demonstrates how the NBA's ventures in capitalism reduce BWBs effectiveness as an aid program. This elitism fails to capitalize on some of the most overt benefits of sport by bypassing conflict and post-conflict areas, as well as areas of extreme poverty and illness.

Through such an approach the league is in fact exacerbating class inequalities on a local and global level. While I am careful not to generalize or make assumptions, it stands to reason that the most talented players in the global South who can attend these camps are healthy and have time for leisure, and are thus likely to come from more well-off backgrounds. Although these children are certainly deserving of the opportunity to participate in BWB, perhaps the resources and efforts of the NBA would be better spent on the youth who cannot attend the camp because of illness, malnutrition, or who must work to provide income to their families. Moreover the league's failure to open the camp to young women further contributes to their marginalization. This is particularly striking given the NBA's partnership with Nike and their history of exploiting the labour of the global South.

The quote from Mr. Mutombo highlights two other hallmarks of neoliberalism: individualism and paternalism. The discursive desire to “change their lives” and make them “better citizens” not only assumes that these individuals were once “bad” citizens whose lives need changing, but also presumes that this change could only result from the intervention of those in the global North--the NBA. This discursively constructs those in the global South as inferior to their counterparts in the global North, and presents sport, Americanization, and neoliberal economics as the ‘positive change’ their lives need. This focus on developing the individual and empowering him [sic] to contribute to social change is a hallmark of neoliberal ideology that values individualism.

The global market for the NBA is expansive and profitable. During the 2008-2009 season, 83 of the 450 players in the league were born outside the United States: over half of these players are native to countries that the World Bank has identified as developing nations (National Basketball Association, 2009). Moreover, while no official statistics are available, there are numerous former campers that now play in the NBA and many more in American Division one collegiate basketball. Throughout the documents pertaining to BWB, the league’s capitalist ambitions for market expansion are always present and are made visible through the league’s marketing campaigns in the global North and the global South, and its search for new talent in these regions. Market expansion is emblematic of the league’s neoliberal approach to development and highlights the conflict between development and compassionate capitalism. This ideology is demonstrated in this quote from Toronto Raptors assistant general manager Masai Ujiri regarding the 2008 BWB camp in South Africa:

With BWB, we have to go to all the countries to select the best kids. That has given us the opportunity to see a lot of these kids early. Our main goal is to grow the game there. You always hope that there's a Hakeem or a Dikembe Mutombo, but overall, it's to grow the game. And with the physical talent in Africa, it's bound to come. (Hochman, B., 2008)

The desire to find another “Hakeem or a Dikembe Mutombo” is emblematic of BWB capitalist ambitions, as global talents have become a huge source of revenue for the league via the access they bring to new markets. As such, the growing popularity that has been afforded the NBA through globalized media has resulted in new areas of talent that the league can potentially profit from by bringing these players to North America to participate in the league. As the privatization of industries and resources are central facets of neoliberalism, I argue that BWB engages in these practices through the increasing privatization of athletic resources in the global South. Thus, the camp can be seen as an attempt to privatize this industry and encourage the movement of players to the global North, effectively blocking home nations from benefiting from this sector of society. The attempt to capitalize on athletic resources globally can be seen in the marketing success of various international athletes. Yao Ming is a prime example, attracting a Chinese audience hundreds of millions strong, and signing sponsorship deals with Nike, Reebok, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Visa, Apple, and McDonalds, amongst others. The narrative that asserts “our main goal is to grow the game there” is further emblematic of the prioritization of market expansion over other development goals. Moreover, the discursive construction of Africa, and by extension other continents and nations of the global South as rich in physical talent is problematic in that it parallels discourses of

colonialism and is only of interest because it is--or will be--beneficial to the North. The commentary "...with the physical talent in Africa, it's bound to come" constructs these regions as resource pools waiting to be discovered and cultivated by the global North further reinforces the hegemony of global North South relations.

Privatization and resource extraction parallel other aspects of the intersection of capitalism and development, most notably in regards to SAPs. The case can be made that the NBA is merely operating from the same development perspective as the World Bank and Western governments by subscribing to a policy of tied aid, or conditionality-based aid. Aid can be tied in any one (or any combination) of three ways: conditional aid based on the purchase of goods and services; project tying, where aid is used to finance specific expenditures; and policy conditionality, where aid is conditional on the policies put for by the donor (Morrissey & White, 1996). As such BWB undertakes a similar approach to development by tying the aid they provide by recruiting the best athletes and marketing their products.

Although debates as to the effectiveness of tied aid are prominent, evidence to support its merits are somewhat lacking. Morrissey and White (1996) note that policies of tying aid reduce concessionality and potential for growth. Tying aid often benefits the donor more than the recipient country by linking aid with trade, and limiting the choices and autonomy of the recipient. Morrissey and White (1996) argue that tied aid "restricts recipients to using the products and technology supplied by the donor, which are not always the technologies most appropriate to the needs of the recipients (p. 209).

Celebrity activism. Celebrities play a central role in BWB acting as "role models" to camp participants as well as representatives of the NBA, its corporate sponsors, and

the global North in general. Celebrities can be a powerful marketing tool as they bring a familiar and intrinsically trustworthy face to a product. Within the context of BWB, celebrities are used to demonstrate the NBA's commitment to development and social responsibility and to draw the attention of the global North to these "charitable" actions

The celebrity "activism" in global corporate philanthropy and SDP is not limited to BWB as celebrities from Bono, to Angelina Jolie, to Oprah Winfrey participate in programs such as the (RED) campaign, Right to Play, and even the UN various sport for development and peace programs. The use of celebrities in SDP merges the supposed win-win of GCP with development where over-consumption in the global North can continue *while* benefiting those in the global South. This same approach is utilized by the NBA where the celebrities in BWB serve two purposes. First, it is posited that the NBA athletes have something to contribute to development practices, and that the global South can benefit from their knowledge and expertise. Second, and in my view more importantly, they draw the attention of North American audiences to the compassion and social responsibility of the NBA. This compassionate marketing of the NBA's image is significant. Throughout the 1970s and early 80s the NBA was plagued by alleged drug use and image problem that, as Grant Farred notes, was informed by how "black" the league had become since its founding (Farred, 2006, p.8). Since being named Commissioner of the league in 1983, David Stern has been focused on two primary goals: improving the image of the league (primarily amongst the NBA's white viewership in North America), and expanding the profitability of the league internationally. Both of these goals were achieved through the phenomenon that was, and remains, Michael Jordan. As Farred (2006) notes "Jordan alone was responsible for the league's growth

and, from the late-1980s, its expansion into a global enterprise” (p. 9). Although not the first athlete to achieve international notoriety, Jordan achieved fame at a rate and to an extent not previously seen: he is inextricably linked to the boom of global capitalism throughout the 1980s. He was not only instrumental in altering the image of the NBA in North America, but also exposed the league to an entirely new global fan base, and became the prototypical role model for millions of youth around the world. Since the Jordan-era, the NBA has been active in the use of its celebrities as role models to portray the league as fan-friendly, and to gain market penetration.

Thus the use of celebrities in BWB is a conscious effort by the NBA to promote the image and product of the NBA globally and has little to do with their development claims. Rather, their presence can be seen as an attempt to further legitimate the league’s intervention in the global South. “Aid celebrities” as Richey and Ponte (2006) refer to them, act as “emotional sovereigns” for corporations to legitimize their efforts and have the added effect of blurring the lines between the image of the celebrity and the policies of the NBA. Moreover, aid celebrities serve to further advance dominant ideologies about the global South as their experiences in the development context are “recounted as narrative devices” in the media, and thusly serve to construct knowledge of the global North and South (Richey & Ponte, 2006, p. 12). In the narratives presented by NBA athletes at BWB camps, the image of the grateful recipients of aid is presented in juxtaposition to the benevolence of the NBA celebrities who are donating their time. This discourse is presented for the audience of North America so as to frame the NBA as deserving of our attention and consumption. This is reflected in the following narrative of former NBAer Jerome Williams at the South Africa camp in 2005 as he speaks for the

experience of the children at the camp while constructing NBA players as compassionate and charitable:

To see that many kids with their attention on you; hanging onto your every word – it's very heartfelt. You want to give them so much but you only have a short amount of time. But I think every NBA player did a great job in terms of uplifting the students. The children got a lot out of it, knowing they have NBA players supporting them. (National Basketball Association, 2005c)

This discourse presents NBA athletes as qualified development practitioners who have the campers “hanging on their every word” as well as presenting the athletes as benevolent for donating their time for this cause. Moreover, the idea that the campers “got a lot out of it” “*knowing* they have NBA players supporting them” suggests that the campers benefit from this aid because the support of the celebrity seemingly does more than that of others. In reality, this support is fleeting as the celebrity returns to North America and their professional sporting career, while underdevelopment persists. What also needs to be questioned here is who this narrative is being constructed for. The narrative of the athletes being touched by the campers, wanting to do so much in such a short period of time, and uplifting the students, only temporarily impact the campers while serving to have a more lasting impression on the North America audience for whom this narrative is presented.

While it is clear why the NBA would want its celebrities as a part of its social responsibility initiative, the consequences that this holds for the development ambitions of the program are dubious. In the global North, athletes are generally celebrated and held as role models above others who are perhaps more deserving and better suited for

idolization. While the sport star is certainly capable of having a positive influence on youth, the status of role model is inherently applied to athletes, which in many cases may not deserved. As Gill Lines (2001) argues, “the sporting hero has traditionally been perceived as embodying values which learnt on the playing fields will readily transfer into everyday life” (p. 290). The notion of learning skills from NBA athletes that can be transferred to the everyday lives of campers in the global South is produced in the narrative of NBA athlete Marko Jaric at the BWB camp in 2003:

You know, when we’re younger, it was important for us to get some [role] models. You always try to follow the steps of someone you want to look like...I will show them what is important to become a good person on and off the basketball court. (National Basketball Association, 2003c)

The NBA presents its celebrities as having a wealth of knowledge to impart on the global South. However, there are perhaps better role models for the campers than the athlete who has achieved his success through avenues that in many ways are not available to these youth. Moreover, how these athletes can demonstrate to the campers how to be good people off the court is questionable, as “off the court” is quite a different place in the global South as compared to the global North. This raises question as to the practicality of using the sport star as development practitioners, and ultimately compromises the NBA’s capacity as an international development initiative.

The use of celebrity, while having the benefit of increasing the visibility of development causes, also risks obfuscating how these organizations contribute to development by drawing attention to the celebrity and away from the issue of development as well as the historical, political, and economic reasons for

underdevelopment. Richey and Ponte (2006) highlight this point in their work on (RED) by arguing “Bono is the totem of ‘compassionate consumption’, steering attention from the causes of poverty, such as the inequities of systems of production and trade, by focusing on the outcome, HIV/AIDS” (Richey & Ponte, 2006, p. 21). Similarly, NBA materials place more of a focus on the actions of the celebrities and the basketball abilities of the athletes at the camp, rather than the conditions of poverty, and how BWB is addressing these issues. Even the promising aspects of the program, such as the construction of reading and learning centers or the educational classes are overshadowed by the role the celebrities play.

The use of celebrities in global corporate philanthropy and SDP has repercussions in broader trends of neoliberal globalization and the proliferation of free-market capitalism. Richey and Ponte (2006) argue that the role of celebrities in development and consumption has changed the nature of the social contract by acting as a mediator between the classic form of negotiations among state, capital, and labour. While the state once played the role of external guarantor between NGOs and corporations, celebrities have assumed this position, effectively changing the role of the Nation state (Richey & Ponte, 2006). This point is illustrated in a statement from Chip Lyons, President of the US Fund for UNICEF:

Commissioner Stern has made a commitment to fighting HIV/AIDS. Along with UNICEF’s presence in 160 countries, there’s not a place where the NBA is and kids are playing basketball where UNICEF isn’t working. Given the global popularity of basketball...of Yao Ming, of Magic Johnson and others, that can affect the attitude and behaviour of young people and that’s why this partnership

with the NBA is invaluable when it comes to trying to help HIV-negative kids stay negative. (National Basketball Association 2004c)

Here the use of celebrity status of Yao Ming and Magic Johnson reassures the Western public that the efforts of the NBA are just and effective by serving the role of external guarantor. The role that the state plays in the program is never mentioned in the NBA's documents or in any popular media coverage on the program, nor are we made aware of how the program is perceived in areas where BWB operates. We are made to assume, through discursive construction like this one, that development projects are inherently justified and moral, and that foreign nations are automatically open to Western (corporate) intervention: a fact made more secure by the participation of celebrities.

The use of celebrities in BWB as spokesmen, role models, and external guarantors is characteristic of global trends in neoliberal capitalism in that sport-celebrities cannot be removed from the corporate brands they embody. As Rojek (2001) demonstrates, the rise of celebrity is inextricably linked to the rise of commercial capitalism; one cannot be separated from the other. In the same way that soda cannot be de-linked from Coca-Cola or Pepsi, basketball players cannot be de-linked from the NBA, Nike, and numerous other corporate brands; it's all packaging. As celebrities urge us to consume Coca-Cola, celebrities in BWB now ask us to consume development. As Smart (2005) notes "we both consume celebrities and are reconstituted in as subjects of consumption by them" (p. 103). At one time the path to being "Like Mike"⁶ was through the consumption of Gatorade, it is now also through the compassionate consumption of sport for development via the NBA.

⁶ "Be Like Mike" was a popular Gatorade commercial in the 1990s in which a chorus of children sang about Jordan while images of Jordan were spliced with children imitating Jordan's movements and successes. The commercial concluded "Be Like Mike. Drink Gatorade."

Advertising has evolved from the promotion of products to a form of branding in which corporations associate their products with “events and figures that evoke a feeling of authenticity and the cultural form that has been identified as most readily exemplifying authenticity has been sport” (Smart, 2005, p. 104). In this vein, celebrity athletes in BWB bring an authenticity to development ambitions, but also embody the NBA and its sponsors’ brand, which they are continually promoting. Thus while these athletes are the face of BWB and international development, they are simultaneously promoting the NBA product in these new markets as well as in North America. This is evident in the cross-promotion of McDonald’s in BWB where the restaurant held special NBA themed cups promoted by NBA Star and BWB ambassador, Yao Ming in more than 600 restaurants in China (McDonald’s and NBA Team up for fitness Abroad, Primedia Insight 2005). Here, Yao is used to draw attention to the philanthropic efforts of the NBA and McDonald’s, while simultaneously being presented as a commodity that can be bought and sold. This is representative of the broader ambition of the NBA to increase its product’s notoriety via a packaging of corporate social responsibility. Ultimately this presents a superficial approach to development while ignoring root causes for, and persistence of underdevelopment as attention to the causes that are claimed to be addressed are held only temporary in the public’s eye while the benefits the corporations are more lasting and profitable.

Discovering resources

The potential for development programs to be seen as neocolonial is ever present. Any program in which predominantly Western people, products, and values unilaterally operate in the global south are in danger of reflecting ideologies of imperialism (Stiglitz,

2004). As BWB is operated by Western corporations and people, the extent to which the program is culpable of this must be explored. The globalization of neoliberal economics has created a system in which the global South is economically dependent--although in many ways co-dependent --on the global North (Said, 1994). This relationship is a vestige of the colonial era where economies in the global South were developed for the benefit and use of the global North. Since decolonization, these unequal relationships have largely persisted--although there are obvious examples and degrees of interdependence-- through neoliberal policies of privatization and SAPs. The discourse surrounding BWB in the NBA's documents reflects these neocolonial relations. A close reading of this seemingly innocuous text from Amadou Gallo Fall reveals numerous dynamics at play regarding the discovery of resources and the production of neocolonial ideologies and practices:

Q: How good is the talent in Africa? A: The talent pool is largely untapped. For different reasons, it's been overlooked. Part of it is understandable, because access is difficult; it's not like going to Europe or Asia. But you do have unbelievable talent here that's raw and needs to be moulded. In spite of the lack of infrastructure, you have success stories already. If there was a way to work with these kids at an early age, you'd be amazed with what you see. But then it's very easy to get discouraged, because the conditions are so bad. (National Basketball Association, 2003a)

This narrative effectively demonstrates how BWB is a product of, and reproduces, neocolonial linkages as the athletes in the global South are discursively constructed as raw resources that require the expertise of the global North to be effectively reformed and

utilized. The narrative frames the participants of the camp as an “untapped” “talent pool” that through the knowledge and abilities of the global North, can be “moulded” into finished products that are then fit for consumption in the global North. Not only does this construct the global North as a source of knowledge and power, but it also simultaneously constructs the global South as inferior and in need of the intervention of the NBA. Without the global North, it would seem, the potential of the global South (athletic, economic, and otherwise) would go to waste. Moreover, the athletes themselves are infantilized in this discourse as they are presented as helpless and in need of nurturing by the NBA to achieve their full (athletic) potential. As Escobar (1995) argues, this is part of an ideological foundation of development, in that the infantilization of the so-called ‘third world’ is integral to development as means of salvation. Thus the very idea of BWB is predicated on this infantilization, as without it, the global South, and these athletes, would not be framed as in need of the intervention of the NBA. Furthermore, by not referring to any of the athletes directly, these comments further reflect how they are objectified and seen through the lens of the NBA as commodities. Rather than speaking to the experiences of the athletes--or better yet, allowing them to speak for themselves--the athletes are objectified and framed from a Western viewpoint.

The previous quote also highlights the paradox that runs through BWB as the camp requires, yet simultaneously dismisses these neocolonial linkages. Fall’s recognition of the “different reasons” for the lack of recognition of basketball talent in Africa, yet silence on what these reasons may be, is emblematic of the hegemony of the global North and unquestioned neocolonial global-political order. This notion is further reinforced by Fall’s seemingly apologetic approach to this neglect and marginalization,

by saying that it is “understandable” because “access is difficult” and “it’s not like going to Europe or Asia”. Here again, the reason why access is difficult, or why other areas are more developed is unquestioned and not criticized. Perhaps the greatest irony here is that BWB is framed as the solution to this neglect and neocolonialism, rather than a symptom and reproducer of it. Again, the recognition and dismissal of colonialism and neocolonialism are presented in Fall’s narrative when he notes the “success stories” “in spite of the lack of infrastructure”. BWB is framed as a catalyst to these success stories, and the lack of infrastructure is presented as problematic in the sporting realm but not in other areas such as hospitals or schools, while the conditions that have led to this underdevelopment remain unnamed. This is further reinforced in Fall’s description of the visible discouragement of the athletes “because the conditions are so bad” in terms of infrastructure also constructs the global South as lacking resources an issue that is only of importance because of its hindrance to athlete development.

The focus on the finding “raw resources” that can be moulded into NBA calibre talents requires further analysis as it brings in to question whether BWB is an exercise in social responsibility, or merely a recruiting tool for the NBA under the guise of corporate philanthropy. BWB as a product and reproducer of neocolonial encounters is demonstrated through the numerous athletes that were once participants in BWB who are now members of the NBA. The most notable names on this list include Luke Richard Mbah A Mout (Cameroon), Marco Belinelli (Italy), Danilo Gallinari (Italy), Martynas Andriuskevicius (Lithuania), and Ante Tomic (Croatia), while numerous other former BWB participants have been members of American division one college teams including Bamba Fall (Senegal), PaPa Saliou Diaw (Senegal), and Mohammed Berte (Ivory Coast)

to name of few. The construction of BWB as a recruitment campaign, rather than a means of development, is reflected in this interview with Atlanta Hawks scout Mark Crow.

Down in Africa you see all this athletic potential, it literally jumps out at you.

There the skill level is really behind. The kids in Africa need to get to Europe and get to American colleges to get the coaching that they need. Last year there were 30 7-footers waiting to be taken off and schooled. There are no diamonds there.

(National Basketball Association, 2004a)

This discourse is akin to that of the colonial era where resources were removed from global South for their refinement and consumption in the global North. Such discourse ignores the historical conditions of colonialism that have allowed for athletes (and by extension other sectors) to be “behind” the global North, but also systematically contributes to the underdevelopment of these nations by further removing such resources with little, if any, compensation. Colonial legacies are often left out of development ideologies, which ultimately serve to reinforce the passivity or inferiority of racial others, and reaffirm wealth and privilege as characteristics of whiteness (Darnell, 2007). The danger in presenting an ahistorical and apolitical approach to development is the imperialism and paternalism that were hallmarks of the colonial era may unwittingly, and covertly be reproduced. Thus as resources and people were removed from colonies for their use in empires, similar comparisons can be made within BWB as resources and people, in the form of athletes, move from countries of the global South for their use by individuals in the global North (National Basketball Association owners, fans, etc.). However, a significant difference between these two eras that cannot be overemphasized

is that these athletes are not duped or forced in to coming to North America or Europe to play basketball. Rather, this movement of resources is reflective of forces in the era of globalization era that are akin to neocolonialism in which many countries of the global South remain export-oriented or subject to structural adjustment programs that require acceptance of the policies and authority of Western nations and TNCs.

How these processes reproduce neocolonialism and contribute to underdevelopment, rather than address it, is apparent when one considers the long history of international development. Sport is posited as a tool in which the playing field can be levelled between practitioners and subjects of development. However, the danger of reproducing underdevelopment remains prevalent in the SDP context as reflected in the following narrative from scout Amadou Gallo Fall:

I think it's important for people to realize that this part of the world that is ready for growth. With the youth population here, they have to have some market value at some level. I hope we use the global community to help develop basic infrastructures and resources here. I hope the resources here aren't exploited, however. Use the resources, but leave something here. Come find player, but build courts. Instruct the local coaches. (National Basketball Association, 2003a)

The idea that BWB will attract attention “for people to realize that this part of the world is ready for growth” presumes the underdevelopment of the global South is the result of an apathy or ineptitude to participate in the global economic order. The fact that the historical conditions of colonialism and exploitation that have systematically contributed to the underdevelopment of, the global South (not just sporting, but by extension

economic and social) are unquestioned is exemplary of how sport for international development has been removed from the realm of the political.

Athlete migration. The migration of bodies across geographical boundaries results in the creation of spaces of interaction between diverse individuals, ideologies, and practices from the global North and the global South. Having written extensively on athlete migration, Joseph Maguire (2008; Falcous & Maguire, 2005, 2006; Maguire & Bale, 1994;) draws attention to the role that this movement plays in exemplifying and explaining transnational processes in neoliberal globalization. He argues that the analysis of athlete migration brings broader issues of transnational relations and globalized capitalism into view. BWB reflects these issues as the unequal migration of athletes between the global North and South reflects hegemonic power, bodies of privilege, and transnational capitalism.

Global labour migration has a significant impact on “host” and “donor” countries in BWB, as these processes reflect the movement of workers more generally, and holds implications for domestic and foreign policies of nation states (Maguire, 2008). Athletes from both the global North and South have the agency to make individual decisions about if and where to move, but they do so within a political, economic, and historical context that actively shapes the choices available. As Maguire (2008) argues, sport migration involves a “complex and shifting set of interdependencies” that incorporate economic, political, historical, geographical, and social factors (p. 447). The movement of athletes in BWB should not be seen as merely providing new, global opportunities, but rather as a product of the hegemony of the global North. As Cornelissen and Solberg (2007) argue, the movement of players from the South to the North occurs through historical routes and

neocolonial exchanges between countries that “tend to reflect patterns of hierarchy and inequality between such countries” (p. 300). Similar neocolonial patterns are reflected in BWB where talented players move from the global South to make a living in the global North, with little compensation received by donor countries. This is seen in the increasing number of international players in the NBA since the 1990s. As of January 2009, NBA teams owned the rights to 127 “international” players: the majority from Europe (84), followed by South America (11), Asia-Pacific (11), Africa (9), Central America/ Caribbean (8), and Canada (4) (NBA, 2009). Of these international players 71, come from 26 nations identified by the World Bank as low or middle income countries (as determined by gross national income per capita) a classification that conventionally refers to “developing” nations.⁷ The movement of the players from developing nations into the NBA is problematic for a program predicated on development. The NBA’s policy of encouraging the migration of the most talented athletes from their home countries contributes to hegemonic international labour patterns and contributes to the underdevelopment of the global South. This quote from Masai Ujiri illustrates the point:

We want to prepare these players properly for the future. We want them not only to get the basics at the right time but let them understand what is out there in American colleges or professional level in a place like Europe. Some of us didn’t get this chance but we feel we owe these kids that exposure. It’s our way of giving back to the system. (Ayinor, P., 2005)

⁷ This list includes players from Argentina (7), Brazil (4), Belarus (1), Bosnia-Herzegovina (3), Cameroon (1), China (4), Croatia (3), The Democratic Republic of Congo (2), Dominican Republic (2), Georgia (2), Iran (1), Latvia (1), Lithuania (6), Mexico (1), Montenegro (1), Puerto Rico (2), Poland (2), Russia (4), Serbia (11), Senegal (4), St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1), Sudan (1), Turkey (5), and Ukraine (3).

Although these countries may receive some remittances, the movement of athletes has an overall detrimental impact on the global South. To revisit Wallerstein's world systems theory, the core (North America) utilizes the raw resource of player talent from the semi-periphery (South America) and periphery (Africa)--predominantly where BWB camps operate--and "transforms and deploys those resources for consumption in the core" (Cornelissen & Solberg, 2007, p. 302). The ideology promoted through BWB "prepares" these players for the future by having them migrate from the periphery to American colleges, the professional European leagues, or the NBA, rather than by attempting to develop local leagues and programs. This is of particular concern for BWB's ambitions as a development and social responsibility program as the UN warns against the "unfair exploitation of talent from developing countries for commercial gain" (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2008, p. 13). BWB contributes to such exploitation as this migration stymies local economic and cultural development in sport, and serves to underdevelop another sector of the global South, while benefiting the NBA.

Migration-related underdevelopment occurs in a range of political-economic fields. As Maguire (2008) discusses "elite sport migrants are just another example of the highly skilled--enmeshed in local, national, global technological, political and economic state, transnational and TNC policies and whose movement is reflective of and reinforcing the changes concerning the nation state" (p. 447). This "de-skilling" of labour in donor countries is detrimental as they invest in the youth's athletic and personal capacities: However, once these athletes achieve prominence in their field, and can profit from their skill set, programs like BWB usher them into the global North (Maguire, 2008,

p. 451). This process is most pronounced in soccer and the movement of athletes throughout Africa into bigger European leagues. Smaller clubs in Africa cannot match the wealth of these European leagues, and thus these players depart for more lucrative contracts. In this regard, Darby (2001) explains how the “first world” develops and prospers through the under-development of the “third world” by demonstrating how African football (soccer) labour migration is emblematic of the broader economic and political relationship between the global North and South (Darby, 2001, p. 238). He argues that the development of African soccer markets by Western European clubs is an example of the hegemony of the global North in which the entire economies of developing nations are export-oriented, thus effectively preventing any form of sustainable, independent development in the global South. This system involves an entire political-economic structure where training facilities have been established in the global South to act as feeder system to major sporting leagues in soccer and baseball. BWB is a similar venture in labour migration, as they too attempt to capitalize on expanding markets for athletes and viewers. The compensation that these smaller leagues and nations receive pales in comparison to the profits that are made from the labour of these athletes in Europe or America. At times, the return may involve a buyout from the local clubs or, as in the case of BWB, rely on the charitable return of these players and leagues.

The unequal migration of athletes is discursively constructed in the comments of former BWB participant Frank Traore of Burkina Faso--now living in Connecticut--in an interview with an NBA reporter:

I am glad that the NBA and FIBA came to Africa and gave me a chance to be coached in basketball. I have now had the opportunity to attend the South Kent School in Connecticut and continue to play basketball. I hope to continue my education and return home to help my country. (National Basketball Association, 2004b)

This quote effectively illustrates the inequality in global labour movement in that the movement from North to South is constant and beneficial to the North whereas the opposing movement is occasional and relies on campers “coming back” to improve conditions. While these players may gain personally from education and employment opportunities in the global North, the benefits at a more populous, national level for donor nations are limited. Maguire and Bale (1994) argue that states in the global South are “in a position of dependent trading: their athletic labour being the equivalent of the cash crops which they sell in other sectors of the world economy” (Maguire & Bale, 1994, p. 16). Labour migration does not only involve athletes but also the entire political economy of sport. Maguire and Bale (1994) note: The flow from country to country, continent to continent, of sporting goods, equipment and landscapes (sports complexes, golf courses, artificial playing surfaces etc.) has grown to the position of multi-billion dollar business in recent years and represents a transnational development in sport at the level of technoscapes (Maguire & Bale, 1994, p. 6). As demonstrated in the quote above, the likelihood that Burkina Faso receives compensation for Frank Tarore’s departure rests on his individual generosity and decision to give or not to give, to return or not to return.

BWB can be seen as promoting the “American dream” globally, in which anyone can achieve their dreams through hard work and dedication. This ideology is discursively

constructed throughout the documents covering BWB and is surmised aptly here: “Seven of the 100 participants of last year’s NBA Africa 100 Camp are living a dream come true by attending school in the US” (National Basketball Association, 2004b). The idea that the dream of youth throughout the world is to play basketball in the United States reflects a Western supremacist ideology where migration to the US is framed as the path to social and economic well-being. The promotion of this ideology is clearly problematic for a development initiative, as it presents competing messages. On the one hand, BWB promotes education and giving back to society, while on the other hand removing the most talented individuals from these same nations.

The dual movement of athletes in BWB--the celebrity athletes from the NBA who move to the global South and the elite BWB campers who move to sporting programs in the global North--may on the surface seem mutually beneficial. However, this movement is representative of broader forces in neoliberal globalization in that the movement of these athletes does not occur equally. Athletes from the global North are merely visitors to these developing nations, able to come and go as they please: Athletes in the global South are only permitted this mobility if they are so chosen by those in the global North. This is to say that only those that show the most potential benefit for a high school, collegiate, or NBA program are selected and afforded this luxury. Moreover, the structure of the program that encourages this movement is problematic in that it removes the most talented players and promotes an ideology that sees elite sport and migration to the global North as a viable means to success. The overall effect of these issues may be to promote underdevelopment rather than development, and are problematic for any SDP program.

Encountering 'the other'

Development ideology is predicated on the hegemony of the global North, the unequal distribution of resources, and the passive receipt of aid by the racial other (Darnell, 2007, p. 562). Development programs may serve to reproduce the racial “other” through hegemonic discourse that creates an accepted distinction between “East” and “West” or North and South. As such, BWB is dependent upon the dichotomy that is (re)created in development encounters that result in the (re)production of racialized bodies as the “other” in contrast to the NBA’s position of whiteness. In Edward Said’s canonical text *Orientalism* (1978), he deconstructs the historical and political roots of “othering” in the Orient (“Orientalism”) arguing that “Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and (most of the time) ‘the Occident’” (Said, 1978, p. 2). Such a construction serves to reproduce and reaffirm the hegemony of the West, while marginalizing the other. Said (1978) utilizes Foucault’s notion of discourse to explain how European culture manages and produces the orient politically, sociologically, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively (p. 3). Said (1978) writes;

Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restricting, and having authority over the Orient. (p. 3)

The notion of othering is prevalent in with SDP and BWB as the other is constructed in contrast to a position of whiteness from which BWB operates. In her work

Bodies on the Move: Spatialized Location, Identities, and Nationality in International Work, Narda Razack (2005) explores the intersection of identity and space locally and globally, arguing that racialized bodies are viewed differently in Northern and Southern spaces. She notes that identities remained tied to colonial linkages as white bodies remained privileged in both Northern and Southern spaces. Yet the hegemony of globalization in the postcolonial order has complicated realities of privilege and oppression, rendering them more covert and subversive. In this regard, development projects--similar to colonial encounters--create a "contact zone" in which peoples "come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, racial inequality, an intractable conflict" (Razack, 2005, p. 93). BWB can be seen as a contact zone in which individuals and locales in the global South (specifically the basketball players who attend the camp, but also the broader communities that are recipients of various forms of aid) come into contact with agents, celebrities, and corporations from the global North. The discourses surrounding BWB (re)produces dominant ideologies of the nature of these contacts and zones in which they occur, and contribute to the (re)production of racialized bodies. The hegemony of the global North is often reproduced through these encounters where those in the NBA are the possessors of knowledge and power to be imparted on the global South. The idea of international development itself has since its inception been a Western concept that has supported interventionist and unilateral policies. As such, development itself has become an industry of the global North with thousands of individuals employed by various governmental and non-governmental organizations, with millions of dollars spent on various projects. The unilateral movement of resources, bodies, and expertise in these

projects are predicated on 'common sense' notions of the global North and South that sees the interventionism of the global North as needed and noble. As such, there is always a danger within the development context of reproducing dominant ideologies regarding aspects of racialization, othering, and white privilege.

Although sport provides an opportunity for a new approach to development that is perhaps more inclusive, the current constructs of SDP programs as seen in BWB merely reflect these Western-centric approaches to development. BWB functions from a position of whiteness, as although it may not be carried out by white individuals, it operates unilaterally from the global North, and reflects transnational dimensions of hegemony and neocolonialism. Darnell (2007) defines whiteness in the development context as "a racial characteristic that assumes and presumes a normative social position through the discursive intersections of gender, class, sexuality, domesticity, respectability and superiority, and that allows for the intelligibility of racialized bodies" (Darnell, 2007, p. 563). BWB embodies these characteristics through its position as a Western corporation with multi-million dollar athletes and corporate representatives who assume an air of respectability and economic and intellectual superiority.

The discourses surrounding BWB produce knowledges not only of the subjects of development but also of their surroundings (Kiely, 1999, p. 31). As Pieterse (2000) argues, "development can best be described as an apparatus that links forms of knowledge about the global South with the deployment of forms of power and intervention, resulting in the mapping and production of Third World societies" (p. 180). This knowledge construction can be illustrated through the example of poverty. Poverty (in terms of participation in the global economic order) is constructed as a problem by

those in the global North: its alleviation demands the involvement of Western governments, TNCs, and NGOs, thus creating a development industry. Moreover, while I don't want romanticize poverty nor ignore many of the hardships in the global South, the discourse that frames those in these areas as 'desperate for basic development' and in 'intolerable living conditions' reflects the Western valuation of modernization as a measure of wealth and happiness that should not be generalized throughout the globe. This notion is reflected in the BWB documents, written for a Western audience to show the dire living conditions of people in the global South, and effectively providing justification for the NBA's intervention in these areas. Here, in this quote from an NBA reporter, South Africa is portrayed as an area of "degradation" and "squalor" that presumably would be appalling to any Westerner. Moreover, the individuals in this region are spoken for (but not spoken to) through their presumed desire for development and appreciation for what the NBA is doing.

They witnessed firsthand the degradation and squalor that the innocent children of Kliptown are being born into. For a population of over 40 000 there are only 49 working taps. The central points of each community, these same taps are used for washing, cleaning and of course drinking. The lack of basic hygiene was particularly striking; five families, of maybe seven members or more, would share a single toilet. It was evident for all to see, and for anyone that as willing to listen that the residents are desperate for basic development to better the intolerable living conditions that they endure each and every day. (National Basketball Association, 2005b)

This quote frames the global South as a dire, impoverished area. The fact that the children of Kliptown are living in overcrowded and unhygienic conditions is certainly worthy of concern and political action. However, how the NBA players witnessing this poverty goes beyond raising awareness and towards ameliorating inequalities is unclear. In this narrative, the global South is portrayed as desperate and in need of the aid that seemingly can only be provided by the global North. These texts thus (re)produce an idea of the global North as the source of significant knowledge and power in the world, and the global South as merely the victim of poverty. Furthermore, while I do not mean to romanticize poverty nor ignore many of the hardships in the global South, the discourse that frames those in the region as ‘desperate for basic development’ and ‘intolerable living conditions’ reflects the Western valuation of material goods as a measure of wealth and happiness that should not be generalized throughout the globe. BWB treads a fine line in that while raising consciousness of conditions in the global South and the people in these areas is certainly important however, BWB fails to move beyond this to address roots causes of underdevelopment.

The point of this work is not to present BWB as an oblivious or uncaring organization. The league does draw attention to the condition of the global South as presented (although in a limited fashion) in the discourse surrounding the league as reflected in this interview with Amadou Gallo Fall:

People are so quick to expand and report on all of the calamities here. Africa, a lot of the time, is synonymous with misery and AIDS and the killings in Rwanda. There’s never anything good coming out of here. This is something good. If people are able to make the most of this, hopefully it change the perceptions of

Africa...This is a great opportunity for a cross-cultural exchange. (National Basketball Association, 2003a)

While Fall is correct in pointing that much of the discourse that has surrounded Africa has focused on disasters and tragedy (and much of the consciousness raising of the 1980s and 90s had little effect on these issues), the “good” that BWB presents is not without its limitations. As I have shown, the knowledge production of BWB fails to disrupt the dominant construction of Africa as a region that is in need of the intervention of the global North. Thus, while BWB does not directly focus on genocide, poverty, or health, it presents an image of Africa that fits with the audience for whom is written, the global North. Moreover, there is a material and symbolic divide between what NBA is claiming to achieve, and what it is actually doing on the ground level. The majority of the discourses surrounding BWB construct this dire and impoverished image of the global South, yet fail to present how BWB is addressing this by gearing the camp towards elite talents. In this way BWB spreads assumptions and constructs a reality from a Western perspective that serves to marginalize and other those in the global South. As Sachs (1992) contends, the discourse of development spreads assumptions about poverty, production, and equality that knowledge is produced within a Western perception of reality. He writes “knowledge however, wields power by directing people’s attention it carves out and highlights a certain reality, casting into oblivion other ways of relating to the world around us” (Sachs, 1992, p. 5).

Ultimately, the discourse surrounding BWB constructs the global South as the ‘other’ and the global North as the standard to which all others are compared. Through these constructions, those in the global South are framed within a certain perception of

what under-developed areas and people look like. As is will be seen in the following section, the actual campers at the BWB camps are startlingly absent from the accounts in the NBA documents. Ultimately this silence serves to present a homogenized, and dehumanized, vision of those in the global South and the recipients of aid.

Subjects of benevolence and gratitude. Sport for development programs like BWB need always be aware of regressing into discourses and practices of paternalism. The discourse surrounding BWB often, if not always, comes from the perspective of the developer. Rarely do we hear how those who are the subjects of development conceptualize and understand these endeavours. When the recipients of aid do appear, they are discursively framed as the subjects of benevolence and gratitude (Darnell, 2007). Discourses of development “speak for, and presume to understand the experiences of the recipients of aid, which may serve to remove their voice” (Darnell, 2007, p. 570). This is shown in the discourse of NBA scout Tony Ronzone, regarding the BWB participants:

They’ve been unbelievable. They’re like sponges. Their attention spans are unbelievable. The more you talk the more they listen. They don’t ask a lot of questions because they’re not used to instruction. But they’ve shown consistency in drills. They’re like kids in a candy store. (National Basketball Association, 2003b)

Here the participants in the camp are not themselves asked about their experience or understanding of BWB, but are rather framed as appreciative and eager to absorb the knowledge imparted by the developer as it is unquestionably good and just. The infantilizing construction as “sponges”, who are “not used to instruction”, and “kids in a candy store” reflects the unquestioned appreciation with which they are assumed to

accept development, and the construction of the other “who is seemingly grateful for the material means that provide respite for his/her marginalization” (Darnell, 2007, p. 570). Within this framework, questions about the political economic order that has created the need for such a program, or how the development agenda is constructed are hidden from view.

While sport is constructed as a field in which geographical, cultural, and economic gaps may be bridged, the discursive framework that is presented in the NBA’s documents present a counter-narrative. In this narrative, sport is the vehicle that allows the donors of aid to speak for the recipients of aid. Moreover, the BWB participants are constructed as grateful for the respite that the camp provides (however temporary it may be), while the hegemony of the NBA is reproduced as it is credited for its generosity and philanthropic acts (Darnell, 2007). In his work on *Right to Play*, Darnell (2007) discusses how the deliverance of sporting goods and knowledge become codes for knowing and separating cultural and class differences between the global North and South. He argues that the donation of soccer balls, Frisbees, volleyballs and so on reaffirms the less-materially focused, yet, surprisingly to Westerners, happy lives of African children; a stark contrast to the consumer culture of the global North, where middle-class children would not be satisfied with such simple gifts (Darnell, 2007 p. 271). This is reflected in the narrative constructed around BWB, where the participants in the camp are labelled as unquestioningly appreciative for the sporting goods and knowledge provided by the NBA and its corporate sponsors.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have addressed what I believe to be a gap in the literature surrounding SDP initiatives. I believe that we need to take a step back to evaluate not only how sport is posited as a means to development, and whether this is a viable ambition, but also to question the implications of its growing popularity. We also need to question the implications of the increasing corporatization of development. TNCs like the NBA have attempted to wed consumer capitalism with social responsibility and development, two ventures that are in my view, antithetical. Through BWB the NBA is proposing that the solution to underdevelopment is not the reconfiguration of capitalist neoliberal policies that have in many ways contributed to this underdevelopment, but rather to effectively increase consumptive patterns so as to avail a certain percentage of that capital for the development of the global South. But these endeavours reproduce, rather than address underdevelopment and neocolonialism. These programs require investigation and analysis so as to move beyond an unquestioned acceptance of sport and the benevolent corporation and towards a more complex and critical understanding of how these initiatives operate and where they are leading us.

Here, I have attempted to move the analysis in this field forward by interrogating the symbolic and material consequences of the NBA establishing an international development and corporate social responsibility initiative in the global South. As I have established throughout this thesis, BWB is problematic for a multitude of reasons. Primary amongst these reasons is that evidence to support sport as a tool for development are anecdotal and social in nature, sporting landscapes are often sexist, homophobic,

classed, and imperialist and, commercial sport program are unfit for development as they are tied to commercial gain and restrict who can participate (Fusco, 2005).

Materially, I argue that BWB contributes little to sustainable development in the nations within which it operates because it provides basketball-related infrastructure and goods, coaching, and Nike clothing to elite male talents rather than to a broader population of individuals in need. Where BWB does incorporate a broader audience--including children, the ill, and women--such efforts are seemingly tangential to the primary goals of BWB: talent development. Although the construction of reading and learning centers and hospital visitations are laudable, the aid is only temporary, with little evidence as to what happens to these programs when the NBA athletes return to the global North. Furthermore, such efforts fail to recognize or address the root-causes of underdevelopment.

Symbolically, Basketball Without Borders effectively contributes to the (re)production of neocolonialism and reaffirms the hegemony of the global North. Neoliberal and imperialist ideologies of corporatization, commercialism, individualism, and paternalism pervade BWB. The development discourse constructs its own reality by producing and reaffirming dominant ideologies surrounding the global North and South. BWB constructs an image of those in the global South as the passive recipients of aid whose personal development and growth could only be realized through the intervention of the global North. Moreover, the construction of local athletes at BWB camps as “raw” resources that are “discovered” and brought to North America for their refinement reflects neocolonial trends in neoliberal globalization. Furthermore, the discourse surrounding BWB also contributes to the idea of those in the global North--the NBA and

its celebrities in particular--as benevolent for donating their time and resources to passive recipients in the global South. Ultimately, BWB shapes our understanding of the dire and impoverished global South in juxtaposition to the benevolent and charitable global North. The use of celebrities in the program, and the league's efforts to develop the skill of its campers and promote their migration and employment in the global North, demonstrates that corporate capitalism and international development are not synergistic endeavours. The path that corporate sport for development is leading us down reaffirms colonial and hegemony conceptions of the global South and presents a superficial approach to development that ultimately does more harm than good.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

To revisit the opening section of this thesis, sport for development and peace projects operate within two discursive frameworks: that of international development as the unquestioned deliverance of aid and expertise from the global North to global South; and sport and play as universal and integrative social practices (Darnell, 2007). In this thesis I have presented a case study on one such SDP program, the National Basketball Association's Basketball Without Borders to demonstrate that this unquestioned deliverance of aid is problematic, and although sport has potential to be universal and integrative, it is also divisive and detrimental. By conducting an historical and discursive analysis of popular media coverage and the NBA's documents on the program, I have interrogated the intersection of sport, international development, and globalized corporate capitalism. It is my assertion that corporatized sport for development programs like Basketball Without Borders have an overall detrimental effect on the global South by (re)producing hegemonic knowledges of the global North and global South via neocolonial ideologies and practices.

In my introduction, I set out to answer the following research questions: What historical, social, economic, and political conditions enabled the creation of Basketball Without Borders? What are the symbolic and material consequences of the NBA entering nations of the Global South for the purpose of promoting development through sport? And, ultimately, how are neoliberal principles embedded in and promoted through Basketball Without Borders? In my concluding remarks here, I will provide an overview of the arguments that address these questions.

The roots of Basketball Without Borders

To interrogate the historical, social, economic, and political roots of BWB, I set my analysis within a framework of globalization theory and presented a history of development with its associated critiques. It is through a confluence of historical, political economic, and neoliberal forces the need for “development” has been created in the first place. Although globalization is believed to enable a path towards development for much of the global South --through access to, and integration in the global economy-- this has largely not been the case. Forces of neoliberal globalization--including globalized media, the internet, and the sport-industrial complex--have in fact contributed to the (re)production of global inequality by unevenly distributing access and associated benefits of globalization into the hands of transnational corporations, international financial institutions, and governments of the global North. Globalization has in many ways undermined development in the global South through the neoliberal policies it promotes. This neoliberal globalization has allowed for a flow of commodities and corporations from the global North while movements from the global South are more limited and constricted.

Within the current climate of development from the global North, international development is tied to capitalist neoliberal globalization. As such, integration into the global economy and modernization have historically been--and in many ways continue to be--the marker of development. While “progress” in the areas of primary education, disease control, vaccinations, pharmaceutical, and the advancement of human rights have

been made in some countries of the global South, development from the global North continues to be laden with contradictions and destructive forces.

Although underdevelopment in the global South is a direct result of colonial histories, it has been exacerbated by neoliberal policies--often implemented through structural adjustment programs--that require privatization, cuts to social services, the reduction of trade barriers and tariffs, and force the maintenance of export-orient economies. The irony here is that the intervention of transnational corporations is now popularly heralded as a means to addressing this underdevelopment: little recognition is paid to how these corporations have contributed to this underdevelopment initially, and now further exacerbate global inequality. It is in the intersection of neoliberal capitalism and development that BWB has emerged, and as such, the program is more of an exercise in corporate capitalism than an endeavour in international development or corporate social responsibility. Through the program, the NBA (re)procures the hegemony and imperialism of the global North by situating it as a source of knowledge and power and the global South as dependent upon its aid and intervention.

Thus the emergence of global corporate philanthropy and corporate sport for development programs like Basketball Without Borders is the product of the increasing influence of TNCs, and the ability for these corporations to frame their capitalist ambitions in the global South as socially responsible. Through globalized neoliberal ideologies, the NBA has been able to utilize the visibility of international development and corporate philanthropic initiatives as tools to market their product in the global South.

Despite the dawn of the modern development era nearly 60 years ago, much of the global South remains underdeveloped. This has been result of economic mismanagement and flawed policies on behalf of the global North and South. While approaches to development have attempted to move away from economic determinism and towards incorporating aspects of social and humanitarian growth, I believe that this corporate form is a step backward. Rather than addressing the detrimental effects of neoliberal globalization, BWB represents the strengthening of corporate capitalism and neoliberalism within the development ideology. Although BWB is only one example, corporate sport for development is an emerging and growing field. This is visible in Nike's ninemillion.org and Let Me Play program, and the growing corporate sponsorships of other SDP programs such as Right to Play that compromise their effectiveness and suitability as development practitioners. BWB is the growing face of corporate philanthropy and it brings with it a myriad of social, economic, and structural consequences. As I have shown, primary amongst these consequences are the (re)production of underdevelopment and neocolonial ideologies and practices.

The material consequences of Basketball Without Borders

As sport for development and peace is in its infancy, academic analysis of the field remains limited (save for the work of a few scholars such as Darnell, 2007, and Kidd, 2008). Moreover, despite the fanfare that SDP has received from the UN, NGOs, and governmental organizations, most of the evidence to support these claims is still emerging. As a result, the consequences of SDP initiatives operating in the global South have yet to be fully understood or explored. Having established the historical and political economic forces that have enabled the emergence of Basketball Without

Borders, in the second half of this thesis I have attempted to address this gap in the literature by evaluating the symbolic and material consequence of corporatized SDP.

Placing international development programs in the hands of transnational corporations jeopardizes the viability of sport as a tool of development in general, and more importantly, holds potential to be detrimental to the nations and people of the global South. The NBA's venture in corporate SDP has not contributed to development, but rather has effectively promoted ideologies of capitalism, consumption, individualism, elitism, and enacted practices of imperialism, paternalism, marginalization, and neocolonialism. The resultant conditions of underdevelopment to which the NBA has contributed is the product of what I see as the incompatibility of capitalism and international development. BWB's ties to its commercial ambitions overshadow its capability to contribute to development and, as such, demonstrates how transnational corporations are unfit practitioners of development.

The material consequences of the NBA's intervention in the global south are, at least, twofold: the foundational principles of their development program are tenuous and flawed, and their developmental ambitions are tangential to their corporate agenda. First, the proponents of sport as a tool of development and peace cite the numerous benefits of sport including: its disregard for political borders and social class; its ability to foster social integration and economic development; its promotion of health and wellness in conditions of poverty; and its ability to empower marginalized, ill, and war-torn populations (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2008). Despite these assertions, Basketball Without Borders adheres to few, if any of these goals. Rather than encouraged the participation of marginalized populations, or foster

dialogue and participation amongst diverse and warring groups by operating in conflict and post-conflict areas, the NBA caters its program to elite male basketball talent in urban areas in Argentina, China, Mexico, and South Africa. While these youth are certainly deserving of the opportunities--however flawed--that the NBA provides, the league is purposefully ignoring populations who can benefit the most from exposure to the resources and global celebrities of the NBA. A central reason for this omission--that cannot be over stated-- is the fact that these marginalized population contribute little to the commercial ambitions of the league: they are unlikely to be able to transform their labour (in terms of basketball talent) into a commodity that the NBA can profit from, nor are they likely to have a disposable income that would allow them to become a consumer of the league's product. Furthermore, the reasons why the NBA is unqualified to undertake an initiative such as BWB are seemingly obvious: the UN clearly states that commercial and high-performance sport are not appropriate as a development programs because they are tied to commercial gain and place restrictions on who can participate. In this thesis I have demonstrated how BWB is tied to both of these issues through the NBA's desire for market expansion, and their search for "resources" that can be moved to the global North. The NBA coaches and scouts at the camp are further emblematic of the detrimental material consequences of BWB as they promote the labour migration that can spur underdevelopment. The aid that these nations receive in compensation for this labour migration is dependent on the remittances of the individual athletes, and can underdevelopment local labour markets by removing individuals from other forms of labour.

While I am critical of the contributions that the NBA makes to development in the global South, or to how the program is socially *responsible* in anyway, I believe it is perhaps counterproductive to proffer a wholesale condemnation of the program. Where the league has potential to make a lasting contribution to material development is through the construction of reading and learning centers and the provision of education on social issues. These are commendable actions: however, they too, in their current form, are problematic. Firstly, the construction of these reading and learning centers is seemingly secondary to the NBA's central goals of athlete development and global product promotion. Moreover, what happens to these centers when the NBA returns to North America, how the center is stocked with resources, and how they are incorporated into educational programs in these nations are unclear. Secondly, the provision of education on social issues ranging from life skills, to education on HIV/AIDS is central to any international development initiative. However, having NBA players and corporate representatives as a part of these endeavours--in some cases acting as educators themselves--raises questions as to who is qualified to be a practitioner of development.

As corporations seek to jump on the sport for development bandwagon, the merits and repercussions of their efforts require scrutiny. In this thesis I have called into question how the donation of basketball related products, and the tutoring of elite male talent contributes to sustainable development. The NBA's desire for global expansion--in terms of markets of production and consumption--is clear. The dubious capabilities of sport as a tool for development, the league's elitist approach, the repercussions of labour migration from the global South to the global North, and the program's ties to commercial gain, all serve to contribute to the material underdevelopment of nations in

the global South and represent the incompatibility of corporate capitalism and international development.

The symbolic consequences of Basketball Without Borders

Arguably, it is the symbolic consequences of the NBA's actions that are of the greatest detriment. These symbolic consequences manifest through the discourse that surrounds BWB which construct the global South as a dire and impoverished area that can only achieve its potential (i.e. modernity) through the intervention of the NBA. These discursive constructions serve to reproduce ideologies and practices of neocolonialism that reaffirm the underdevelopment of the global South. As I have shown in the narratives presented by NBA athletes and employees, transnational corporations are unfit for development practices as not only do they hold competing agendas, but they are either unaware of, or ambivalent about, the seriousness and sensitivity that international development work requires. As a multi-billion dollar industry of the global North, the NBA embodies a position of whiteness and enters the global South for the purposes of "discovering" raw "resources" that can be brought back to the global North for commercial gain. As such, BWB symbolically (re)produces and contributes to ideologies and practices of neocolonialism that exacerbate rather than address underdevelopment.

BWB also symbolically reproduces neocolonialism by constructing hegemonic images of individuals in the global North and global South. By having NBA athletes speak for the experience of the recipients of aid rather than asking recipients to speak for themselves, the NBA is removing the voice, identity, and history of these people. The results present this group as the helpless and homogenous recipients of aid who are

grateful to the benevolent corporations for providing temporary reprieve from their dire and impoverished surroundings. This discursive construction also shapes the global South as a region with potential that can only be reached through the paternalistic salvation of the global North. Moreover, the discourse simultaneously constructs knowledges of those in the global North--the NBA and its celebrities--as altruistic, charitable and caring for providing such benevolent aid. Again, such knowledge construction serves to contribute to underdevelopment by ignoring the historical and political roots of underdevelopment, recreating ideologies and practices of paternalism, and presenting superficial and detrimental solutions to development.

The symbolic consequences of BWB are the result of the conflicts and contradictions of wedding of commercialism with development. The emerging trend of corporate sport for development and global corporate philanthropy hold serious repercussions on how we conceptualize the deliverance of aid in the global South. As I have shown, neoliberal policies and forces of globalization have in many ways exacerbated inequalities in the global South. Although neoliberal economic policies have largely failed to spur sustainable development in the global South, the emergence of BWB represents the strengthening of these philosophies. Through the program the NBA is proposing that the solution to underdevelopment is not the reconfiguration of the priorities of the global economic order, but rather increasing the spread of neoliberal capitalist economics so as to avail a certain percentage of that capital for development in the global South. This is significant because not only does such corporate consumer philanthropy fail to address--and in fact all together ignores--the historical and political roots of underdevelopment, it also obfuscates and distracts from other efforts in

development. Initiatives like BWB, product (RED), and pink ribbon campaigns, give North American audiences a sense of participatory action in social responsibility that contributes little to development while amassing popular support for the efforts of corporations. This is evidenced in BWB where NBA celebrities are presented as the face of the program so that audiences of the global North view the actions of the NBA as charitable and worthy of consumption.

In this thesis I have argued that the emergence of corporate sport for development is emblematic of broader trends in neoliberal globalization and represents the intersection of competing ideologies of corporate capitalism and international development. It is my hope that this project provides an opportunity to reconceptualize international development and sport for development and peace programs operating in the global South. This thesis is complementary to a growing field focused on sport for development and peace (see Darnell, 2007; Giulianotti, 2004; Kidd, 2008; Kidd and Donnelly, 2000) and contributes to an emerging critique of SDP so as to challenge hegemonies embedded in these endeavours. By bringing the diverse yet interrelated literatures of SDP, corporate philanthropy, and globalization theories in conversation with it each other, I have attempted to move the popular understanding of these fields beyond an unquestioned acceptance of these endeavours and towards a more complex and critical understanding of their consequences.

Ultimately through an analysis of the historical and political economic roots of the emergence of SDP and their detrimental symbolic and material consequences to nations in the global South, I argue that transnational corporations are unfit for development programs. Although I believe that sport may hold potential as a tool of development by

bringing about social and personal change, the use of basketball in BWB fails to capitalize on the greatest potential benefits of sport. As a transnational corporation, the NBA prioritizes its capitalist ambitions--elite player development and market expansion--while further marginalizing those who cannot contribute to the league's commercialism. As I have shown, the neoliberal policies that are embedded in BWB have resulted in sport for underdevelopment, rather than development. In the end, we need to question where such programs are leading us, and how global neoliberal capitalist policies are serving to recreate conditions of imperialism, neo-colonialism, and underdevelopment by affording transnational corporations greater influence in the international development paradigm.

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