Development through Sport: The ‘Indianisation’ of Cricket and its Potential for Development

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand

June 2012
Abstract

Cricket was introduced to India through British colonialism in the 18th Century, and became cemented in Indian culture and identity following independence in 1947. More recently, processes of globalisation have seen cricket at the elite level in India emerge as a source of immense wealth which, in turn, has led to the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) gaining unprecedented control of the global cricketing landscape. Concurrent with this so-called ‘Indianisation’ of global cricket has been the increased attention given to the concept of ‘development through sport’ in international development literature. Within this literature, however, there has been little discussion of the implementation of ‘development through sport’ initiatives in India. It is argued here that the extraordinary levels of wealth, global administrative power, and global television exposure currently attached to cricket in India, coupled with cricket’s status as one of the most coalescing features of Indian culture, presents it as a potentially powerful tool for development. As such, this thesis explores emergent themes from the ‘development through sport’ literature, and those more established within development theory, in the context of development initiatives in India which explicitly use cricket for wider social purposes. Drawing upon key informant interviews, focus groups, and content analysis, it examines how and why cricket is being used in two community level initiatives, the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth against AIDS’, both of which operate within one of Mumbai’s most underdeveloped municipal wards, as well as the more holistic interventions of the International Cricket Council (ICC) and its commercial partners. In doing so, this thesis offers a critical assessment of the motivation and overall efficacy of the use of cricket in development in India, from which conclusions as to its future implementation are drawn.
Acknowledgements

First, thanks must go to Dr Doug Hill for his advice on India, both before and during my fieldwork; to Amanda and Matt for providing safe harbour in Delhi for a week or so while I ‘acclimatised’; and to all those people in India with whom I interacted, from the key informants who participated in this research, right through to the street hawkers, taxi drivers and fellow cricket fanatics that I met throughout my travels. Without these people my research would not have been possible, nor my time in India as memorable.

I am indebted to Professor Tony Binns for supervising this research, indulging my wish to incorporate cricket and India within the project, despite both being outside his normal scope of enquiry. His enthusiasm for development studies, and expertise within, is unsurpassed, and his predilection for correct syntax most useful. I look forward to our continued collaboration at the Duke for many Fridays to come.

My friends, from all walks of life, have helped in so many different ways, I thank you all. In particular, I would like to thank those from the geography department’s postgraduate community for their collegial support; and those at the North East Valley Cricket Club for providing an environment in which I am able to enjoy my passion for cricket, and for covering my administrative duties while I was away in India.

And, of course, my family, who have supported the completion of this thesis in a number of ways. My grandparents, uncles and aunts, and brothers and their partners have all, at one time or other, provided support, advice and nourishment; and my wee nephew Finn has been great at reminding me of what is really important in life. Special thanks must go to my Dad for his constant encouragement, not to mention financial assistance (I am working on those repayments); and to my Mum, simply for being the person that she was. Ma, you are always in my thoughts and always in my heart, always motivating me to be better.
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIILSG</td>
<td>All India Institute of Local Self-Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCCI</td>
<td>Board of Control for Cricket in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSR</td>
<td>Corporate Social Responsibility</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESPN</td>
<td>Entertainment and Sports Programming Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIBA</td>
<td>Federation Internationale de Basketball Association</td>
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<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Federation Internationale de Football Association</td>
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<td>FMCG</td>
<td>Fast Moving Consumer Goods</td>
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<tr>
<td>FVPF</td>
<td>Family Violence Prevention Fund</td>
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<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Cricket Council</td>
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<td>ICL</td>
<td>Indian Cricket League</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICRW</td>
<td>International Centre for Research on Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>IIPS</td>
<td>International Institute for Population Sciences</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMR</td>
<td>Infant Mortality Rate</td>
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<td>IOC</td>
<td>International Olympic Committee</td>
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<td>IPL</td>
<td>Indian Premier League</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>Mumbai Cricket Association</td>
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<td>MCGM</td>
<td>Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNC</td>
<td>Multi National Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>MSSA</td>
<td>Mumbai School Sports Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>NFHS</td>
<td>National Family Health Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Government Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NORAD</td>
<td>Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Purchasing Power Parity</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCUES</td>
<td>Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T20</td>
<td>Twenty20 Cricket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UEFA</td>
<td>Union of European Football Associations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNAIDS</td>
<td>Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund</td>
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<td>WID</td>
<td>Women in Development</td>
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Introduction

Cricket in India

In 1777, the 3rd Duke of Dorset mused “what is human life but a game of cricket” (Hutchinson, 1994: 267), to which the anonymous allegory Baxter’s Second Innings seemingly responded more than a century later that “life is simply a cricket match” (anonymous 1892, cited in Mangan, 1975: 332). Though thick with the romanticism attached to old world notions of the ‘gentlemen’s’ game, if such sentiments were true of anywhere, it would be of India, for cricket is ubiquitous in India. Formal and semi-formal matches play out on city maidans as informal contests develop along busy urban streets. Maize stalks act as stumps in rural fields, while maze-like alleys demarcate numerous playing arenas within populous slums. Every imaginable space, it seems, is given over to leather and willow, or the rudiments that often suffice. Such an emphasis in India is placed on the act of playing cricket that it seems inconceivable for any other manifestation to inhabit the physical landscape, yet high amongst the growing urban skyline, and amid dusty rural fields, advertising hoardings of India’s cricket elite advocate the purchase of motor oil, soft drink, and everything in between. And it is not just physical space being occupied; cricket has infiltrated the cultural imagination of India’s rapidly growing population. Conversations between locals and foreigners invariably begin with an enquiry as to the latter’s country of origin, whereby an answer
involving a cricket playing nation elicits a recital of that country’s cricketing pedigree. Adults and children alike, regardless of language, religion or social status, are able to converse in cricket, each with an opinion, each more than willing to share. Indeed, to even the most casual observer, the status of cricket in contemporary India has transcended traditional notions of sport as ‘recreation’, reaching a level of reverence usually reserved for religious belief. To call it a national obsession would be to understate the fact.

Yet it has not always been this way. Cricket was introduced to India by the British in the eighteenth century, but largely remained the preserve of the expatriate population until the late nineteenth century (Mukharji, 2005). At about this time the Indian population began to acquire a taste for cricket but, as in England, it was dominated by the aristocratic elite, and it wasn’t until India gained independence in 1947 that the extent to which it had infiltrated the country became fully apparent (Guha, 2002). Thus India’s position at the forefront of cricketing passion is a relatively recent social construct. Since then, however, the status of cricket in India has been pre-eminent in shaping the global game. In the 1980s, international satellite television networks latched onto cricket because of its global audience and particular suitability to advertising and, recognising that India was the largest cricket market, they went directly to the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) to work out a broadcasting deal (Gupta, 2009a). This placed immense wealth in the hands of the BCCI which, in turn, has significantly influenced the global governance of the game in the ensuing decades. The most recent manifestation of this influence has been the global boom in T20 cricket, which was catalysed by India’s victory in the 2007 World T20 Championship, and driven by the lucrative Indian Premier League (IPL). This has further enhanced the wealth and power at the disposal of the BCCI, and has ultimately led many to argue that it is no longer pertinent to talk about the globalisation of cricket, but rather “the ‘Indianisation’ of cricket, where nothing India resists will occur, and everything it approves will prevail” (Haigh, 2008: 13).

Diversity, inequality and underdevelopment in India
Aside from cricket, the other striking feature of India’s culture is its diversity. Multiple religions, languages, social classes and ethnicities subsist within its population of 1,241,492,000, creating a vibrant melting pot of human existence (Cooke and Saini, 2010). Such diversity, however, is also evident in the quality of life of India’s
population. India has one of the fastest growing economies in the world, and is reportedly home to 69 billionaires, yet 41.6 percent of the population live below the international poverty line of US$1.25 PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) per day, indicating large scale income inequalities (Kharas, 2011; UNDP, 2011). Massive discrepancies also exist in terms of access to basic necessities such as food and clean drinking water, as well as access to adequate housing, education and healthcare (Heuze, 2010). These inequalities have manifested in relatively low levels of human development in the context of the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) which, in turn, indicates that addressing development in India is still significantly relevant.

‘Development through sport’
The previous two sections have briefly outlined the position of cricket in India in the first instance, and the inequality and underdevelopment evident in India in the second. It is the seemingly tenuous juncture between these two features of India’s culture and society in which this thesis attempts to intervene. Research concerning sport and development is not without precedent, and has its roots in the United Nations’ (UN) (2003) publication titled Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals, which outlines the positive impacts that sport can have in the key development areas of health, education and the economy, as well as the influence it can have in achieving social integration and resolving conflict. Since then, a number of studies have explored the use of sport for development purposes. None, however, specifically pertain to the implementation, or even potential, of ‘development through sport’ projects involving cricket in India, which essentially provides the scope for this research.

Research parameters
This research is premised on the argument that the wealth, power and global television exposure currently associated with cricket in India, coupled with its status as one of the most coalescing features of Indian culture and society, presents it as a potentially powerful tool for development in India. As such, the broad aim of this thesis is to explore trends and debates from the emerging ‘development through sport’ literature, as well as those from wider development theory, in the context of cricket in India. Within this broad aim, this thesis seeks to address the following three research questions:
1. How and why is cricket being used for development purposes at a community-level in India?

2. What role do cricket authorities and their commercial partners have in the formulation and implementation of development initiatives in India?

3. How effective has the use of cricket for development in India been to date?

The first research question is informed by case studies of the Parivartan Programme and the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ Cricket Tournament, both community-driven development initiatives operating in the M/East municipal ward of Mumbai. The second research question is informed by the International Cricket Council’s (ICC) intervention in development in India, and the involvement of their commercial partners therein. Finally, the third research question is informed by a critical reflection of the efficacy of the initiatives explored in addressing the previous two research questions.

**Thesis structure**

The remainder of this thesis is divided into six chapters that thematically address different elements of the research. Chapter Two provides a review of relevant academic literature, delineating two distinct, yet related themes. The first of these themes initially explores the concept of ‘sports geography’, as it seeks to define and legitimise the exploration of sport within a geographical framework. It then attempts to situate cricket in India therein, arguing that the processes of colonialism, post-colonialism and globalisation that have shaped the present landscape of cricket in India are inextricably linked to the fundamental principles of the ‘sports geography’ framework. In doing so, it outlines the evolution of cricket in India from colonial outpost to global epicentre, in what has become known as the ‘Indianisation’ of cricket. The second theme begins with a broad exploration of ‘development’, before contextualising this research within the sub-disciplinary literature relating to ‘development through sport’. This second theme defines the research parameters outlined in the previous section, and introduces debates within the ‘development’ and ‘development through sport’ literatures that are discussed in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

Chapter Three seeks to discuss how the above parameters are addressed in this research. First, it examines the overall research approach. Drawing upon relevant methodological debates, it argues that a qualitative, social constructivist approach incorporating specific quantitative methods is appropriate. Secondly, it discusses the practical considerations of this research, justifying the use of a case study approach, and
the cases that were selected. Thirdly, it explores the specific methods that were used, discussing each in relation to the research questions. And finally, it examines the ethical considerations associated with this methodology, the importance of research identity within the research process, and potential limitations of this research methodology.

Chapters Four, Five and Six, provide analysis and discussion of the research findings, addressing each of the three research questions respectively. Chapter Four draws upon the UNDP’s Human Development Framework to outline human development in Mumbai and its M/East municipal ward, before unpacking the community-led identification of gender inequality and HIV/AIDS as key development issues within the M/East ward. It then discusses how and, perhaps more crucially, why cricket is being used to address these two issues within the community. Chapter Five outlines the ways in which the ICC have used their position as the sport’s global governing authority to address issues around HIV/AIDS, social inclusion and education, and examines the motivation behind this intervention. It also explores the involvement of the ICC’s commercial partners in the implementation of these development initiatives, as well as their involvement in cricket-related development through their respective Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) policies. Chapter Six discusses the overall efficacy of ‘development through cricket’ in India, situating a critical reflection of the initiatives outlined in Chapters Four and Five within the key debates of the ‘development’ and ‘development through sport’ literatures. Finally, Chapter Seven synthesises the research findings, relating them back to the research parameters identified in Chapter Two, and drawing upon them to offer recommendations for the future use of cricket in development in India.
Throughout history, sport has aroused the interest of the scholarly and artistic alike. The significance of games is embedded in the ancient Greek philosophies of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle (Skillen, 1993), while William Shakespeare and Theophile du Viau, among others, used sport as a metaphor for warfare, politics and sexual conquest in their plays and poems of the fifteenth century (Segrave, 2000). Sport, most notably cricket, continued to feature in prose throughout the Victorian era in the work of distinguished writers such as William Blake, William Wordsworth, Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, George Meredith and James Joyce (Bateman, 2009). The nineteenth century saw sport emerge as an overt and legitimate subject in the field of anthropology, beginning with the publication of Sir Edward Burnett Tylor’s ‘The History of Games’ in 1879, and followed up by articles written by James Mooney and Stewart Culin (Blanchard, 2000). Since then, sport has infiltrated a plethora of academic disciplines. For example, “sociology, philosophy, psychology and history, each have their sport-related sub-discipline” (Bale, 2000: 171), while sport is also researched within faculties of medicine, nutrition, law and statistics.

Geography has not been immune to this proliferation of sport within academe, although Bale (1989) argues that the relative paucity of published work in the area pre-1970 shows that geographers took longer than practitioners of other disciplines to
embrace sport as a valid subject of academic pursuit. In the ensuing years, however, a considerable amount of writing has emerged which examines sport from a geographical perspective (Bale, 2003). This burgeoning literature on ‘sports geography’ becomes the initial focus of this review, as it seeks to define and legitimise the broad theoretical framework underpinning this research. Having established a framework of ‘sports geography’, this review will then attempt to situate cricket in India therein, arguing that the processes of colonialism, post-colonialism and globalisation that have shaped the present landscape of cricket in India are inextricably linked to the fundamental principles of the ‘sports geography’ framework.

The other body of literature which informs this research is ‘development’, and more specifically the inter-subdisciplinary concept of ‘development through sport’. While this concept has been gaining prominence over the past two decades (Kidd, 2008), efforts remained largely disparate until the Secretary-General convened a United Nations (UN) Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace in July 2002 (Beutler, 2008). The subsequent publication of ‘Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving Millennium Development Goals’ (UN, 2003) provided the catalyst for a more coalescing approach to ‘development through sport’, and much has been written since. This review charts the progress of this literature, exploring the merit of the ‘development through sport’ concept as it is implemented in developing countries worldwide. While the volume of literature on the concept has expanded in recent years, its application in India is largely ignored. As such, this review will conclude by discussing the concept of ‘development through sport’ in the context of India, arguing that the wealth and identity currently attached to cricket in India presents it as a potentially powerful tool for development in the country’s disadvantaged communities. It is this argument, coupled with the dearth of current literature, which ultimately provides the motivation for this research.

**Sports geography**

Peter Haggett (2001: xxiii) described geography as “the Los Angeles among academic cities” in that it spreads over a very large area, merges with its neighbours, and has a central area that is difficult to find. His description is in clear reference to the number of sub-disciplines attached to geography, which in turn has led some geographers to argue that it is becoming overly fragmented (see for example: Dear, 1988; and Johnston, 1996). Dear’s (1988) argument that some sub-disciplines are less central than others is
particularly pertinent to this review. He states that economic, social and political geogrophy have priority in the search for geographical knowledge, adding that the geography of sport is not central to the structure and explanation of such knowledge. However, Bale (2000) argues that sport is political, social and economic and is therefore a part of each of the three geographies prioritised by Dear. Indeed, Philo (1994: 2) states that sport could be:

exceedingly helpful as we try to unravel the mysteries bound up in how geographical knowledge is constructed outside of the academy, and in how the everyday senses that people possess of themselves, their societies and their worlds have rolled into them sensations of bodies in movement through immediate surroundings as well as feelings of commonality sedimented in collective events, games, rituals and spectacles which so often embrace a sports component.

While Rooney (1975: 51) states that “geographic analysis can help to create a better understanding of sport’s significance to society”. Further, in an attempt to provide clarity to his aforementioned analogy, Haggett (2001) suggests that geography is basically concerned with the broad concepts of space and place; concepts which Bale (2003) argues are similarly central to sport. He states that both geography and sport are:

concerned with space and the way that it is occupied; they both focus on the way people move and interact in geographic space; regions form a central feature in the organisation of sports; places are the means of identifying most sports teams; sport is affected by, and increasingly affects, the physical environment and landscape; sport is a world of territoriality and hierarchies. In short, sport – like geography – is a spatial science (Bale, 2003: 2).

It is apparent in the sentiments of both Philo and Bale that a geographical exploration of sport holds some legitimacy, the direction such exploration has taken is examined further in the following paragraphs.

While ‘sports geography’ is generally considered a recent addition to geography’s stable of sub-disciplines, antecedents to the current interest in sport, space and place do exist (Bale, 2003; see for example: Reclus, 1876; Huntington, 1915; Hildebrand, 1919; and Lehman, 1940). Indeed, the concept of a ‘sporting geography’ was first alluded to in 1911 when Baron Pierre de Coubertin noted that ‘there is an athletic geography that may differ at times from a political geography’ in arguing that nations, not countries, should compete in the Olympics (Muller, 2000). However, John Rooney’s (1975) Sport from a Geographic Perspective was the first real attempt to provide a theoretical framework for the geographical exploration of sport. He suggested three approaches: first, a topical approach which starts with a sport and classifies the
location of its prototypes and points of origin, its spatial diffusion, spatial organisation and regionalisation; secondly, a regional approach which analyses the spatial variation and regionalisation of involvement and interest, the internal and external spatial interaction associated with sport, an assessment of sports’ impacts on the landscape, and directions for spatial reorganisation; and thirdly, an approach which focuses explicitly on the shifting landscape of sport through time and the impact of changes in sport technology.

Bale (2000) argues that Rooney’s framework, while useful in supporting the geographical analysis of sport, could be used for the analysis of virtually any terrestrial phenomena as it largely ignores the geographical concepts of space and place which are intrinsic to modern sport (Bale, 2000: 173). As such, Bale (2003) proposed his own framework, stating that ‘sports geography’ is principally concerned with the exploration of:

- first, sports activity on the earth’s surface and how the spatial distribution of sport has changed over time;
- second, the changing character of the sports landscape and the symbiosis between the sports environment and those who participate in it;
- and third, the making of prescriptions for spatial and environmental change in the sports environment (Bale, 2003: 5).

Despite Bale’s earlier critique, the similarities between his framework and that of Rooney are marked. Both include topical, regional and environmental elements, with Bale’s nuanced integration of space and place being the main point of difference. Thus the framework proposed by Bale can be viewed as a refinement of, rather than an alternative to, Rooney’s earlier attempt.

Many other geographers have used sport to illustrate geographical ideas (see for example: Gattrell and Gould, 1979; Pred, 1981, 1995; and Harvey, 2000), while others have used geographical ideas in their research of sport (see for example: Giamatti, 1989; Springwood, 1996; and Eichberg, 1998), yet Rooney (1975) and Bale (2003) remain alone in their attempt to present a theoretical framework for the geographical exploration of sport. In many respects this highlights their pre-eminence in the field, indeed no-one has contributed to the sub-discipline of ‘sports geography’ to the same extent. Bale (2003) describes Rooney as the ‘father’ of modern ‘sports geography’, and his 1975 publication of *Sport from a Geographic Perspective* as ‘seminal’ to the discipline, while Bale’s *Sports Geography* has been labelled discipline-defining (Higham and Hinch, 2006). Given the influential nature of their work, and the absence of other attempts to conceptualise ‘sports geography’, Bale’s refined version of
Rooney’s framework provides the theoretical structure for the geographical exploration of cricket in India that follows.

A geographical exploration of cricket in India

The English invented and honed many of the world’s most popular sports including football, rugby and hockey (Wood, 2005), as Charles Tennyson (1959) noted ‘they taught the world to play’. But “of all the sports they gave birth to, cricket is the one which the English themselves recognize and uphold as their national game…The rules of cricket, and still more its ethos, most fully embodied the self-image of the Victorian elite” (Guha, 2002: xi). How then, did this most English of sports become entrenched in Indian culture “to the extent that it has been playfully asserted that cricket is an Indian game invented in England” (Mangan, 2004: 335). This section seeks to provide an answer, drawing on Bale’s (2003) framework for the geographical exploration of sport to explain firstly, how the spatial distribution of cricket worldwide has changed through processes of colonialism and post-colonialism, and more specifically how these processes have shaped cricket in India; and secondly, the changing character of the cricket landscape through the process of globalisation, or in the words of Haigh (2008: 13) “the Indianisation of cricket”. Inherent within this discussion is the argument that the geographic principles implied in Bale’s framework are inextricably linked to the present landscape of cricket in India.

The spatial distribution of cricket throughout the world is intrinsically linked to British colonisation. This point is illustrated by British historian James Pycroft, who in 1851 noted that:

our soldiers, by order of the Horse Guards, are provided with cricket grounds adjoining their barracks; and Her Majesty’s ships have bats and balls to astonish the cockroaches at sea, the crabs and turtles ashore. Hence it has come to pass that, wherever Her Majesty’s servants have ‘carried their victorious arms’ and legs – cricket has been played (cited in Arlott, 1948: 63).

The fact that participation in cricket at the elite level is still confined to former British colonies in the twenty-first century is further testament to the influence of colonialism (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005).

In the context of India, the introduction of cricket through colonialism is clearly evident in that its first mention dates to 1721, when British sailors played a match among themselves in the port of Cambay (de Mello, 1959). Further, Headlam (1903)
contextualised the prominence of cricket within British colonialism, and in doing so, conveyed its unifying merits. He stated:

first the hunter, the missionary, and the merchant, next the soldier and the politician, and then the cricketer – that is the history of British colonisation. And of these civilising influences the last may, perhaps, be said to do the least harm. The hunter may exterminate deserving species, the missionary may cause quarrels, the soldier may hector, the politician blunder – but the cricketer unites, as in India, the rulers and the ruled (Headlam 1903: 168).

In more recent years, cricket in colonial India has been discussed by many, of whom Ramachandra Guha and Boria Majumdar have emerged most prominent. Their work in no way denies colonialism as the source of cricket’s existence in India, indeed they reiterate this point, but their views on its ability to unite are far more critical. Guha (1997) argues that cricket served as much to divide as to unite ruler and ruled in colonial India. Indeed, Guha’s (2002) book A Corner of a Foreign Field, which remains the most complete social history of cricket in India, is principally concerned with exclusion from cricket by race, caste and religion throughout British rule. Majumdar (2004), in contrast, is more subtle in his critique. He argues that cricket crossed class barriers leading to the democratisation of cricket, which ultimately pre-empted the democratisation of polity. However, he too conceded that strict socio-economic stratification existed throughout the colonial period. The citation of Guha (1997, 2002) and Majumdar (2004) above is by no means an exhaustive account of the influence of colonialism on cricket in India. Their work does, however, reflect the dominant themes within the literature (see for further examples: Bose, 2002; Kaufmann and Patterson, 2005; and Majumdar, 2007, 2008), and therefore serves to highlight how the advent of colonialism not only introduced cricket in India, but altered its distribution in space and place once there.

When India was partitioned in 1947:

Anglophobe nationalists called for the game to disappear along with its promoters, the British. In this they were spectacularly unsuccessful. What was previously an urban sport had penetrated deep into the countryside (Guha, 2002: xii).

If anything, the end of colonialism strengthened the hold that cricket had over India. Cricket became more representative of Indian society as opportunities opened up amongst its middle classes and underprivileged sections, which in turn strengthened cricket’s appeal to the masses (Docker, 1976; Cashman, 1979). Indeed, since partition,
cricket has become one of the most coalescing features of Indian identity (Nalapat and Parker, 2005). This point is highlighted by Guha (2002: xiii), who states:

The doings of the national cricket team are followed all over the country. The best players enjoy the iconic status otherwise reserved for Hindu gods and film stars. Their faces peep out of highway billboards; on television they commend all kinds of consumer products. The Bombay batsman Sachin Tendulkar is perhaps the best-known Indian, as well as one of the richest...When Tendulkar is batting against the Pakistani swing-bowler Wasim Akram, the television audience exceeds the entire population of Europe.

This emergence of cricket as India’s dominant national symbol has led Nandy (2000) to assert that cricket is truly an Indian sport discovered in England, a contention that Stern (2003) argues becomes more prescient year by year.

Having become entrenched in India through processes of colonialism and post-colonialism, cricket has been further shaped in recent decades by globalisation, which Schech and Haggis (2000) define as the intensification of global interconnectedness in which one of the key features has been the flow of ideas, technology and wealth from core to peripheral countries. Such globalisation has been evident in cricket with the game’s peripheral participants given increased representation, in terms of both playing and administration, from the 1980s. It has reached the stage now, however, where cricket in India has accrued such wealth and power through processes of globalisation that it is no longer pertinent to speak of the globalisation of cricket but, in the words of renowned Australian cricket writer Gideon Haigh (2008: 13), “the ‘Indianisation’ of cricket, where nothing India resists will occur, and everything it approves of will prevail”.

This so-called ‘Indianisation’ of cricket has been facilitated by two inter-related and concurrent factors which, while clearly having an impact on cricket, exist on a much higher level than the sport itself. First, since the mid-1980s, successive economic reforms progressively moved India’s economy toward a market-based system. This led to a dramatic reduction in state intervention and control over economic activity and increased the role of private sector entrepreneurship which, in turn, attracted Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) to enter the Indian market in droves (OECD, 2007). Second, the birth of the satellite television industry in the late 1980s allowed a true global sporting audience to emerge beyond newspaper articles and occasional radio broadcasts (Oliver and Gillies, 2007). As the number of dedicated sport networks grew, so too did the demand for programming. Consequently, international satellite networks latched onto cricket because there was a global interest and, with each over lasting only
3-4 minutes, it was particularly well suited to advertising (Gupta, 2009a). With the aforementioned economic liberalisation increasing the presence of MNCs in India dramatically, and thus introducing a plethora of new products and services into India; and the recognition of India as the largest cricket market in the world, cricket in India became an extremely lucrative proposition for satellite television. A point highlighted by Marqusee (1996: 20) who stated:

Because of its vast popular base, cricket in the subcontinent is an ideal vehicle for multinational corporations seeking to penetrate ‘emerging markets’. And, thanks to satellite television, subcontinental cricket can be used to sell goods in Europe, North America, the Middle East, and South-East Asia.

As a result, international satellite channels went directly to the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) to devise a broadcasting agreement, placing a great deal of wealth and decision-making power in the hands of the BCCI and, in doing so, changing the shape of international cricket (Ninan, 1995; Metha, 2009; Gupta, 2009a).

While cricket’s new world order has manifested in numerous ways in the ensuing years, the most overt expression of India’s new found wealth and power occurred in 2007 when, somewhat surprisingly, its national team won the inaugural World Twenty20 Championship in South Africa. Whereas India had previously considered Twenty20 trivial compared with cricket’s more traditional formats (five-day test matches and limited over one-day matches), highlighted by its decision to leave a number of high-profile players out of its squad for the global tournament, its victory created a surge of interest in the abbreviated three hour version of the game. India’s Zee Television, which had earlier been denied the rights to broadcast an official Indian cricket series, created the Indian Cricket League (ICL) to enhance its programming (Gupta, 2010). The ICL, a Twenty20 league made up of young Indian prospects and international ‘has-beens’, threatened the hegemony of the BCCI, so they responded by creating the Indian Premier League (IPL). With sanction from the International Cricket Council (ICC), the IPL was able to offer unprecedented salaries, US$1.5million in the case of Indian captain MS Dhoni, for what amounted to a six week tournament (Viswananath, 2008). The ability of the BCCI to provide the capital to quell the threat of the ICL, almost overnight, is ample evidence of its financial clout. But perhaps more indicative of the ‘Indianisation’ of cricket is the influence that the BCCI was able to wield in the fallout of what Rob Steen (2010) labelled the ‘acronym war’. Within weeks, the BCCI had sacked Kapil Dev, India’s World Cup winning captain in 1983 and champion of the ICL, as chairman of the National Cricket Academy (Steen, 2010).
It also put pressure on national cricket boards, as well as the ICC, to punish players who played in the ICL, a directive with which most boards were only too willing to comply (Gupta, 2009b). Indeed in September 2008, the Bangladesh Cricket Board announced ten year bans for eleven of its national team who opted to compete in the unauthorised ICL (Steen, 2010).

Besides being an example of the wealth and power accrued by the BCCI through the ‘Indianisation’ of global cricket, the advent of the IPL has also strengthened this position with the tournament projected to “bring the BCCI income of US$1 billion, over a period of five to ten years, reinforcing its status as the richest board in world cricket” (Pandya and Jayswal, 2010: 128). This is further highlighted by the fact that the IPL, while drawing from a global talent pool, does not require a global television market to turn a profit. Such is the wealth involved in Indian cricket that domestic level advertising revenues, ticket sales and merchandising are more than adequate to make the IPL financially sustainable (Gupta, 2010). Indeed, Kelso (2008: 6) highlights the financial impact of the IPL in his comment that:

Theatrical, wildly hyped, and hugely lucrative, the auction was a watershed moment for the IPL and the international game. In the last month, before a ball has been bowled, the League has raised $1.8 billion, more than the ICC will receive for the next two world cups.

Despite the financial successes of the IPL, many have argued that the so-called ‘Indianisation’ of cricket will have dire ramifications for the game at the international level. Such critiques include, but are not limited to, strained relations between member states and between national team mates as they compete for bids in the IPL (Kelso, 2008); players opting out of international cricket to become free agents on the Twenty20 circuit (Gupta, 2010); and a higher incidence of the insidious match-fixing (Pandaram, 2010) and corruption (Bajaj, 2010). Such arguments, however, are beyond the scope of this research. Instead, this chapter will now switch focus to development, and ultimately to how the ‘Indianisation’ of cricket, for better or worse, has created conditions conducive to the implementation and analysis of ‘development through sport’ initiatives in India.
Development

The origin of the term ‘development’ is commonly situated in the late 1940s and, more specifically, linked to President Truman’s inaugural address in 1949 in which he used the term ‘underdeveloped areas’ to describe what was soon to be known as the ‘Third World’ (Potter et al. 2008). Initial manifestations of development focused on generating economic growth, as countries with strong economies were seen as more developed than those with weak economies, and so ‘to develop’ was to enhance a state’s economic output (McGregor, 2008). Growth theory evolved into modernisation theory in the 1960s with Rostow’s (1960) *The Stages of Economic Growth*, which argued that all countries must pass through five predetermined stages in the development process (see Figure 2.1). Thus, development largely constituted top-down approaches, based on industrialisation, from the 1950s through to the early 1970s (Potter et al., 2008). The emergence of the ‘New Right’ in the 1980s saw a return to a market-driven approach, referred to as neo-liberalism, and became entrenched in the policies of international development agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Power, 2003).

![Figure 2.1: Rostow’s five-stage model of development (Source: Pennsylvania State University, 2012).](image-url)
Such approaches to development, however, have drawn a number of criticisms, most notably that they are situated in Western European history and experience, and thus represent Eurocentric development thinking (Slater, 1992; Hettne, 1995; Mehmet, 1999). Other critiques of these approaches include, but are not limited to, their assumption that development is a linear process that all nations can follow in an unconstrained manner (Potter et al., 2008); the assumption that development has an endpoint which suggests that, once achieved, a country is ‘developed’ (Stohr, 1981); their strong focus on economic growth, with little consideration for the social and cultural implications (Hettne, 1995); and their focus on the entire state, rather than the needs of individual communities (Preston, 1996).

In light of these critiques, a number of alternative and populist stances to development have emerged since the 1990s (McGregor, 2008). This has led to the materialisation of ‘development from below’, or ‘bottom-up development’, which argues the need for developing countries to reduce their involvement in processes of unequal exchange, and thus increase self-sufficiency and self-reliance (Potter et al., 2008). Some of the key elements of this form of development, according to Brohman (1996), include a focus on basic needs and human resources; a focus on small-scale projects linked to community-based development programmes; the shift from growth-based to human-orientated definitions of development; and a focus on local and community participation in the design and implementation of projects. In addition, Desai (2002) and Mercer (2002) argue that Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) have an increasingly important role to play in local and community-based development projects.

The preceding paragraphs in no way constitute a definitive delineation of the ‘development’ discourse, but rather provide a brief overview of some of the debates that have shaped it over time. In doing so, it has become clear that ‘development’ is a complex concept that is constantly being contested and renegotiated, and therefore can be understood in a number of different ways. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to offer an authoritative definition of development, it would be impertinent not to offer some form of definition. Thus for the purposes of this thesis, ‘development’ can be understood in its broadest sense as ‘improving quality of life’. In adopting such a definition, this thesis will largely draw upon the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI), which utilises a number of
social and economic indicators to offer a more holistic understanding of development (UN, 2001).

‘Development through sport’: an emerging literature

The ‘sports geography’ framework provides the theoretical justification for a geographic exploration of cricket in India, but it is its merging with the relatively entrenched academic sub-discipline of ‘Development Geography’ which provides the scope. The concept of ‘development through sport’ has existed for a number of years, but its implementation remained relatively ad hoc until the publication of the UN’s *Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals* in 2003 (Beutler, 2008). Since then, initiatives that seek to advance social and economic development through sport have increased in the theory and practice of international development (Black, 2010). As such, the UN’s (2003) publication provides a platform from which the embryonic literature on ‘development through sport’ is discussed.

The UN’s (2003: v) *Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals* states that:

> The fundamental elements of sport make it a viable and practical tool to support the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. Sport has an impact on health…and serves as an effective tool for social mobilization, supporting health activities such as HIV/AIDS education and immunization campaigns. Sport can be a significant economic force, providing employment and contributing economic development… Sport also provides healthy alternatives to harmful actions, such as drug abuse and involvement in crime. Within schools physical education is an essential part of a quality education…sport can cut across barriers that divide societies, making it a powerful tool to support conflict prevention and peace-building efforts, both symbolically on a global level and very practically within communities. When applied effectively, sports programmes promote social integration and foster tolerance, helping to reduce tension and generate dialogue. The convening power of sport makes it additionally compelling as a tool for advocacy and communications.

In sum, this publication outlines the positive impacts that sport can have in the key development areas of health, education and the economy, as well as the influence it can have in achieving social integration and resolving conflict. In doing so, it advocates the incorporation of sport into the development policies of national governments, as well as the development agenda’s of national and international development agencies.

While the report published by the UN (2003) extols the virtue of incorporating sport within development policy, it offers little supportive evidence in terms of results.
from past initiatives. This is due, in part to the embryonic nature of the ‘development through sport’ concept at the time of publication, but also the absence of ‘development through sport’ from development theory literature (Levermore, 2008). Since the publication of the UN report, however, a ‘development through sport’ literature has begun to emerge, within which some studies have explored the implementation of specific ‘development through sport’ initiatives, and have discussed their merit.

The most comprehensive of these studies is that of Levermore (2008), who discusses numerous ‘development through sport’ projects ranging from ‘Sports Coaches Outreach’, which trains volunteers to use sport to facilitate capacity building in rural communities across Southern Africa, to the ‘Sport Health Programme’ in Sierra Leone, which employs local labour forces to make durable leather footballs with HIV/AIDS and malaria messages on them, before distributing them to the country’s disadvantaged communities. He found that sports are linked to a diverse range of development initiatives ranging:

From generalized [sic] strategies (for instance imprecise notions on empowering economic development or unifying countries) – to specific programmes (such as alleviating the socio-economic impacts of cross-community conflicts, as well as promoting education and health and, in particular, heightening awareness of HIV/AIDS (Levermore, 2008: 18).

Similarly, Kidd (2008) discusses the growing number of national and international agencies involved in ‘development through sport’ projects, arguing that they have brought significant benefit to countries where it is implemented; while Willis (2000) and Wamucii (2007) specifically focused on the Mathare Youth Sports Association in Kenya, arguing that its development initiatives have resulted in diverse outcomes ranging from the removal of rubbish from slums in Nairobi to the improvement of youth leadership skills. Thus, evidence in support of the UN’s (2003) assertions as to the potential of sport in development is slowly beginning to emerge.

Within the ‘development through sport’ literature, however, very little has been written regarding the implementation, or even potential, of ‘development through sport’ projects in India, and even less about the use of cricket. It is argued here that the present level of wealth, power, and global television exposure currently attached to cricket in India, coupled with its status as one of the most coalescing features of Indian culture, presents it as a potentially powerful tool for development in India. The relative dearth in the literature, therefore, provides the scope for this research which, as such, broadly aims to explore ‘development through sport’ in the context of cricket in India.
While the lack of discussion regarding India or cricket within the ‘development through sport’ literature provides the scope for this research, critical engagement with what has been written on ‘development through sport’ in a broader context provides the three specific research questions that this thesis is attempting to answer. As previously mentioned, studies have shown that sport has had some success in African communities, by utilising local resources in the identification, formulation, and implementation of small, community-level projects (Willis, 2000; Wamuccii, 2007; Levermore, 2008). Given that the ‘development through sport’ literature is, thus far, devoid of information regarding the use of cricket in development in India, the first research question seeks to explore how and, perhaps more crucially, why cricket is being used in a similar way, and at a similar scale, in India.

In addition to the implementation of ‘development through sport’ at a community level, Levermore (2008) suggests that major sports clubs and organisations also have a role to play. To highlight this point, he alludes to the involvement of English football club Manchester United in a scheme designed to highlight problems affecting children throughout the world, and the involvement of FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association) in building sporting Infrastructure in lower income countries. Further, Smith and Westerbeek (2007) discuss the idea of sport being used as a vehicle for deploying Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), arguing that:

"sport offers a bridge across social and economic gaps, an opportunity to improve the quality of life, and a stimulus to encourage large and profitable businesses to share a little of their prosperity (Smith and Westerbeek, 2007: 1)."

Similarly, Levermore (2010) argues that sport is a useful tool in the employment of CSR in some situations, proffering the CSR strategies of large companies such as BHP Billiton, BP, Nike and Vodafone, and sporting organisations such as Major League Soccer, as examples of its success. Thus, this thesis’ second research question seeks to understand the role that cricket authorities and their commercial partners have in the formulation and implementation of development projects in India and, again, why they have intervened in this way.

While the first two research questions are based on positive appraisal within the ‘development through sport’ literature, the third is based on a constant critique. As previously mentioned, the UN’s (2003) assertion regarding the power of sport in development is slowly beginning to gain evidential support, but Kruse (2006) argues that positive links between sport and development remain largely intuitive. He argues
that this is due to insufficient monitoring and evaluation of programmes that use sport for development purposes, an assertion supported by Beutler (2008), Kidd (2008), Levermore (2008, 2011) and Coalter (2009, 2010a). This is further compounded by what Coalter (2010b) describes as a widespread failure to specify the precise nature of the desired outcomes, while Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) suggest that any evaluations undertaken thus far have aimed to legitimise international organisations and lobbies, rather than proving the actual value of sport in development. As such, Beutler (2008), Kidd (2008), Levermore (2008, 2011), Coalter (2009, 2010a, 2010b), and Hartmann and Kwauk (2011), among others, have all discussed the need for further evaluation of the impacts of ‘development through sport’, both positive and negative, to determine the extent and nature of its potential, and bridge the considerable gaps in current knowledge. To this end, the third research question addressed in this thesis asks how effective the use of cricket for development in India has been to date.

This third research question in no way constitutes an in-depth analysis of any individual case study, but rather situates certain elements of each within the ‘development through sport’ literature, in an attempt to present evidence regarding the power of cricket in development in India. Some aspects of the literature to be explored in this context have already been examined in this chapter. As such, discussion around the efficacy of ‘development through cricket’ in India will include a comparison of the actual development outcomes accrued in cricket-related projects with the potential developmental benefits of sport previously outlined; the engagement of CSR within cricket-related development projects in India; and the level of evaluation evident in the case studies explored.

Another key element from the literature regarding the efficacy of ‘development through sport’ is the potential of mega sporting events to generate development in their host regions. Critique of event-driven boosterism is well established in academic literature, with history suggesting that mega sporting events have done little to generate economic growth and infrastructural or social development when hosted in developing countries, despite promises to the contrary (Hall, 1992; Kidd, 1992; Essex and Chalkley, 1998; Eisinger, 2000; Page and Hall, 2003; Hiller, 2004; Matheson and Baade, 2004; Whitson and Horne, 2006; and Black, 2007, 2010). The most recent attestation to this is provided by Black (2010: 126) who stated:

There is already evidence, for example, that community-level sport and social development are being compromised by South Africa’s pursuit of the trappings
externally defined and validated modernity through its hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

And thus Black raised the question: “what would a truly developmental World Cup or Olympics, privileging the needs and interests of marginalised communities, look like?” (Black, 2010: 126). India’s co-hosting of the 2011 Cricket World Cup provides scope to explore the impact of a major cricket tournament on the development initiatives explored in this research, and on development in India in a more general sense.

The other main idea from the ‘development through sport’ literature of relevance to the third research question relates to the use of sporting celebrity to endorse development projects or messages. The UN (2003) argues that the popularity of sports stars allows them to effectively reach diverse audiences as well as attract media attention, while Beutler (2008) suggests that elite sports people have the ability to mobilise civil society and communicate essential messages. Black (2010), however, is more measured in his assessment of sporting celebrity in development, highlighting the need to engage athletes with a genuine belief in the cause they are promoting. Further, Darnell (2007) suggests that star power is often not particularly useful because of western hegemony in elite sport, arguing that western athletes are of little personal or cultural significance in developing countries, and thus people find them difficult to relate to. He goes on to suggest, however, that cricket is unique because many of its superstars come from developing countries, particularly India. As such, the impact of elite cricket players on development in India can also be explored within this research.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed relevant academic literature from a number of disciplines, and delineated two distinct themes across four sections. First, it explored the concept of ‘sports geography’, discussing the centrality of place and space, two core geographical principles, in the distribution and organisation of sport across the globe and, in doing so, legitimising the exploration of sport within a geographical framework. Secondly, it situated cricket in India therein, arguing that the processes of colonialism, post-colonialism and globalisation that have shaped the present landscape of cricket in India are inextricably linked to the fundamental principles of the ‘sports geography’ framework. In doing so it charted the evolution of cricket in India from colonial outpost to global epicentre, in what has become known as the ‘Indianisation’ of cricket. Thirdly, this chapter briefly outlined some of the key debates that have shaped
‘development’ over time, before broadly defining ‘development’ for the purpose of this thesis as ‘improving quality of life’.

Finally, this chapter used the concept of ‘development through sport’ to pull together the three preceding sections and, ultimately, define the parameters of this research. It highlighted the dearth within the current ‘development through sport’ literature regarding the use of cricket for development in India, arguing that the wealth, power, and global television exposure attached to cricket in India, coupled with cricket’s status as one of the most coalescing features of Indian culture, presents it as a potentially powerful tool for development. As such, three research questions were identified from within the literature in order to guide an exploration of ‘development through sport’ in the context of cricket in India. These research questions are:

1. How and why is cricket being used for development purposes at a community-level in India?

2. What role do cricket authorities and their commercial partners have in the formulation and implementation of development initiatives in India?

3. How effective has the use of cricket for development in India been to date?

The following chapter will discuss how these research questions will be addressed.
Methodology

The previous chapter established the parameters of this research through a critical review of relevant literature, arguing that cricket is a potentially powerful tool for development in India and, given that it has received little attention thus far, is a topic worthy of further exploration. It stated that the overarching aim of this research is to explore emerging ideas from the ‘development through sport’ literature in the context of cricket in India, and subsequently culminated in the identification of the three research questions that guide such an exploration. This chapter, then, seeks to discuss how these research questions were addressed. First, it examines the overall research approach, encompassing relevant methodological debates, arguing that a qualitative, social constructivist approach incorporating specific quantitative methods is appropriate. Secondly, it discusses the practical considerations of this research, justifying the use of a case study approach, and the cases that were selected. Thirdly, it explores the specific methods that were used, discussing each in relation to the research questions. And finally, it examines the ethical considerations associated with this methodology, the importance of research identity within the research process, and potential limitations of this research methodology.
Research approach

Lauff, Meulders and Maguire (2008) argue that, at present, there is no uniform methodology used in the implementation or evaluation of ‘development through sport’ initiatives, due largely to the embryonic nature of the literature. They suggest that as ‘development through sport’ continues to develop as an academic discipline, influences from fields as diverse as anthropology, epidemiology, sociology, psychology and geography will influence data collection, analysis and the interpretation of ‘development through sport’ research. However, Levermore (2010) argues that much of the academic enquiry and evaluation of ‘development through sport’ that has emerged has been based on, and driven by, individual projects with the aim of obtaining data that can inform organisational procedures (Levermore, 2010). Similarly, Kay (2009: 1179) argues that ‘development through sport’ has predominantly “been framed by, and undertaken within, research programmes that have a primary purpose of informing management and policy”. She cites, for example, a UK Sport commissioned manual for monitoring and evaluating ‘development through sport’ initiatives in order to “provide guidance and assistance to develop sustainable and effective sporting organisations that also have a broader social purpose” (Coalter, 2006: 2). Thus, it is apparent that while no uniform methodology exists, ‘development through sport’ research to date has been heavily influenced by the requirements of policy.

While affirming the place of policy-based research within academic inquiry, Laws, Harper and Marcus (2003) also acknowledge a number of implications related to its implementation. Chief among them, they argue, is that at an organisational level, the requirement of accountability promotes an emphasis on methods that can help ‘measure’. Thus, in emphasising the need for hard facts, policy-based research traditionally privileges quantitative, positivist approaches over qualitative, social constructivist approaches (Brown and Strega, 2005). In addition, Kay (2009) argues that this bias toward quantitative approaches within policy-based research is accentuated by difficulties in resourcing more intensive forms of data collection at the level required to achieve credibility. This emphasis on measurable results, and thus bias toward quantitative approaches, is clearly evident within the ‘development through sport’ body of research. It is perhaps most poignantly highlighted in a report published by UNICEF (United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund), arguably the most significant driver of the ‘development through sport’ movement, which identified “the need to assemble proof, to go beyond what is mostly anecdotal evidence to

Despite the unquestionable prevalence of quantitative approaches in policy-based research, and therefore ‘development through sport’ research, Spencer et al. (2003) suggest that qualitative approaches can also be used to inform policy. Indeed, Laws, Harper and Marcus (2003) argue that a strong case study which examines pertinent themes in a persuasive manner can be every bit as influential as hard statistics. Further, Denzin and Lincoln (2008) argue that qualitative approaches can secure rich depictions of individuals’ points of view, and position their experience within the context of everyday life. It is within this context which Kay (2009) suggests qualitative approaches can provide a mechanism for addressing ‘development through sport’. She argues that such approaches allow the use of a wide lens, reaching beyond the sports programme to a broader social context; and thus she employed a qualitative approach in her exploration of ‘development through sport’ in Zambia, India and Brazil. Similarly, Burnett (2009) stated that using a qualitative methodological approach aided her understanding of ‘development through sport’ in South Africa by analysing the explanations and interpretations of the actors involved, situating them in a wider structural context.

Bradshaw and Stratford (2000: 40-41) state that:

…in moving towards a qualitative research design, we are influenced by the theories we are concerned to use, by studies undertaken by other researchers in our interpretive communities that we have found interesting, and by the research questions we wish to ask – all of which are interrelated.

Within the preceding paragraphs, generic arguments were incorporated with specific ‘development through sport’ case studies, offering theoretical and precedential justification for the adoption of a qualitative approach for this research. These theories and case studies, in turn, informed the research questions which, therefore, provide further justification for the use of a qualitative approach. The research questions, as outlined in the introduction, are generally prefixed with how rather than how many, and are concerned with how the processes of ‘development through sport’ work in the case of India. As such, a predominantly qualitative approach, incorporating intensive methods such as those described by Platt (1988), is required to facilitate the desired explanatory power.

Having established a qualitative approach as the primary methodology of this research, it is important to note that qualitative and quantitative approaches are not
necessarily mutually exclusive (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2000). Mason (2006) extols the value of incorporating both qualitative and quantitative approaches when researching questions about social experience and lived realities. She goes on to argue that mixing methodologies helps us to think creatively, theorise beyond the micro-macro divide, and enhance and extend the logic of qualitative explanation. Others such as Bryman (2008) present arguments centred around gaining a more complete understanding of the phenomenon under study, and the concept of triangulation and its value in validating data or analysis, as positive virtues of a mixed methodological approach. In light of these arguments, this research, while predominantly premised on a qualitative approach to methodology, will incorporate specific quantitative methods where appropriate. Employing quantitative methods within this research is in no way recognition of traditional ‘scientific’ approaches’ superiority over different ways of knowing, but rather is employed as a mechanism for cross-checking results and thus ensuring the credibility and rigour of this research (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2000).

Practical considerations

Bryman (2008) highlights the importance and significance of practical considerations in decisions about how social research should be carried out. He states:

All social research is a coming-together of the ideal and the feasible. Because of this, there will be many circumstances in which the nature of the topic or of the subjects of an investigation and the constraints of a researcher loom large in decisions about how to proceed (Bryman, 2008: 27).

In the context of this research, issues of scale emerge as the most pertinent of practical considerations. Indeed, the establishment of a predominantly qualitative research approach renders impractical a holistic delineation of ‘development through sport’ initiatives in India. The sheer size of India, in terms of both population and area, coupled with cricket’s prioritised position within Indian identity (Nalapat and Parker, 2005), effectively rules out the possibility, or desirability, of conducting research which encompasses all the ways in which cricket is used to drive development in India. The reality of such impracticality, therefore, necessitates a case study approach.

The ways in which case studies are defined differs among academic disciplines, but a number of commonalities exist. In general, therefore, a case study can be defined as “a research design that entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case…sometimes extended to include the study of just two or three cases for comparative purposes” (Bryman, 2008: 691). Bradshaw and Stratford (2000: 41) add
that “cases are examples of more general processes or structures that can be theorised”. However, the most fundamental aspect of a case study, according to Flyvbjerg (1998: 8) is that researchers must be able to ask “that categorical question of any study: “what is this case a case of?””. It is therefore imperative that the case selection process for this study is informed by the overarching aim of the research, and the specific research questions.

As stated in the previous chapter, the overarching aim of this research is to explore the use of cricket as a vehicle for development in India. Therefore, cases selected must incorporate the explicit use of cricket within the broader social context of development. As such, an internet search, using different combinations of key words such as cricket, India and variations of ‘development through sport’, was conducted to identify potential cases. Bryman (2008) suggests that any internet search engine provides access to only a portion of the web and may provide a biased sample. Thus, in order to seek out appropriate websites and limit possible bias, his recommendation of using several search engines was followed. Among the results, of which there were many, a number were identified as inappropriate and thus immediately discarded. Of those that remained, an in-depth content analysis of their websites was performed in order to identify cases which were most appropriate to the research questions outlined in Chapter Two (Neuendorf, 2002).

The first research question is specifically concerned with how and why cricket is being used to drive development in India. From the content analysis of websites, it became apparent that ‘development through sport’ initiatives involving cricket in India predominantly promoted narrow development objectives in that they focused on very specific aspects of development. Thus, in order to capture multiple applications and motivations of ‘development through sport’ in the context of cricket in India, it was decided to select two cases for analysis. In addition, selecting multiple cases allows for comparison between cases (Bryman, 2008), which will allow the delineation of the research questions across different contextual settings.

As previously mentioned, appropriate cases were selected through a content analysis of websites. The first case selected was the Parivartan Programme which aims to “use India’s most popular sport to teach boys how to be respectful towards women and, in turn, help reduce violence against women” (ICRW, 2010). It is based in Mumbai, and run by the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) in collaboration with the Family Violence Prevention Fund (FVPF), Mumbai School.
Sports Association (MSSA), with financial support from the Nike Foundation, and the endorsement of pre-eminent Indian cricketer Sachin Tendulkar. The second case selected was the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ Cricket Tournament, which uses cricket as a platform to promote awareness of HIV/AIDS in one of Mumbai’s most underdeveloped communities, and is run by local Non-Government Organisation (NGO) Apnalaya (Apnalaya, 2010).

Justification for inclusion was based on each case’s relevance to the research questions, and the literature that informed them. The first, and most crucial, element in selection was to ensure that the cases explicitly use cricket for development, which both clearly do. The other similarity between the two cases that had a bearing on selection was their close geographical proximity to each other. Both operate in Mumbai and, more importantly, both focus much of their activity within the same municipal ward (see Chapter Four for more detail). The benefits of this are two-fold in that it not only enabled the analysis of two different initiatives within the same geographical context, but also aided the fluidity of movement between case studies in a practical sense.

The similarities outlined above played a significant part in the selection of the case studies, but differences between the two were also imperative. While the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ both explicitly use cricket in the wider social context of development, the developmental focus of each is notably different. As mentioned above, the Parivartan Programme focuses on promoting gender equality and reducing violence toward women, whereas ‘Youth Against AIDS’ aims to increase awareness of HIV/AIDS, allowing the exploration of ‘development through cricket’ within different developmental contexts. In addition, both gender equality and HIV/AIDS have been discussed widely in ‘development through sport’ literature (see Chapter Two for examples), and are key components in the global development agenda, highlighted by their prominence within the United Nations’ (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDG’s) (UN, 2010). As such, the selection of the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ as case studies enables this research to speak back to both the ‘development through sport’ and wider ‘development’ literatures.

The Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ were selected as case studies in order to inform the first and third research questions, but do little to address the second research question. As such, further sources of information were required to unpack the contribution of cricket authorities, and their commercial partners, to development in India. Representatives from the International Cricket Council (ICC),
the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI), and the Mumbai Cricket Association (MCA), were sought in an effort to obtain the involvement of cricket authorities in development at an international, national, and regional scale. Unfortunately, however, numerous phone calls and emails to the BCCI and the MCA were not returned, and attempts at ‘cold calling’ went unrewarded due to the heightened security in the lead up to the Cricket World Cup. Thus, the second research question was informed by a case study of the ICC’s development initiatives, and the involvement of their major commercial partners within.

**Methods**

Shurmer-Smith (2002: 95) states that “when one adopts a particular theoretical position, some methods will suggest themselves and others become inappropriate, for both theoretical and practical reasons”. Thus, the methods used for this research are predicated on the adoption of a qualitative, social constructivist methodological approach. As such, this research is based on two qualitative data collection techniques, namely semi-structured interviews with key informants, and focus groups with participants of the Parivartan Programme. In addition, quantitative analysis was carried out in the form of content analysis. The following sub-sections will explore each of these techniques, and explain how each will be used and analysed to inform different aspects of the research questions.

*Semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews typically refer to a context in which the interviewer has a series of questions that are in the general form of an interview schedule but is able to vary the sequence of questions (Bryman, 2008). This enables some structure, but emphasises how the interviewee frames and understands issues and events, and thus allows them to pursue topics of particular interest (Leidner, 1993). The key advantage of semi-structured interviews, opposed to structured interviews, is that they can elicit rich information about a range of topics, which while relevant to the researcher, may not have been expressed in a more structured setting (Seezink and Poell, 2010). Situating this technique in a ‘development through sport’ context, Kay’s (2009) presentation of narratives obtained through semi-structured interviews highlights how they can contribute richness to our understanding of the social impacts of sport in a development context.
In the context of this research, semi-structured interviews were carried out to gain information from two distinct sets of stakeholders, with the questions making up the schedules for each set of interviews directly informed by their purpose, as outlined below, and by relevant aspects of ‘development through sport’ and ‘development’ literature (See Appendix A for an example of the interview schedules used). First, key informants involved in both the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ were interviewed. This enabled the procurement of in-depth information regarding the motivation and application of the selected initiatives from those involved in their organisation and administration, as well as their perceptions of the actual developmental benefits produced by each initiative. In addition, these interviews attempted to gain insight into the involvement of international, national, and regional cricket authorities in each of the initiatives. Secondly, interviews were sought with key informants from the ICC, BCCI, and the MCA, in order to verify their involvement in the selected case studies, and to establish their involvement in development initiatives in a more general sense. Unfortunately, however, interviews with key informants from all but the ICC were not forthcoming, despite numerous attempts, leaving the views of the cricket authorities solely represented by the ICC.

Literature on how many people to talk to within qualitative enquiry remains disconcertingly imprecise (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2000). Thus, the number of key informants interviewed in this research will follow Patton’s (1990: 184-185) simple advice:

There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what’s at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with the available time and resources…the validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from the qualitative inquiry have more to do with…information richness…and the observational/ analytical capacities of the researcher than with sample size.

Initial key informants were sourced from the contact information obtained from the initial content analysis of the selected case studies, as well as the websites of the ICC, BCCI, and the MCA. These initial contacts were then used to establish contact with others relevant to the research topic in what is termed a ‘snowball’ technique (Bryman, 2008). This process was repeated until such a time that Patton’s (1990) criteria, outlined above, were met and thus matters of participant selection could be justified to the stakeholders in the research, including myself (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2000). As it transpired, 21 key informants were interviewed in the course of this research, covering
a wide range of organisations involved in the formulation and implementation of ‘development through cricket’ in India, and a wide range of roles within each organisation (see Appendix B for a full list of key informants).

**Focus groups**

Focus groups are a form of group interview in which there are several participants, there is an emphasis in the questioning on a particular fairly tightly defined topic, and the emphasis is placed upon interaction within the group and the joint construction of meaning (Bryman, 2008). In terms of their use in ‘development through sport’ research, Kay (2009) used them to contribute to the young women’s narrative of how the GOAL programme impacted positively on their own behaviour and self-perception, and also affected how others treated them. In contrast, Burnett (2009) used focus groups as a means to triangulate her quantitative research of ‘development through sport’ in South Africa.

With respect to this research, focus groups were carried out with participants and coaches involved in Parivartan Programme, with the aim of obtaining perceptions of the developmental benefits that the participants have gained both as individuals, and in the community, as a result of the programme. It was envisaged that focus groups would also be held with participants in the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ Cricket Tournament, but the postponement, and eventual cancellation of the 2011 edition rendered this impossible. The benefits of focus groups, as opposed to one-on-one interviews, for this aspect of the research are two-fold. First, the number of participants in each initiative is such that conducting one-on-one interviews that were representative of the community was problematic thus, although not their primary objective, focus groups enable more voices to be heard (Gibbs, 1997). Secondly, and more pertinently, this research is concerned with the developmental benefits accrued by the community as well as the individual, something that focus groups can facilitate as they enable people to respond to each other’s views and to build up a view out of the interaction that takes place within the group (Bryman, 2008). Thus, by definition, the response becomes representative of the group.

The number of focus groups, much like the number of key informants, does not follow a definitive rule (Burgess, 1996). Similarly, the number of people involved in each group is not fixed and although they usually involve 6-10 participants (MacIntosh, 1993), some researchers have used up to fifteen (Goss and Leinbach, 1996). As such,
the focus group component of this research was governed in a similar manner to that of the interviews. Focus groups were made up of between six and ten people, and were replicated until such a time as I, the researcher, felt able to justify the use of the results that emerged (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2000). It must be added, however, that the number and size of the focus groups was largely determined by the willingness and availability of participants at each of the sites (Bryman, 2008). As it transpired, one focus group was undertaken involving twelve of the sixteen mentors in the community-level implementation of the Parivartan Programme, and another involving eight of the coaches in the Mumbai-wide implementation.

**Qualitative data analysis**

Using an interview schedule for both the key informant interviews and the focus groups has the advantage of providing some consistency across each set of questions, and therefore enabled similar themes to emerge (Bryman, 2008). For example, key informants within both the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ were asked questions from the same interview schedule, such that both common and contrasting themes can be identified. Each interview and Focus group was, with the permission of the participants, recorded and transcribed in full. A coding frame was then drawn up to delineate categories that emerged in connection with each question, and data were broken down thematically (Bryman, 2008). Themes were then related back to the specific research questions, and quotes of particular pertinence to themes were recorded and used to provide a narrative, similar to that of Kay (1999), in support of the main arguments.

**Content analysis**

As previously mentioned, content analysis was used in the selection of appropriate case study sites. Key words such as cricket, India, and different variations of development through sport were entered into multiple internet search engines in order to locate all appropriate material and limit potential bias (Bryman, 2008). Much of the sourced material was immediately identified as inappropriate and discarded. The remaining websites, documents and news articles were then analysed in order to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories which were based on the research questions and relevant themes from the ‘development through sport literature. Two initiatives were then selected from this analysis, and were used as the case studies from which the
primary data for this research was collected. The results from this content analysis were kept and reviewed as they offered insight into the motivation and application of the selected initiatives, and thus can be used to triangulate the results of the semi-structured interviews with key informants (Bryman, 2009). Further documentation, such as annual reports, brochures, newspaper and magazine articles, and other resources were obtained in the field, and analysed using the same predetermined categories, in order to inform the research questions in the same way.

In addition, content analysis was used in order to determine the extent to which the ICC’s major commercial partners have engaged in development projects that involve cricket. Eleven major sponsors were identified from the ICC’s website, with the official website of each accessed and, in turn, searched for Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) policy. Information regarding each company’s corporate presence in India, their involvement in CSR in India, and the use of cricket within any CSR activity in India, was then gathered and tabulated. As above, this content analysis was used to triangulate information obtained by key informants, in this instance regarding the involvement of the ICC’s commercial partners within the ICC’s development initiatives. It was also useful in determining the extent to which the ICC’s commercial partners are involved in ‘development through cricket’ in a more general context, and thus informs the second research question in its own right.

Positionality

Ponterotto and Grieger (1999: 52) state that:

An individual’s overall personal identity is composed of multiple and reciprocal identities – for example racial identity, gender identity, religious identity, political ideology and career identity…This identity defines how one perceives oneself as a researcher, with strong implications for which topics and methods will be important to the researcher.

In light of this argument, it is important that I acknowledge the multiple identities that constitute my positionality as a researcher, and the ways in which they shape, and are shaped by, my research. Of particular importance to my positionality within this research is my deep connection to the sport of cricket. For 23 years I have been involved in cricket as a participant, a spectator, a coach, an administrator, a volunteer and, at present, all of the above (Figure 3.1). This long association with the sport of cricket has been central in motivating and formulating this research, and has produced numerous, and often strongly held, views regarding cricket and all that it touches.
These views therefore are a part of, and not apart from, the research process. In addition to my association with cricket, it is also important to discuss the racial, religious and cultural components of my positionality. My research in India encountered a plethora of different ethnicities, religions and cultures, predominantly foreign to my own position as a white, agnostic New Zealander, as well inequality and underdevelopment on a far greater scale than I had ever experienced. These differences had an impact on the way I interacted with participants in this research, and the way they interacted with me, and ultimately shaped the information that I obtained.

It is also pertinent to note that from the vantage point of the indigenous, “the term research is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999: 1). However, as Ponterotto and Grieger (1999) suggest, ones research identity both influences, and is influenced by, the approach one operates from. Further, Kay (2009: 1180) states that qualitative approaches “offer a research process which, while undoubtedly continuing to privilege the researcher, employs tools which facilitate reflexivity and can offer a first step towards democratizing [sic] the research process”. Thus, positioning my research and, therefore, my research identity within a qualitative, social constructivist approach provides a mechanism for the expression of local understandings and knowledge that are crucial to the ‘social impact’ of sport in development contexts” (Kay, 2009: 1190).
Figure 3.1: A photographic depiction of the researcher’s involvement in cricket (clockwise from top left) as a player, an administrator, a spectator, a coach, and a volunteer (Source: Author, 2011).

Ethical issues

The ethical considerations for this research are in line with the considerations of those of others following a qualitative research approach. Homan (1991) suggests that in the process of selecting and involving participants in qualitative research, full disclosure regarding the purpose and uses of participants’ contributions is required. He goes on to say that being honest, keeping participants informed about the expectations of the topic, and not pressuring participation from any informant is best practice. Gibbs (1997) adds that the use of focus groups engenders further ethical consideration. She stresses the importance of:

...sensitive material and confidentiality given that there will always be more than one participant in the group. At the outset moderators will need to clarify that each participant’s contributions with the others in the group as well as with the moderator. Participants need to be encouraged to keep confidential what they hear during the meeting and researchers have the responsibility to anonymise [sic] data from the group (Gibbs, 1997: 6).

In addition to these standard and approach based ethical considerations, others emerge due to my position as a non-indigenous researcher undertaking research in an indigenous country (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). It is therefore imperative that all participants’ customs, cultures and religions are respected throughout the research...
process. In light of these considerations, this research was approved by the University of Otago Ethics Committee prior to the fieldwork stage, and took all practicable steps to protect the rights of the participants within the research process (see Appendix C for information regarding ethical approval and information provided to participants).

**Limitations**

As with any social research, or indeed research in general, the methodology outlined in this chapter has limitations. Those associated with the overall research approach, its practical considerations and the methods used, are imbedded within the narrative of this chapter and thus not re-stated here. Limitations associated with the research identity and ethical considerations of this research are similarly inherent in the two previous sections. Limitations that have not been covered thus far did, however, emerge in the implementation of the fieldwork and, as such, are discussed below.

The timing of the fieldwork was simultaneously a strength and limitation of this research. It was deliberately planned to coincide with the lead-up to the 2011 Cricket World Cup in India, so as to incorporate development events held around the tournament, as well as capture the reverence given to the global cricket tournament in India. While both of these were achieved to an extent, the former was somewhat hindered by the brouhaha surrounding the event. The heavy involvement of the ICC, the BCCI and the MCA in the organisation and delivery of the Cricket World Cup undoubtedly impacted upon their ability to participate in this research. This manifested in the complete inability to secure key informants within the BCCI and MCA, while access to key informants at the ICC only materialised after the conclusion of the tournament.

Another limitation was the level of pragmatism used in selecting the community-level case studies. While both the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ clearly fit the criteria for this research, their selection was also based on their geographic proximity to each other. As outlined earlier in the chapter, selecting two case studies within the same municipal ward aided travel logistics, as well as enabled the comparison of two different development objectives operating within the same social parameters. That said, however, this research could have benefitted from a broader delineation of community-level development initiatives. Inter-ward or inter-city case studies, further still a rural/urban split, would have enabled the comparison of ‘development through sport’ initiatives in different physical and social contexts, adding
another dimension to the research. Ultimately though, the time and resources available necessitated a more pragmatic approach.

**Conclusion**
The primary aim of this chapter was to establish how the parameters of this research were addressed. It discussed methodological debates relating to the ‘development through sport’ literature, as well as those of wider epistemological literature, before arguing that a qualitative, social constructivist approach incorporating selected quantitative techniques was the most appropriate approach for this research. It then discussed the necessary practical considerations, with an emphasis on the selection and justification of case studies. Drawing on the overall methodological approach, this chapter outlined the specific methods that this research used in order to inform the research questions, and discussed how and why each was be used, and how they were analysed. Finally, this chapter explored how my long association with cricket, as well as other aspects of my identity such as race, religion, and culture, have shaped my research identity and thus shaped my research. It also discussed how a predominantly qualitative approach can engender reflexivity within the research, and concluded by discussing some of the ethical considerations and limitations associated with it. Essentially, this chapter illustrates how the questions raised in Chapter Two were addressed, and thus how the material informing the following chapters was gathered.
Mumbai (formerly known as Bombay), the oft-coined *urbs prima Indiae*, is a city of contrast, with India’s juxtaposition of prosperity and poverty most explicitly defined in its most populous city. Mumbai became economically dominant during the British colonial period through manufacturing, international trade and commerce, and played a significant role in leading social reforms following independence in 1947 (Laquian, 2005). The process of deindustrialisation, beginning in the 1980s with the closure of the textile mills, the broadening of the city’s economic focus, and the subsequent increase in real estate prices, further reshaped the socio-economics of the city (Ghosh *et al.*, 2009). At the turn of the century, Mumbai was considered the first Indian city to experience economic, technological and social changes associated with the growth of capitalism in India, and has since been characterised in both popular and academic literature as India’s most modern and cosmopolitan city (Patel, 2004). But Mumbai’s ascent toward the status of ‘world city’ has not been unproblematic. Poor migrants were increasingly drawn to the city by economic opportunities and improved life chances, resulting in the rapid growth of slum communities (Bhide, 2009). When India gained
independence from the British in 1947, approximately only 5 percent of the city’s population lived in slum settlements (David, 1996), but by 2001 such settlements were home to some 54% of Mumbai’s 16.4million people (Census of India, 2001).

While the rapid growth of Mumbai’s slum population is the most overt consequence associated with the city’s economic advance, a number of other development issues have simultaneously emerged, including food insecurity, inadequate healthcare and education, and the introduction and spread of incurable diseases such as HIV/AIDS. These issues, coupled with the more deep-seated inequalities associated with the caste system and traditional gender roles in Indian society, have left many parts of Mumbai with low levels of human development. This chapter will explore human development in Mumbai through the UN’s Human Development Index (HDI), as well as other measures, highlighting these issues and inequalities. It will then look at human development in the M/East ward of the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM), where these issues and inequalities are most acute (See Figure 4.1).

Having outlined human development in Mumbai, and the M/East ward, in broad terms, this chapter will then shift focus to two community-defined human development issues within the M/East ward and the ways in which cricket is being used to help alleviate these issues. First, it will explore how the Parivartan Programme uses cricket to promote gender equality and reduce violence toward women, and secondly, how cricket is used to combat HIV/AIDS through the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ cricket tournament. It will also situate each of these initiatives within debates around ‘development through sport’, as well as broader theoretical perspectives within development such as ‘Gender and Development’ (GAD) in the case of the Parivartan Programme, for example.

Finally, this chapter will speak back to the argument upon which this research is premised; in exploring ‘why’ cricket is being used within development at the community level in India. Having offered both the wealth involved in cricket at the elite level in India, and the reverence in which it is held in Indian culture to illustrate the ‘potential’ power of cricket for development in India, this chapter will explore the actual motivation behind the use of cricket in the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’. It is argued that the primary motivation is India’s seemingly insatiable appetite for cricket, but that such an appetite is not mutually exclusive of the wealth and power associated with the sport at the elite level.
Figure 4.1: Map of Mumbai demarcating the boundaries of the M/East ward (map of India inset) (Source: Author, 2011; Maps of India, 2012).
Human development in Mumbai

In the past decade, many of India’s states have been the subject of Human Development Reports, within which all of its major cities have been evaluated. These reports are based on the United Nations’ (UN) internationally recognised HDI, which draws upon a range of development indicators to calculate a holistic measure of human development on a scale of 0-1, with 0 being low human development and 1 being high human development (see appendix D for further information on how HDI is calculated). While the HDI measures illustrated in Table 4.1 are taken from different years, and therefore not strictly comparable, the similarity in HDI between the first five cities depicted, in juxtaposition to that of Mumbai, suggests that Mumbai is some way behind India’s other major cities in terms of human development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Bangalore</th>
<th>Chennai</th>
<th>Delhi</th>
<th>Hyderabad</th>
<th>Kolkata</th>
<th>Mumbai</th>
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<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>0.753</td>
<td>0.757</td>
<td>0.737</td>
<td>0.717</td>
<td>0.780</td>
<td>0.560</td>
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</table>

(Source: Government of Karnataka, 2006; Government of Tamil Nadu, 2003; Government of Delhi, 2006; Government of Andhra Pradesh, 2008; Government of West Bengal, 2004; and MCGM, 2010)

The Mumbai Human Development Report, published in 2010 by the MCGM, delineates the main factors responsible for Mumbai’s relatively poor HDI measure. As previously mentioned, the most overt factor is that more than half of its population live in slums, defined by the UN-Habitat (2007) as areas that combine, to varying degrees, overcrowding, poor structural quality of housing, insecure residential status, and inadequate access to safe water, sanitation and other infrastructure. Different combinations of these characteristics are evident within each of Mumbai’s slums, and often all occur simultaneously (see Figure 4.2 for an example of a Mumbai Slum). Overcrowding, for example, is palpable in that Mumbai’s slum population occupies just 6 percent of the city’s land which, in some instances, equates to as many as 94000 people per square kilometre (de Sherbinin, Schiller and Pulsipher, 2007). Sanitation, too, is inadequate with approximately one toilet per 80 people, while only 5.26 percent of slum houses have individual water supply, with the rest reliant on limited supply from shared stand posts and tube wells or, in the case of 0.87 percent of houses, no water supply at all (MCGM, 2010).
Apart from, but not mutually exclusive of, the proliferation of slum communities in Mumbai, a number of other factors are behind its relatively low measure of human development. The provision of health care, for example, is severely stretched by sheer weight of population. The health infrastructure that presently exists in Mumbai was planned between 1950 and 1980 to cater for an estimated population of between 5.2 and 7 million people. Given a current population of more than twice the upper limit of that estimate, hospitals and other healthcare facilities have become progressively overcrowded, and increasingly inaccessible to the urban poor (RCUES and AIILSG, 2008). These conditions have resulted in a high Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) (34.57 in 2007) and low life expectancy (56.8 years in 2007), two key health indicators within the UN’s Human Development Framework (MCGM, 2010). Similarly, the provision of education is far from universal. While 90 percent of Mumbai’s population aged above 6 have some form of education, only 38 percent have completed ten or more years, a figure which drops to 31 percent within the slum.
population (MCGM, 2010). Despite this, Mumbai’s adult literacy rate of 77 percent is above the national average of 64.8 percent, but still significantly below the world average of 83 percent (MCGM, 2010; UNDP, 2009).

Another area within the UN’s Human Development Framework in which Mumbai outperforms India’s other major cities is that of the economy. As stated earlier, Mumbai is the financial capital of India, and on the cusp of world city status. In 2008 Mumbai had a per capita income of Rs 48,954, more than three times that of India as a whole, and was ranked in the top ten cities in the world in terms of the number of billionaires among its populace (Sengupta, 2008; Vorasarun, 2008). That it is lagging behind other major cities in India in terms of human development, despite such comparative wealth, indicates large scale inequality in Mumbai, further highlighting the plight of the urban poor. As the Mumbai Human Development Report surmises, “Mumbai, allegorically speaking, is actually two cities: a city of the ‘haves’, and a city of the ‘havenots’...within the same geographical territory, but occupying entirely different economic, physical and social spaces” (MCGM, 2010: 55).

Human development in the M/East ward of Mumbai
Despite the MCGM’s (2010) assertion that the ‘haves’ and ‘havenots’ are bound within the same physical territory, and the close juxtaposition of prosperity and poverty that generally prevails throughout Mumbai, the inequality highlighted in the previous section does have a geographical dimension. This is highlighted by the wide disparity between council wards within the Municipality of Greater Mumbai with respect to human development indicators, as illustrated in Table 4.2. Ward D, for example, significantly outperforms the Mumbai average in all the development indicators presented, and its HDI of 0.96 is comparable to countries of very high human development. Similarly, Ward C has no slum population, an adult literacy rate of 83 percent and a life expectancy of 60.49, its relatively high IMR of 35.88 being the only indicator keeping it below Ward D in terms of HDI.

At the other end of the scale is the M/East ward with an HDI of just 0.05, which is significantly lower than the lowest of 187 countries ranked by the UNDP (2011) in their latest Human Development Report. As Table 4.2 highlights, the IMR of 39.30 deaths per 1000 live births is comparatively high, but perhaps the starkest indicator of low human development in the M/East ward is that the life expectancy is only 39.30 years. That so many die before they are 40, when many in the world can expect to live
at least twice that age, is a sad indication of the conditions bestowed upon the population of the M/East ward. This low life expectancy is, in part, a result of the high IMR and also the uneven distribution of essential health facilities throughout the city. But, according to Key Informant 5, the increasing incidence of terminal diseases such as HIV/AIDS has also contributed to the low average by causing numerous premature deaths within the slum population of the M/East ward.

Table 4.2: The Human Development Index (HDI), and a selection of development indicators, across the municipal wards of Mumbai.

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<td>50.61</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>31.56</td>
<td>53.81</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>202922</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>35.88</td>
<td>60.49</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>382841</td>
<td>38077</td>
<td>9.95</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>9.42</td>
<td>60.73</td>
<td>0.96</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
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<td>11.86</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>36.27</td>
<td>48.42</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>141653</td>
<td>35.76</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>15.59</td>
<td>46.41</td>
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(Source: MCGM, 2010)

Referring back to Table 4.2, 77.55 percent of the population in the M/East ward live in slums, while its Adult Literacy rate of 66 percent is well below the Mumbai average. In this respect, the M/East ward is a microcosm of the wider trend of lower levels of education among slums in that a high proportion of its population lives in one. It is, however, too simplistic to suggest that the high slum population necessarily equates to lower levels of education, without exploring the underlying reason. As with many essential resources in Mumbai, the distribution of schools across the city and its
wards is not in proportion with the spread of population. Wards A, B, C and D have 58 municipal schools to cater for a combined school-aged population of 11,000 (190 students per school), whereas M/East ward must accommodate 45,881 school-aged children in just 73 municipal schools (629 students per school) (MCGM, 2010).

Inequalities within the M/East ward emerge when the education indicators are unpacked further to include comparisons between males and females. The gap between the male literacy rate of 72.3 percent and the female literacy rate of only 58.4 percent is the largest of any municipal ward, a significant difference given that its sex ratio of 801 females to every 1000 males is only marginally lower than the Mumbai average (MCGM, 2010). This gender inequality is further magnified in the workforce, where 90 percent of women in the M/East ward are classified as non-workers. That so few females are gaining meaningful education, and even fewer going into formal employment, according to the MCGM (2010), is an issue requiring urgent attention, not only to promote gender equality, but also to tap into a vastly underutilised economic resource.

The preceding paragraphs, with reference to Table 4.2, have clearly highlighted some of the inequalities between and within the municipal wards of Mumbai and, in doing so, have highlighted the extremely low level of human development in the M/East ward. For Mumbai to truly attain world city status these inequalities need to be addressed and the M/East ward, given that it represents Mumbai’s lowest quality of life, is an ideal place start. As such, this chapter will now switch focus to two development initiatives operating within the M/East ward that explicitly use cricket to address some of the specific issues and inequalities identified in this section.

The Parivartan Programme

The Parivartan Programme is a multi-faceted and multi-scalar initiative aimed at reducing violence and abuse toward women and promoting gender equality. It is multi-faceted in that it uses a number of mediums, though predominantly cricket or cricket related activities, to engage participants, and multi-scalar in that it operates on a national, city-wide, and community scale, and is managed and delivered by a number of different groups ranging from small community-based Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) to international research groups. In addition, it has an international component in that it is modelled upon, and has been designed in conjunction with, the US-based Family Violence Prevention Fund’s (FVPF) ‘coaching boys to men’ initiative which
uses the popular American sports of baseball and basketball to educate young athletes on themes of respect and violence toward women.

Beginning in 2008, the Parivartan Programme was initially a collaboration between the Indian Office of the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) and Apnalaya, a small community-based NGO which operates predominantly in the M/East ward of Mumbai. As described by Key Informant 15 of the ICRW, the Parivartan Programme was started as part of the ICRW’s larger portfolio of working with men and boys on ending violence against women, an issue deemed important by the fact that:

...in India, as in many other countries, gender inequity and abuse against females has become socially accepted. Unequal power between men and women has, over time, led to domination over and discrimination against women and girls by men and boys. It is a harmful reality that leaves females at a high risk of experiencing violence, abuse and ill health.

The inequity and abuse facing women in India is further highlighted by Key Informant 1, an important driver in the community-level implementation of the programme, who stated that:

One out of three married women in India report being physically or psychologically abused. Many Women are daily exposed to several forms of violence, from routine eve-teasing and sexual harassment in public, to sometimes fatal physical beatings at home.

In making the above statements, Key Informants 1 and 15 both pointed to the 2005-2006 National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) (IIPS, 2007), to support their claims. The NFHS-3 found that 33.5 percent of women in India have experienced physical violence at the hands of a male since age 15, 8.5 percent have experienced sexual violence, and 15.8 percent have experienced emotional violence. In total, some 39.7 percent of women surveyed reported to having suffered from some form of domestic violence at some stage in their life, be it physical, sexual, emotional, or a combination of the three. While these statistics highlight that the problem exists, it is the attitudes of the country’s population that illustrate why it persists. To this end, 50.6 percent of men and, more poignantly, 54.4 percent of women, believe that there are situations in which a husband is justified in beating his wife, highlighting just how deep-seated attitudes toward domestic violence have become in India.

Having established inequity and abuse toward women as a major issue in India, the ICRW, and its partners, devised two “Complementary hypotheses or ‘theories of
change’” (Key Informant5). These hypotheses, as outlined by Key Informant 3, are that:

When young men have access to role models of peaceful, gender-equitable manhood in their lives, they are more likely to embrace these characteristics in their own self-actualization. And thereafter, when men and boys commit to respectful behaviours and attitudes, especially in interactions with women and girls, then these women experience an expansion of safe space and freedom.

The first hypothesis, according to Key Informant 3, is “based on the belief in the influential power of coaches and community leaders as mentors and role models for young men”, an idea reflected in the comments of Key Informant 12, a coach involved in the Mumbai wide implementation of the programme, who stated:

For many children ‘coach’ is very important. Children don’t like listening to long lectures. But if the coach, who they look up to, says something, they are more likely to embrace it.

The rationale behind the use of sport as the medium for delivering the Parivartan Programme is, therefore, based on the belief that having positive male role models is the most appropriate way to change the attitudes and behaviour of boys and young men, and the belief that sport coaches wield the most influence over this group. The rationale behind the choice of cricket for the Parivartan Programme, as opposed to other sports, will be discussed later in this chapter.

The second hypothesis, which as previously mentioned compliments the first, relates to the approach of targeting boys and young men in the pursuit of gender equality and the empowerment of women. Such an approach, while relatively uncommon, is not without precedent, and has its roots in the academic critique of Women in Development (WID) in the 1970s, and subsequent shift toward Gender and Development (GAD), which recognises the need to analyse social relationships between men and women and emphasises the influence of factors such as class, age, marital status, religion and ethnicity on these relationships (Momsen, 2004). The implication of this approach in the context of gender empowerment is evident in the argument of Kimmel (2002: xii), who states:

The invisibility of masculinity reproduces gender inequality, both materially and ideologically. Thus, any initiative to improve the condition of women must include men. In fact, we believe that any effort to further gender equality that does not include men is doomed to failure...Of course most initiatives towards gender equality must, and will continue to, focus on women’s empowerment, but achieving the vision of gender equality is not possible without changes in men’s lives as well as women’s (Kimmel, 2002: xii).
Poudyal (2000: 76) furthers this argument, contextualising it within violence toward women in South Asia, and suggesting that a focus on men is imperative in the empowerment of women in this regard. He states that:

the system of patriarchy in which social structures and institutions produce unequal, hierarchical, authoritarian and ultimately violent relationships is highly entrenched in South Asia. How do you combat violence against women, when it springs from such an all-pervasive system? Since men are the main perpetrators of violence, it is imperative that they constitute a primary focus.

Further to Poudyal’s argument, he suggests that there have been very few attempts to focus on men and boys in the empowerment of women within development in South Asia. He states:

...within the popular media nothing, to our knowledge, specifically addresses boys, adolescents and young men concerning their masculinity and that masculinity's generally violent role models (Poudyal, 2000: 76).

And it is exactly this void that the Parivartan Programme is attempting to fill, as Key Informant 1 suggests:

we have all worked – NGOs, governments – on women's issues very specifically, and I think in the whole process, the men have been left behind. That is why we focus on the boys and young men for this [the Parivartan Programme].”

Within this philosophy of targeting boys and young men in an attempt to reduce gender inequity and violence toward women, the Parivartan Programme is delivered in a number of different ways. The specific methods used vary with scale, but cricket is consistent throughout. As previously mentioned, the programme started with the community-level intervention implemented by the ICRW and Apnalaya, which involved training 16 young men as mentors in topics such as gender and masculinity. These mentors were aged 18-30 and were selected from within Shivaji Nagar, a community within the M/East ward in Mumbai. Key Informant 1 describes the training:

...we spent a lot of time with the mentors, around six to seven workshops with them, 3 days each. [We covered] the whole question of masculinity, what is, what does it mean for them to be a man? Who is a good man? The natural images, you know all that. Abusive language, how does it come about? Where does the aggression come from? You know, all those kinds of things. So basically respect. So respect means your behaviour with others, your language with others, are two aspects of your respect for others. And why should you do that? Because you want respect yourself. So you know, all those kinds of sessions with them. And then the whole idea about gender, we decided to do for specific purposeful gender training for these people, because they come from a background which is very patriarchal, conservative Muslim community...most of them. As a result, we felt that they needed to understand gender, because for them, men and women are completely different species altogether. And they
feel that the women have to be like that, or men have to be like that, these are very strong stereotypes which are there in the main, and our society constantly reinforces that. So we got into the subject of gender, what is gender? We questioned gender, and got them [the mentors] to ask themselves, apart from certain biological parts, what is the difference between a man and a woman? So, only that biological fact is making us change social behaviour to these people. If it is a woman, it is because she is able to bear a child, or she has sexual organs which are attractive for the men, therefore you behave with her like that. You know, that is the only reason, that kind of thing. So we went through very deep aspersions of gender, and thought that this would lead to better gender understanding.

The specific focus on the concept of gender, and in particular masculinity, within this training programme, speaks back to the aforementioned arguments of Kimmel (2002) and Poudyal (2000) in that it attempts to move past the binary, mainly physical, constructs of gender, and that it focuses on changes in males lives to address gender inequality.

Once this training was complete, the mentors selected between 12 and 20 boys from their respective neighbourhoods, each within the Shivaji Nagar community, and began passing on the Parivartan Message through coaching and playing cricket. As a result of the thorough training, according to Key Informant 5, the mentors were:

...sensitised to identify ‘teachable moments’ on the field, and point out what is an appropriate language and behaviour and why and how that could be changed.

The dissemination of this message was aided by the Parivartan Card Series, produced by the ICRW in Hindi, Marathi and English, which outlines 16 coaching sessions for the mentors to deliver to their selected team.

The ICRW, and others, together we have developed what is called ‘cards’. These are cards with one message on them. You know, to respect women and children, to respect women and girls...that’s the main topic. Then you actually have things you should talk about, it’s a session plan kind of thing. They [the cards] use cricket as a game, an exercise, something to compliment the talking. So there were 16 sessions and they all went through that, they all did. Each mentor did 16 sessions with their boys.

Each card contains a theme relating to the Parivartan message, and suggests ways in which the mentors could deliver each theme effectively (see Figure 4.3).
Phase two of the Parivartan Programme involved broadening its reach throughout Mumbai through implementation in schools and formal cricket coaching programmes. The ICRW, in conjunction with the Mumbai School Sports Association (MSSA), identified schools and cricket gymkhanas (clubs) willing to participate. The key priority in selecting participants in this phase of the programme was not just finding willing schools and gymkhanas, according to Key Informant 15, but to:

...identify the coach, key coaches and mentors from the schools and communities, who would be willing to become part of our programme, and who are willing to talk about violence against women with the group of players that they coach.

In this, they reflect their original hypotheses in that they believe coaches to be the most influential role models in the lives of boys and young men, but they themselves must possess the attitudes and behaviours toward gender equality to successfully model it.

As with the community intervention, coaches selected in phase two of the Parivartan Programme underwent rigorous training in themes of gender equality, before
using the card series within their teams. The major differences between the community and school interventions are two-fold. First, each targets a different socio-economic group within Mumbai and, in doing so, operate on completely different scales. This point is highlighted by Key Informant 3, who states:

In the school intervention, all the selected athletes were part of public/private school from all over Mumbai and basically represent the middle to higher-middle level of economic strata. While the community piece includes the low economic group and mainly concentrated in the slum areas of the M/East ward.

The second major difference is the way in which each intervention is designed for evaluation. At the community level, each of the 16 mentors underwent the same training and followed the same programme with their team, whereas the schools were “split into experiment and control groups to meet certain evaluation criteria” (Key Informant 8).

The final phase of the Parivartan Programme, which began at the start of 2011, is based around a mobile video van that Breakthrough, an NGO with a presence throughout South Asia, take to neighbourhoods and schools participating in the first two phases of the programme (see Figure 4.4 for an example of the video van). According to Key Informant 17, these video van sessions:

...disseminate information using pop-culture to educate the audience and redefine the concept of masculinity as is taught to the boys.

The pop culture referred to includes music videos, theatrical performances, quizzes, and comic strips, all with a distinct cricket theme (see Figure 4.5). Through these mediums, the boys and young men are able to actively participate, often called onto the van’s stage to answer a question or act out a part in a role-play scenario. In addition, the respective communities are actively encouraged to attend which, as Key Informant 3 suggests, enables them to showcase the coaches and athletes who have been part of the initiative since the beginning and, in turn, allows them to convey the Parivartan message to a wider audience within their target population.
Youth Against AIDS

In comparison to the Parivartan Programme, the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ Cricket Tournament is a rudimentary initiative that operates exclusively in the M/East ward of Mumbai. It began as part of a wider awareness programme, borne out of the area’s increasing incidence of the deadly disease in the mid-1990s. Key Informant 5, in discussing the chronology of the issue and intervention, stated that:
...working on HIV/AIDS has been quite challenging as it involves talking with people about sexual relationships. Initially people were hesitant to discuss such topics and did not think this disease could be found in their midst. Unfortunately, an Apnalaya doctor first diagnosed a case of HIV in these communities in 1993. By 1996 a number of cases had been detected, so we started a counselling service, home visits, and hospital visits. Later we began a peer education programme for women and youth and started working with other NGOs. At this time we also started our cricket tournament.

Key Informant 1 further describes the rationale behind the tournament, stating:

We were working on HIV/AIDS in M/East ward and wanted to help young people understand it better. We thought that one of the ways we can attract young people is through cricket, and thought one of the ways we could reach a large number of them is through this tournament.

The first tournament was held in 1997 and attracted 16 teams. Each team was provided with a different coloured T-shirt emblazoned with a different message pertaining to HIV/AIDS, while large posters and cut-outs of famous Indian cricketers carried similar messages as they adorned the tournament ground. Detailed educational pamphlets were distributed to all in attendance, and a commentary of each match provided entertainment and education to the crowd. And that was basically it according to Key Informant 1, “just a mass awareness campaign”. Simple as it may seem, the annual event has increased in popularity with each year, suggesting that ‘Youth Against AIDS’ has had some success in meeting this objective. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, however, such growth has also had a number of negative implications, and ultimately led to the cancellation of the tournament in 2011.

The use of sport in promoting HIV/AIDS awareness has a number of precedents, to the point that Levermore (2008) has suggested that ‘development through sport’ has been dominated by such activities. This plethora of ‘development through sport’ initiatives focusing on HIV/AIDS predominantly, though not exclusively, involves the use of football in Africa to spread awareness about the disease. ‘Alive and Kicking’, for example, provides durable leather footballs with HIV/AIDS awareness messages printed on them to children and schools in a number of underprivileged communities in Kenya and Zambia (Alive and Kicking, 2011). Other interventions include ‘Kicking AIDS Out!’, a network that uses sport to reduce the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS, and ‘Kick4life’, which involves promoting HIV/AIDS awareness through football in rural communities of Lesotho (Khan, 2010). In these instances, as with the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ cricket tournament, the methods used are defined by their simplicity, highlighting that awareness and education are two of the
major priorities in the fight against HIV/AIDS. In addition, Khan’s (2010) assertion that HIV/AIDS awareness, and in some cases its incidence, has quantifiably improved in African communities where football-related activities have been implemented, in some ways justifies the methods employed in the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ initiative in Mumbai, and also reiterates the UN’s (2003) belief in the convening power of sport. That said, one of the main critiques of HIV/AIDS related development programmes in recent years has been their focus on mass awareness without any real evidence to suggest that they are slowing the spread of the disease. In the context of this research, the above critique will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Six.

**Why cricket?**

The argument underpinning this research asserts that the power of cricket as a potential development tool in India as being driven by both the immense wealth generated by cricket at the elite level there, and its status as one of the more coalescing features of India’s cultural imagination. The community-based development initiatives analysed for this research, however, are almost exclusively motivated by the latter, with the associated wealth only a peripheral consideration. Key Informants across the two initiatives discussed the power of sport to engage people in development before, without fail, highlighting the hold that cricket has over the people of India, and therefore its centrality to ‘development through sport’ programmes in India.

In neat summation of this point, Key Informant 7, an independent advisor to the Parivartan Programme, stated that:

> there is huge potential for sport to help improve the quality of life, and in India, cricket is the obsession, as you see [motioning to the crowded maidan and surrounding streets] playing cricket, everywhere, almost too obsessed with cricket. But for that reason cricket is powerful, it is a great way to engage people, and not just kids, adults too. If it involves cricket, people will come, and getting people to come is half the battle. Through cricket we can convey our messages much more effectively.

Similarly, Key Informant 3, involved in the Parivartan Programme on a national scale, stated that:

> Sport is the platform for the Parivartan Programme, and cricket is the best fit because it is like a religion here. Every single boy in this country connects themselves with cricket, either through coaching or through the day to day informal system. Thus through cricket, the boys can relate to this [the Parivartan Programme] well.
The quotes presented here are only a selection of those expressed, but could have been pulled from almost any of the key informant interviews such was the commonality in response to this theme. It is clear, then, that the use of cricket in the community-based initiatives analysed here is primarily driven by India’s passion for the sport, and therefore the ability that cricket has to engage with the population. This is very much in line with the UN (2003) position on the power of sport in development, which suggests that the convening power of sport makes it compelling as a tool for advocacy and communications. It also speaks back to Bale’s (2003) argument that the geographical concepts of space and place are intrinsic to modern sport. The idea that regions form a central feature in the organisation of sport, and that places are the means of identifying most sports teams, was discussed in the literature review, as was the fact that the spread of cricket has largely been confined to places in which the British have had significant influence. These ideas can be taken a step further in the context of this research, in that it can be argued that the choice of sport in ‘development through sport’ is very much linked to place, the choice of cricket largely determined by the fact that it is India in which they operate. The importance of place within the parameters of this research was illustrated in a number of interviews, with Key Informant 4, for example, stating that the Parivartan Programme chose cricket because it:

...is the most popular sport in India, it is more than a sport here, it is a religion. In the USA they used baseball and basketball, but they would not work here. Cricket is the best way to engage the participants here because they love the game, therefore cricket is the best medium to convey our message.

Key Informant 8, also involved in the Parivartan Programme, expressed similar views in stating that:

...of course the sport has to be cricket, which is more of a religion, especially here in Mumbai, the birth place of cricketing legend, master blaster Sachin Tendulkar (Key Informant 8).

These responses not only emphasise the fact that the use of cricket in the development initiatives analysed is primarily being driven by India’s passion for cricket, but also that cricket and India, sport and place, are intertwined. They suggest that cricket would not work in development everywhere in the world and, more crucially, that many other sports would not work in India. It is therefore evident that place is a key component in the implementation of ‘development through sport’, or at least in the choice of sport selected.
In contrast to the free-flowing discussion of India’s passion for cricket, mention of the wealth associated with cricket as a motivating factor in these development initiatives was very sporadic in the key informant interviews, and almost always prompted. Key Informant 1, for example, suggested that cricket at the elite level was worlds away from the objectives of both the initiatives that her organisation is involved with (the Parivartan Programme and the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ Cricket Tournament), and therefore the wealth it generates was of little consequence to their activity. She went on to state:

We don’t want for much. All our cricket is played with a tennis ball and makeshift bats, we can provide that material. We don’t need the wealth from above. And I don’t think we are ambitious in terms of sports performance as such, and creating pathways to the top, I think our focus is more local. All that we are doing, is so that they get an opportunity to play cricket.

So to return to the argument underpinning this research, the responses clearly promote India’s passion for cricket, rather than the wealth and power associated with the elite level, as the primary motivation for its use in ‘development through sport’ there. That said, however, it is important to note that India’s passion for cricket, and the wealth and power that cricket generates at the elite level in India, are not mutually exclusive. The ‘Indianisation’ of cricket, as discussed in earlier chapters, is driven by Indian television networks which, in turn, are reliant on the viewership of a massive fan base that only India can provide. But perhaps of greater significance in the context of this research is the converse of that symbiosis, in that India’s passion for cricket is largely driven by the glamour and wealth of the elite. Firsthand experience of the 2011 Cricket World Cup, for example, highlighted the crowds’ penchant for superstar players, and for getting themselves on TV, rather than for any love of the aesthetic and strategy that a purist might have. This somewhat superficial love of cricket was also reflected by participants of the development initiatives analysed, as highlighted by this dialogue from a focus group involving mentors in the Parivartan Programme:

Participant 1: “Cricket is a popular sport, we just love it here.”

Participant 2: “Yaar, it is popular, and you get publicity. You get more, people get to know you more if you play cricket. You can become famous.”

Participant 3: “…and money, there is a lot of money if you are good at cricket.”
So, while these initiatives may genuinely be driven by India’s love of cricket, the influence of the wealth and glamour is, at the very least, subconsciously embedded in such passion and, therefore, a factor in the use of cricket in development initiatives.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on the first research question, attempting to answer how, and perhaps more crucially, why cricket is being used in community-driven development in India. Concentrating on the M/East ward of Mumbai, the bottom rung of an economically prosperous, yet hugely unequal city, it has delineated two community-defined development issues, and the ways in which cricket is being used to address them. But the specificities of each initiative, while certainly pertinent in the context of broader theoretical debates, are somewhat secondary to the more holistic consistencies that run through both. In this respect, the how and the why become almost the same. Cricket is being used in community-level development as the hook, that vital component that draws the target audience, engaging them with a message that, without which, often goes unheard. And it is doing so because it can. In a country as diverse as India, cricket is one of few commonalities to transcend language, religion and culture, a shared passion that has no creed. In light of this, both the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ are being implemented on the premise that if it involves cricket, they will come.
The role of the ICC and their commercial partners in development

Historically, development policy has been defined by national governments and implemented on a national scale. In recent decades, however, economic, political and cultural processes of globalisation associated with the neo-liberal agenda and withdrawal of the state, have significantly reshaped the role of governments in the development process (Potter et al., 2008). These changes have seen the rising influence of international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and greater prominence of civil society in international policy debates and global problem solving (Edwards, 2001). This has not only changed the way in which development is theorised and practiced globally, but has also introduced a wider selection of actors to the development process.

Levermore (2008) argues that the broader array of actors now involved in the general development process has, unsurprisingly, led to a growth of non-traditional actors such as the private sector and civil society becoming involved in ‘development through sport’ initiatives. What is surprising, he counters, is that these actors are often leading the way in such initiatives. Among these ‘new’ actors, sporting federations and organisations are prominent, with the implementation of programmes such as the Goal
Programme of FIFA (the Federation Internationale de Football Association) and Olympic Solidarity of the IOC (International Olympic Committee) steadily increasing in recent years (Beutler, 2008). Further, Levermore (2008) suggests that UEFA (the Union of European Football Associations), the International Paralympic Committee, and FIBA (Federation Internationale de Basketball Association) all have some involvement in international development. Given this increasing role of sporting federations and organisations in international ‘development through sport’, and Levermore’s (2008) assertion as to the importance and success of such, this chapter will explore the involvement of cricket’s main governing body, the International Cricket Council (ICC), within development. In doing so, it will inform the research questions in terms of how and why cricket is being used to drive development in India, and what role international cricket authorities play in this process.

The website for the ICC offers the following vignette as its charity policy:

The ICC receives numerous requests to assist charities every year. With finite funding which belongs to its members - the ICC is a not-for-profit body which returns revenues generated to those 104 members - the ICC Board focuses its charitable efforts on HIV and AIDS awareness, in partnership with UNAIDS [Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS], UNICEF [United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund] and the Global Media AIDS Initiative (ICC, 2011a).

Its social policy, while afforded more space, is similar in that it exclusively delineates the ICC’s commitment to HIV/AIDS. Such a myopic depiction, however, somewhat belies the ICC’s actual involvement in development, as Key Informant 21, of the ICC, highlights:

...[HIV/AIDS] has certainly been our historic focus; but we probably have three areas of focus now. And very deliberately over the past 12, perhaps 18 months, we have broadened our focus a little bit.

The three areas of focus which Key Informant 21 refers to have manifested in three identifiable partnerships, namely ‘Think Wise’, the global cricket AIDS partnership; ‘Great Spirit’, aimed at promoting social inclusion of marginalised groups; and a partnership with ‘Room to Read’, an organisation focused on promoting educational equality. This chapter will explore each of these partnerships in turn, broadly outlining their evolution in a global context in the first instance, before discussing each in greater depth within the parameters of their activities in India. In doing so it will consider some of the key concepts from the ‘development through sport’ literature, including links between major sporting events and community-level
needs and interests, of particular pertinence given India’s role as primary host of the 2011 Cricket World Cup, and the use of high profile sporting personalities within development initiatives. It will also explore the motivation behind sporting federations and organisations, like the ICC, becoming involved in development.

In addition to the role of sporting federations and organisations in development, large corporate bodies have also been tendered as having a significant part to play in ‘development through sport’. Both Levermore (2010) and Smith and Westerbeek (2007) argue that the ability of sport to cross economic, social and cultural divides, as well as the global exposure involved in the sponsorship of elite sport, provides the ideal stimulus for large and profitable companies to partake in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). As such, this chapter will explore CSR in the context of initiatives that use cricket for development in India. More specifically, it will discuss cricket’s major corporate stakeholders’ engagement with cricket-related ‘development through sport’.

‘Think Wise’: the global cricket AIDS partnership
The ICC’s involvement in HIV/AIDS began in 2003, and emerged as the result of an approach from UNAIDS seeking a major sporting partner in its attempts to raise awareness of the disease, and reduce the stigma associated with it. With the 2003 Cricket World Cup (hosted predominantly by South Africa, but with matches also held in Zimbabwe and Kenya) having recently concluded, the ICC acknowledged the potential benefits of such a partnership. Key Informant 21 highlights this, in stating that:

We recognised that cricket as a sport was popular in many of the countries with the highest HIV prevalence rates. Sub-Saharan Africa, the Indian sub-continent and the Caribbean are three very high prevalence rate zones, but also the zones that were going to be hosting our next two ICC Cricket World Cups, and some other events in between, like the Champions Trophy in South Africa, the World Twenty-20 Championship in the West Indies and others, so from that long-term partnership perspective, there seemed to be a lot of synergy there. What they wanted was a partner that could raise awareness and reduce stigma, and we felt that by doing activities around our major events, doing activities around world AIDS day, and engaging some high-profile leading players, we might be able to support them in their Aims and Objectives.

The initial focus of this partnership was based upon the profile and reach of the ICC within the high prevalence zones outlined by Key Informant 21, and utilised high-profile players such as Kumar Sangakara from Sri Lanka, Verindeer Sehwag from
India, and Graeme Smith from South Africa to promote awareness of HIV/AIDS at ICC events. In addition, public service announcements were made at host grounds and in television coverage to maximise the reach. In 2007, not long before the Cricket World Cup in the Caribbean, the ICC bought into the Caribbean Broadcast Media Partnership, a collaboration of broadcasters from the region committed to allocating a certain percentage of programming to HIV/AIDS. This extended the ICC’s ability to engage with the cause at a local level, and ultimately led to their activities being co-opted into the Global Media AIDS Initiative. Around the same time, the partnership was broadened to include UNICEF which, according to Key Informant 21, increased their ability to engage with communities. He states that:

the benefit of UNICEF is that great synergy around youth and young people, it was quite good to have our athletes talking about the effects on youth and young people, but also UNICEF have a much more programmatic aspect, so whereas UNAIDS are very much the co-ordinating agency for HIV and AIDS within the United Nations, UNICEF have staff on the ground, they have programmes on the ground that we can actually take some of the players to visit. Rather than just doing activities at our cricket matches, this took the activities into the community, and broadened the reach of our activities, integrating them into the community, instead of it just being the cricket stars on the cricket field trying to raise awareness about the cause.

In 2009, the ICC, in conjunction with its partners UNAIDS, UNICEF and the Global Media AIDS Initiative, sought to unite its HIV/AIDS activities under the singular identity of ‘Think Wise’. This campaign continues to draw upon the profile and reach of cricket to raise awareness of, and reduce the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS, but according to Key Informant 21, it also takes it a step further in trying to incentivise behavioural change amongst cricket consumers who are at risk of contracting or spreading the disease. In doing so, the ICC has created a brand that is easily transmittable through the profile and reach of cricket. Since its inception, ‘Think Wise’ has been prevalent at all ICC events through banners, advertising hoardings, public service announcements, and is prominently displayed on the sleeves of all international umpires (Figure 5.1), thus creating significant media exposure for the cause.
Figure 5.1: The ‘Think Wise’ logo displayed on the sleeve of elite umpire Simon Taufel at the 2011 Cricket World Cup in India (Source: Getty Images, 2011).

In terms of its implementation in India, many of the ‘Think Wise’ activities at the 2011 Cricket World Cup followed similar lines to that which had been done before. The tournament umpires, for example, continued to display the ‘Think Wise’ logo on their sleeves, and public service announcement videos were broadcast at the games and in advertising slots during television coverage. While these methods are tried and tested, the content was kept fresh through the release of a number of new, tournament specific, videos such as ‘Get the facts, protect yourself’, in which India’s Virender Sehwag and Sri Lanka’s Kumar Sangakara emphasise the need for young people to inform themselves about HIV/AIDS, take suitable steps to prevent contracting HIV/AIDS, and unite against the stigma and discrimination associated with the disease.
(ICC, 2011b). The ICC and its partners also made these public service announcement videos available to broadcasters outside the tournaments commercial rights agreement, enabling broadcasters worldwide to screen them, and thus broadening the reach and profile of the ‘Think Wise’ campaign (UNAIDS, 2011a).

Having traditionally promoted the ‘Think Wise’ message almost exclusively through high profile matches, using the methods described in the preceding paragraph, the ICC and its partners decided to strengthen its community-based programme at the 2011 Cricket World Cup. As Key Informant 21 describes:

We [the ICC] wanted to compliment our high-profile, top-driven partnerships with a community element, so we introduced a schools and community programme. Our road-show went into communities in many of the cities in the three host countries [India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh] distributing awareness raising material. We also had a schools cricket tournament in all the host cities, where young people, as well as getting to play in that tournament, were delivered some HIV/AIDS education by local groups that UNICEF identified and organised.

![Figure 5.2: Prominent South African Cricketer and ‘Think Wise’ ambassador Graeme Smith (left), participating in a ‘Think Wise’ event at the Feroz Shah Kotla Stadium in Delhi during the 2011 Cricket World Cup](Source: UNAIDS, 2011b).

The decision to include a community-level intervention alongside the high-profile match-centric campaign is based on its potential to engage a different audience. It enabled the ICC to market the ‘Think Wise’ messages to marginalised groups who identify with India’s passion for cricket, but lack the resources to consume it at the elite level through match attendance or television coverage. In this respect, the community-
level implementation of ‘Think Wise’ in India is similar to the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ tournament discussed in the previous chapter, in that participants actively contribute to the delivery of the message, rather than the passive consumption accrued as a spectator. The difference being, however, that the ICC has access to elite players, resources, and facilities (Figure 5.2) enabling such delivery more fluency and traction than ‘Youth Against AIDS’ was able to obtain.

**‘Great Spirit’: Promoting social inclusion through the spirit of cricket**

In 2008, the ICC decided to compliment its global focus on HIV/AIDS with a more localised cause of relevance to the host of each of its major events. With the 2009 Champions Trophy held in South Africa, and the 2010 World T20 held in the West Indies, the ICC continued its focus on HIV/AIDS, “but as a local cause as well as a global one” (Key Informant 21). England’s hosting of 2009 World T20, and the Women’s World Cup held in Australia that same year, provided the ICC with its first opportunity to branch away from HIV/AIDS as its local cause. The activities around those events were based upon links already formed between host organisations and developmental needs, as Key Informant 21 states:

...in 2009, when we had the World Twenty20 in England, the local cause was volunteering, tying in with some of the themes of our centenary year. In the Women’s World Cup in Australia it was Breast Cancer Awareness, because again, there are a lot of strong local programmes that Cricket Australia has in place around that cause, so it tied in with what they were doing there.

Another significant event in 2009 occurred on March 3, when the Sri Lankan team bus was attacked by 12 gunmen as it left Gaddafi Stadium in the Pakistan city of Lahore, resulting in injury to a number of players and officials, and the death of six police officers and two civilians (Giulianotti and Klauser, 2012). This attack, whilst having dramatic ramifications for the future of cricket in Pakistan, proved to be the catalyst for the ICC to broaden its development activities further, as Key Informant 21 highlights:

we felt that the cricket community should do something to support the families of those who lost their lives in the attack. There were significant sensitivities around any fundraising that we did for that, so at the World Twenty20 in 2009 we raised some funds for those families, but we also said that at the same time we wanted to use it as an opportunity to support projects that promoted social integration and peace across the sub-continent. And the funds we were able to raise from that we used as seed funding for a new programme that we called ‘Great Spirit’. So we gave some money to the families of those who lost their
lives in the [Lahore] attack to support the education of young family members of those who lost their lives. The rest of it we used as seed funding for more grassroots, social inclusion partnerships under the banner of ‘Great Spirit’.

The first project under the ICC’s ‘Great Spirit’ initiative began in late 2009 in partnership with UK-based organisations ‘Cricket for Change’, ‘Peace and Sport’, ‘Just in Time’, UK Sport and the British High Commission, as well as UNICEF and Sri Lanka Cricket, and used cricket leadership training and lifestyle education to help socially re-integrate child soldiers from Sri Lanka’s civil war (Sellins, 2009). Following the initial success of the ‘Great Spirit’ project in Sri Lanka, the ICC implemented a similar programme in Bangladesh, but with a focus on marginalised young women in the traditionally patriarchal society. As in Sri Lanka, the focus was on community-level intervention, but the ICC is complimenting this at the elite level by way of promoting gender equality through their major tournaments. This is illustrated by Key Informant 21, who states:

Bangladesh is going to be the host of the World Twenty20 in 2014, which is a joint Men’s and Women’s event. I think an event like that is part of our social responsibility, to include the loss-making women’s event alongside the highly profitable men’s event to hopefully raise awareness and profile of women’s cricket with female cricketers, and to encourage more young girls to play cricket in countries like Bangladesh, where females haven’t traditionally played team sports.

Other ‘Great Spirit’ projects have since been implemented in Afghanistan and, according to Key Informant 21, the ICC hope to have a programme in place in Pakistan by the end of 2012.

The ICC first introduced the ‘Great Spirit’ concept to India in 2010, again teaming up with UNICEF and ‘Cricket for Change’, as well as a number of local Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) such as ‘Butterflies’, to engage with street kids in some of Delhi’s deprived communities. Like previous ‘Great Spirit’ events, according to Key Informant 21, the ICC:

...play a bit of a seed funding and facilitative role, but really these other stakeholders then take on the ICC ‘Brand’ if you like, and our enthusiasm, and adapt that to the local circumstances. Now they are having these regular sessions for street kids from some of the deprived areas of Delhi.

Using the influence of the ICC, these local groups were able to secure access to the playing fields at one of Delhi’s leading schools, on which they were able to hold regular cricket activities and, as a result, give a number of underprivileged children the opportunity to participate in organised sport for the first time in their lives.
In 2011, the organisations involved in the Delhi ‘Great Spirit’ programme joined forces with the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) and the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) to implement a similar programme in Mumbai. This partnership brought together 45 youth leaders from throughout the state of Maharashtra and demonstrated how cricket could be used to strengthen their work with disadvantaged children. The youth leaders participating in this programme were all drawn from UNICEF’s ‘sport for development’ programme and thus, according to Key Informant 21, the Mumbai incarnation of ‘Great Spirit’ was about providing each of them with the tools to implement and maintain cricket related development initiatives in their own communities, he states:

We tried to add a string to their bow if you like, so they are able to do the cricket education and youth cricket projects back in their communities. Then there is a flow down effect in which, you know, they are trained as trainers if you like, so when they go back to their local communities across Maharashtra they can empower their peers, and other disadvantaged youth.

In order to help the youth leaders conduct the cricket sessions back in their communities, and thus aid the cyclic transfer of skills and knowledge into the local environment, the ICC also facilitated the supply of cricket equipment to each of the youth leaders (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: Participants in the Mumbai ‘Great Spirit’ programme receiving cricket equipment at the conclusion of the training (Source: Cricket for Change, 2011).
The training itself was delivered by ‘Cricket for Change’, and was based around ‘Street20’, a simple, fast, inclusive and inexpensive form of cricket. The five day programme balanced theory with practical exercises and covered topics such as the importance of education, health, inclusion, safety, teamwork, communication, coordination, motivation, mentorship and fair play, as well as cricket specific skills like batting, bowling, catching, umpiring and scoring. In addition, the trainers created space for the participants to recount their life stories and experiences as young leaders, using this sharing as a platform for finding common ground, and complimented this with their own global experiences to highlight issues that face youth around the world, and those that are unique to India (Cricket for Change, 2011).

The Mumbai ‘Great Spirit’ project had the added advantage of being able to involve activities around the 2011 Cricket World Cup. On day three of the programme, for example, all the participants were given the opportunity to attend the World Cup match between New Zealand and Canada at Wankhede Stadium. On top of simply enjoying the match – the majority of participants had never been to an international match in their lives – the group was featured on the stadium scoreboard and a discussion about the training programme was included in the global television broadcast. In addition, a number of participants returned to Wankhede Stadium the following day to showcase ‘Street20’ alongside three members of the New Zealand World Cup squad, Jamie How, Hamish Bennett and Luke Woodcock (Figure 5.4). These activities once again emphasise the profile and reach that the ICC can add to development initiatives and, in doing so, support Levermore’s (2008) assertion that international sporting organisations have an important role to play in development. Without the influence of the ICC, simply getting the participants to a game would have been a stretch, including them in the coverage and enabling them to interact with the players, nigh on impossible.
‘Room to Read’

The third, and most recent development activity undertaken by the ICC, involves a partnership with international NGO ‘Room to Read’, an organisation that aims to improve literacy in developing countries and promote gender equality in education (Room to Read, 2011a). Whilst not directly a cricket programme in terms of the beneficiaries and method of delivery, Key Informant 21 suggests that a number of synergies do exist between ‘Room to Read’ and the ICC, most pertinently their mutual relevance to India. Cricket’s place in Indian culture is well documented throughout this thesis and, with 35 percent of the world’s illiterate people living in India, it provides the ICC with a significant platform from which to promote and enhance the activities of ‘Room to Read’ (Room to Read, 2011b). Thus far, the partnership between the ICC and ‘Room to Read’ has almost exclusively been associated with the 2011 Cricket World Cup in the Indian sub-continent and, as such, this section will outline the ‘Room to Read’ activities run in conjunction with the tournament.

The ICC’s partnership with ‘Room to Read’ can be categorised as part awareness-raising and part fund-raising. The awareness-raising side, according to Key Informant 21, is run:

...along similar lines to the model with HIV/AIDS, we have used high-profile ambassadors to raise awareness of the importance of literacy. We got a player from each country to name their favourite book, and a number of those same
players were involved in a number of community outreach activities. And like with the HIV/AIDS, we had, some public service announcements that we showed in the stadiums and those sorts of things.

The use of awareness raising techniques, such as the publication of elite players’ favourite books depicted in Table 5.1, is aimed at promoting the importance of reading and to raise awareness of the work that Room to Read does in offering educational opportunities to young people, especially those that pertain to the three host countries of the 2011 Cricket World Cup (Room to Read, 2011c).

In terms of fund raising activity, the ICC co-opted one of its major commercial sponsors into the partnership, which resulted in the launch of the ‘boundaries for books’ campaign. Reliance Life Insurance, a subsidiary of the Reliance Group, pledged Rs. 25,000 (US$553)\(^1\) for every six hit at the 2011 Cricket World Cup, and encouraged other companies and individuals to also donate. At a minimum value of Rs. 25,000, according to a ‘Room to Read’ press release, each six is sufficient to provide at least 30 underprivileged children with access to fully functional libraries and trained teachers (Room to Read, 2011d). In addition to this commercial agreement, Key Informant 21 stated that a number of high profile players, most notably India’s captain M.S. Dhoni, Shane Watson of Australia and Angelo Matthews of Sri Lanka, donated either time or memorabilia to a charity auction held by ‘Room to Read’ at the end of the tournament. These activities, as simple as they seem, combined to raise significant capital for ‘Room to Read’, the amount and use of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

\(^1\) This conversion from Indian Rupee to US Dollar, and those henceforth, are based on the exchange rate as at 28 February 2011 of 1 R = 0.0221336875 USD, and are rounded to the nearest dollar.
Table 5.1: A list of some international cricketers’ favourite books, as promoted by the ICC and ‘Room to Read’ during the 2011 Cricket World Cup.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEAM</th>
<th>PLAYER</th>
<th>BOOK CHOICE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Shane Watson</td>
<td>&quot;Open&quot; by Andre Agassi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>Tamim Iqbal</td>
<td>&quot;Harry Potter and the Sorcerer’s Stone&quot; by JK Rowling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Zubin Sukari</td>
<td>&quot;Life&quot; by Keith Richards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>Luke Wright</td>
<td>Goosebump Series by R L Stine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>Virat Kohli</td>
<td>&quot;Open&quot; by Andre Agassi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Ed Joyce</td>
<td>&quot;1984&quot; by George Orwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Steve Tikolo</td>
<td>&quot;Long Walk to Freedom&quot; by Nelson Mandela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Peter Borren</td>
<td>&quot;Night Train to Lisbon&quot; by Pascal Mercier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Kane Williamson</td>
<td>Jack Reacher Series by Lee Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Shahid Afridi</td>
<td>&quot;Fazail-E-Amaal&quot; by Muhammad Zakariya Kandhlawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Wayne Parnell</td>
<td>&quot;The Stand&quot; by Stephen King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Angelo Mathews</td>
<td>&quot;Talent Is Never Enough&quot; by John Maxwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>Sulieman Benn</td>
<td>&quot;Supercat: The Authorised Biography of Clive Lloyd&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Graeme Cremer</td>
<td>&quot;It’s Not About The Bike&quot; by Lance Armstrong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Room to Read, 2011c)

Having categorised the ICC’s partnership with ‘Room to Read’ as part awareness raising and part fund raising, it is important to acknowledge that each is not mutually exclusive. The use of high profile ambassadors and public service announcements, for example, are not solely aimed at promoting ‘Room to Read’ and its associated activities, but also to attract potential donors, illustrated by the accompanying suggestion that “If every cricket lover around the world were to make an investment, together we could stem the tide and change the lives of thousands of children” (Room to Read, 2011d). Similarly, while the procurement of funds was the primary objective of the ‘Boundaries for Books’ campaign, ‘Room to Read’ also used the profile it generated as a platform to promote their overarching message that “world change starts with educated children” (Room to Read, 2011a).

The motivation behind the ICC’s intervention in development

It is clear from the previous sections that the ICC’s involvement in development significantly exceeds its advertised scope. As Key Informant 21 surmises:

...we have a health cause in terms of HIV/AIDS, a community, social inclusion cause in terms of ‘Great Spirit’, and an education cause in terms of ‘Room to Read’.

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It is also clear that much of what the ICC does in a development sense revolves around its expanding stable of elite world tournaments, enabling them to optimise their reach and profile through global television exposure. What is less apparent, however, is why the ICC has become involved in development in the way it has. The previous chapter highlighted that cricket’s ability to engage the Indian population was the main factor for its incorporation into development initiatives at a grassroots level, but the symbiosis between the awareness raising and fund raising elements of the ICC’s partnership with ‘Room to Read’ would hint at a slightly more complex rationale behind the ICC’s intervention. As such, this section will explore the motivation behind the ICC’s involvement in development and, in doing so, continue to pursue the research questions pertaining to ‘why’ cricket is being used in development in India, and what role international sporting organisations have in its delivery.

In terms of the big picture, the ICC’s involvement in development is very much driven by what is colloquially known as the ‘spirit of cricket’, an ingrained ethos derived from the traditions of ‘a gentlemen’s game’. This link is described by Key Informant 21, who states:

> if you look at the way that we try and present the organisation, and the organisation is positioned, in leading a great sport with great spirit, and so that great spirit, I suppose, is intrinsic to the mission of the organisation, the purpose of the organisation, that great sport doesn’t really exist without its great spirit, that is what makes cricket unique and special. So, in a way it is a 360 degree manifestation of the spirit of cricket, you know, which starts with the standards of behaviour that the sport enjoys on the field of play, and stretches beyond the boundary to the communities that are a part of it, that generate the athletes, that generate the fans, that generate the coaches and volunteers.

These sentiments suggest that the ICC sees the value of cricket, in terms of development, as its ability to engage the communities that sustain it as a sport, which is very much in line with the community-driven development initiatives outlined in Chapter Four. This is further highlighted by the fact that many of the partnerships which the ICC have entered into, utilise what Key Informant 21 refers to as the “profile and reach” of cricket in the delivery of their development activities. The ‘Think Wise’ initiative, for example, is based around promoting awareness of HIV/AIDS within high-prevalence communities, rather than pouring funds into research or post-diagnosis care. Similarly, the ‘Great Spirit’ projects have predominantly used cricket as a platform to generate social inclusion as opposed to fiscal gain. And the partnership with ‘Room to Read’, while clearly containing a fund raising element, also draws upon the ability of
cricket to engage people, as illustrated by ‘Room to Read’ founder John Wood, who stated that, “It is exciting to see cricketing heroes use their celebrity to inspire their littlest fans in Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka and many other countries to read and seek knowledge” (Room to Read, 2011b).

To return to the underpinning argument of this research, the ICC’s intervention in development appears to be primarily driven by the ability of cricket to engage, as opposed to the wealth it generates at the elite level. That said, the relationship between the two is far less dichotomous than that which can be applied to the community-driven initiatives of the previous chapter. While the ICC’s development activities may be based around the ‘profile and reach’ of cricket at the elite level, it is the wealth and subsequent global television exposure that has afforded it such. As prominent Indian cricket writer Harsha Bhogle (2003:) neatly surmises, “Television is the seed that breeds sponsorships, ignites passions and carries sport across boundaries”. This point is conceded by Key Informant 21, who states that:

We are reliant on our broadcast partners...the spot-rates for advertising during a World Cup match, they are significant, you know, tens of thousands of dollars per 30 seconds, but they are happy to take up some of that air time with public service announcements about HIV/AIDS, which I think is really impressive. So while there is no cash changing hands, it is that sort of, it’s the mutual benefit if you like, that we really appreciate from them.

So while the ICC’s involvement in development is based around its ability to engage the communities that consume cricket, the fact that it can do so effectively is a direct result of the commercialisation of cricket.

The ICC’s involvement in development can also be separated from that of the community driven initiatives discussed in Chapter Four, in that the former clearly contains a financially driven element. Their partnership with ‘Room to Read’, for example, explicitly seeks to acquire funds to be used at the discretion of the charity. Similarly, the ‘Great Spirit’ initiative emerged from the ICC’s desire to financially assist the families of those who lost their lives in the Lahore attack. In comparison, neither the Parivartan Programme, nor the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ sought to use their cricket related activities for the procurement of funds, suggesting that the wealth and power associated with the commercialisation of cricket is far more significant, or at least far more accessible, to the ICC in terms of driving its development initiatives.

The actions of the ICC in terms of development have, thus far, been framed altruistically. Regardless of whether they have used cricket to engage with communities
or to procure funds, the ICC’s role has been conveyed as that of a facilitator or benefactor rather than that of a beneficiary. Socio-biological theory, however, argues that a reductive egoism is generally evident in altruistic action, and typically presents in the form of an underlying concern for matters of personal status and social recognition (Gnatt and Reber, 1999). This critique of altruism feeds into a growing body of evidence relating to CSR, which suggests that corporations can differentiate their brands and reputations, and thus generate significant returns, by taking responsibility for the well-being of the societies and environments in which they operate (Pohle and Hittner, 2008). It is in this context that Key Informant 21 concedes an underpinning element of self-interest in the ICC’s involvement in development, stating:

I think it would be wrong of me not to say that there is also an image and reputation piece that would certainly be part of the historic reason for the HIV/AIDS partnership back in 2002/2003, but I think that we have become more systemic and integrated in how we approach our corporate sustainability and responsibility. But certainly, if you look at the ICC, there is sort of an organisation that has endured large amounts of criticism over significant periods of time...the ICC from time to time gets some pretty big flak on a wide range of issues, and I think there is a real image and reputation aspect to being involved in making sure that we are not just a regulator, that we are not just an organisation that is money orientated, which have been criticisms at various times in the past, but that we do take seriously and integrate our wider responsibilities, specifically to the sport, but also as a corporate entity with an understanding of its place in society.

While a desire to shift the public perception of the ICC contributed to the initial HIV/AIDS partnership, a more commercial form of self-interest has also been evident in the ICC’s development activities since. The causes that the ICC aligns itself with can impact upon the way in which it is perceived in a commercial sense and, therefore, its relationship with commercial partners. This commercial reality was, in many respects, the catalyst to the broadening of the ICC’s development activity, as Key Informant 21 alludes to:

The key is obviously to make sure that you have mutual goals. One of the interesting things about HIV/AIDS is that it is a difficult cause to address in that people do not like talking about it, yet because we have been going for a number of years we have these high profile athletes now comfortable talking about safe sex and those sorts of things. So while UNAIDS and UNICEF are delighted with cricket for addressing HIV/AIDS, that does not necessarily sit too well with an FMCG (Fast Moving Consumer Goods) sponsor, so a ‘Room to Read’ might be an easier fit for them, and also ‘Great Spirit’. So that is probably one of our learning’s over time, that we do need to have a broader reach of community activities, and social activities if we want our
partners to come on board... not all sponsors necessarily want to come on board with an HIV/AIDS cause.

It is clear, then, that the ICC has dual motivations in its intervention in development. On the one hand, it appreciates the myriad of social issues facing a number of its constituents, and understands its unique ability to utilise the ‘profile and reach’ of cricket to tackle some of these issues. On the other, it sees the potential of such activities to improve its image, and attract and sustain commercial partners. So, while the underlying self interest in altruistic behaviour discussed by Gnaat and Reber (1999) is certainly evident in the ICC’s actions, it seems unfair to suggest that they are driven by such. Rather, the ICC’s actions are better situated within Pohle and Hittner’s (2008: 5) assertion that CSR provides an opportunity to “do well by doing good”. Indeed, the idea that corporate intervention in development is of mutual benefit is well entrenched in CSR literature.

**CSR and cricket in India**

The concept of CSR has, thus far, been discussed in the context of its deployment by the ICC, a not-for-profit organisation that oversees the global administration of the game. CSR literature, however, is predominantly situated in the context of large and profitable businesses and the potential they have to make a positive impact on society (Strupynska, 2011). Smith and Westerbeek (2007) provide the link between the two, suggesting that sport provides an ideal vehicle for large businesses to deploy their CSR policies. As such, this section will explore the juncture of cricket and CSR in India by evaluating the CSR policies of the ICC’s major commercial partners.

Table 5.2 summarises an in-depth content analysis of the CSR policies of the ICC’s major commercial partners. As the table illustrates, all of the ICC’s commercial partners have, at the very least, a commercial presence in India, with some, such as Reliance, being operated out of India. This reinforces the argument presented in the literature review regarding the ‘Indianisation’ of cricket, in that it highlights India’s centrality to the ICC’s commercial operations. Such ‘Indianisation’ is further evident, albeit in a slightly more obscure manner, in the fact that Dubai-based real estate development company DEC was the marquee sponsor of the New Zealand Cricket team from 2008 to 2011. Despite an almost non-existent commercial presence in New Zealand, DEC recognised the exposure that the New Zealand team would have in India, a market in which they do have a significant commercial interest, during the
sponsorship period. This point is highlighted by DEC’s managing director Dheeraj Wadhwan who, in 2008, stated that:

We at DEC see tremendous benefits in being associated with such an exciting and high profile cricket team like the Black Caps, who have the reputation of being scrappers who make the most of their abilities...With India touring New Zealand early next year, we expect the matches to generate tremendous media exposure throughout India, the Middle East, Australia and New Zealand (DEC, 2008).

In addition to India touring New Zealand, India’s hosting of the Cricket World Cup in 2011 also fell within the sponsorship period, generating further exposure for DEC in India (as illustrated in Figure 5.5).

Table 5.2: Summary of content analysis of CSR policies of the ICC’s commercial partners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ICC Commercial Partner</th>
<th>Corporate Presence in India</th>
<th>CSR policy Information published online</th>
<th>CSR Activity in India</th>
<th>Cricket Related CSR Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castrol</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emirates</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero Honda</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyundai</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moneygram</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepsi</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reebok</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliance</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star Sports ESPN</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahoo</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sources: Castrol, 2011; Emirates, 2011; ESPN, 2011; Hero, 2011; Hyundai, 2011; LG, 2011; MoneyGram, 2011; Pepsico, 2011; Reebok, 2011; Reliance Group, 2011; Special Olympics, 2011; Yahoo, 2011).
Returning to Table 5.2, it illustrates that each of the ICC’s commercial partners participate in some form of CSR activity, which is unsurprising given its well documented ability to generate significant returns to those who deploy it. These returns include the generation of favourable stakeholder attitudes and support behaviours, improving corporate image and strengthening stakeholder-company relationships (Du et al., 2010). Table 5.2 also highlights that a number of the ICC’s commercial partners are involved in CSR activities in India, which again is unsurprising given their commercial relevance in India. What is surprising, however, is that very few articulate the use of sport within their CSR policies, and none discuss activities that specifically use cricket. That is not to say that all of the ICC’s corporate partners are dormant in the use of cricket in CSR. Indeed Key Informant 21 suggested that some partners had been instrumental in their development activities. He stated:

ESPN Star Sports are our main broadcast partner. They have the [television] feed across the sub-continent, but the other global broadcasters, as well, have been heavily involved in that [Think Wise]. They have also come on board with
the Reliance and Room to Read partnership, so during the World Cup, every
time a ‘6’ is hit a bunch of kids somewhere in the sub-continent benefit and the
broadcasters were instrumental in publicising this through commentary and on-
screen graphics. So that is the kind of thing that the broadcast partners bring to
the party. We’d like to think that we can get similar commitments from our
other sponsors in time. In this respect we are lucky, we have long-term partners,
the Pepsi’s, the Reliance’s, the LG’s of this world, have got long-term deals
with the ICC that aren’t just for a specific event.

While the above statement illustrates that some of the ICC’s commercial partners are
involved in the delivery of their development initiatives, the last two sentences hint that
this is something the ICC would like to build upon. There are clearly a number of
synergies between the ICC and their commercial partners in a commercial and
geographical sense, but there are also similarities in the development needs to which
they align themselves. Nearly all of the ICC’s commercial partners have a community-
based element to their CSR activities, which fits neatly with the ICC’s grassroots
strategy and, more specifically, with the community-based social-inclusion
programmes that it operates under the ‘Great Spirit’ initiative. Similarly, both Castrol
and Emirates commit some of their CSR resources to HIV/AIDS, while Hyundai, Hero
Honda, Emirates and MoneyGram all support primary education initiatives similar to
‘Room to Read’.

Despite these similarities, as of yet there has been little collaboration between
the ICC and its commercial partners in terms of CSR. The largest barrier to this, it
seems, is what Kallio (2007) refers to as ‘corporate greening’. All of the ICC’s
commercial partners refer to sustainability and the environment in their CSR policies
and, for the majority, it is the priority. The ICC, in contrast, currently has no provision
for environmental causes, a point which Key Informant 21 concedes:

...We have got a health cause in terms of HIV/AIDS, an education cause in
terms of ‘Room to Read’, and a community, social inclusion cause in terms of
‘Great Spirit’. The one gap that we sort of have at the moment is anything
programmatic in the area of the environment, and that is something we are
looking at in the longer term.

This doesn’t necessarily preclude collaboration on CSR projects between the ICC and
its commercial partners, but they are more likely to invest their resources in projects
that are more closely aligned with their priorities. The implications of this will be
discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.
Conclusion

This chapter has primarily been concerned with the second of three research questions, that which pertains to the role of sporting organisations and their commercial partners in the formulation and implementation of ‘development through sport’ initiatives. Specifically, it has explored the ICC’s use of cricket in development initiatives, and how these have materialised in the context of India. To this end, this chapter has found that the ICC’s actual involvement in development far exceeds its advertised scope, and includes programmatic intervention in the fields of HIV/AIDS, community-based social integration, and primary education. Indeed, the ICC is in many respects leading the way in terms of using cricket as a vehicle for development, analogous to the assertions of Levermore (2008) and Beutler (2008) as to the role that sporting organisations can play in ‘development through sport’.

In leading the way, the ICC has taken a grassroots approach, working closely with local stakeholders to identify local development needs. In-depth responses from Key Informant 21, coupled with information gathered from numerous secondary sources, have clearly highlighted that the ICC considers its role as facilitative, one in which they provide the resources that enable the local stakeholders to successfully deliver development programmes on the ground. These resources, while involving an element of seed funding, predominantly revolve around the profile and reach of cricket at the elite level, its unique ability to engage millions of people in the developing regions such as the Indian sub-continent, Southern Africa and the Caribbean. In light of this, it is easy to assume that the ICC’s intervention is based on the passion, rather than the wealth, that cricket generates in these regions. The reality, however, is far more complex, with the reach and profile of cricket very much contingent on the broadcast and sponsorship money that these regions, particularly India, are able to stimulate. Without consumer demand from these regions, the broadcast and sponsorship of cricket becomes far less attractive and, thus, its reach and profile are diminished.

Based on the above argument, the cynic would suggest that the recent plethora of ICC development initiatives implemented in India is in direct correlation to its commercial centrality to cricket. This, however, would be unfair. While, in line with socio-biological theory on altruism, an element of self interest is apparent in such intervention, a genuine desire to promote the needs of the less fortunate through the spirit of cricket is clearly evident. In addition, the ICC’s involvement in development since 2003 has been closely aligned with major tournaments such as the men’s and
women’s Cricket World Cup and World T20, as well as the Champions Trophy and various age-group tournaments. Thus the ICC’s recent development focus on the Indian sub-continent, particularly India, reflects the fact that their showpiece tournament, the men’s Cricket World Cup, was co-hosted by India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh in 2011, while the 2006/2007 Champions Trophy was solely hosted by India. Further, the 2012 men’s and women’s World T20, the 2013 Women’s Cricket World Cup, and the 2016 Champions Trophy are all scheduled to be held in the region within the next five years (ESPN Cricinfo, 2012a). That said, it could be argued that the number of major ICC events awarded to the region is directly correlated to its commercial centrality to cricket at the elite level, but the investigation of such an argument is beyond the scope of this research.

As mentioned earlier, this chapter has highlighted the leading hand that the ICC has played in the delivery of cricket related ‘development through sport’ but, as proactive as they have been, the opposite can be said of their commercial partners. A content analysis of CSR policies illustrated that all of the ICC’s eleven major sponsors partake in CSR activities, but very few use sport, and none specifically mentions cricket. Key Informant 21 did intimate some involvement in the ICC’s development initiatives from its major broadcast partner Star Sports ESPN, as well as Reliance, but otherwise there is little evidence to suggest that cricket is being used in the deployment of CSR at this level. If cricket is to realise the potential of sport in the deployment of CSR, as discussed by Smith and Westerbeek (2007) and Levermore (2010), then the synergies between cricket and its corporate backers need to be better utilised.
How effective is ‘development through cricket’ in India?

This research, as reiterated throughout, is premised on the argument that the extraordinary levels of wealth, administrative power and global television exposure currently associated with cricket in India, coupled with its status as one of the most coalescing features of Indian culture, presents it as a potentially powerful vehicle to drive development among the country’s disadvantaged communities. The previous two chapters have shown that cricket is indeed being used for development purposes, highlighting how and why such initiatives have materialised, and the different roles that Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), cricket organisations and corporate entities have played in their formulation and implementation. In doing so, Chapters Four and Five have informed the first two research questions, but perhaps more crucially, have confirmed that both factors outlined in the argument outlined above symbiotically underpin the use of cricket in development in India.

The existence and utilisation of ‘favourable conditions’, however, does not necessarily infer a positive contribution toward development in India, compelling the use of the term ‘potentially powerful’ within the above argument. Such a distinction is largely based around Kruse’s (2007) assertion that the positive link between sport and
development is intuitively certain, but actual evidence is in short supply. This reflects the large body of ‘development through sport’ literature which, as discussed in the literature review, highlights a need for greater measurement and evaluation of ‘development through sport’ initiatives. As such, this chapter seeks to evaluate the efficacy of the development initiatives outlined in the previous two chapters and, in doing so, inform the third and final research question relating to this.

In order to achieve the above, this chapter is separated into two sections. The first explores the positive development outcomes to emerge from the initiatives outlined in the two previous chapters, focusing on the benefits, both tangible and intangible, that involvement in the initiatives has brought to the participants and their communities. Such an appraisal, however, is in some ways situated within the prevailing critique of ‘development through sport’ in that it is largely premised on the perceptions of key informants with, as Coalter (2010a) describes, an interest in the legitimisation of their activities. That said, the experiences of participants, particularly those within the community-driven initiatives outlined in Chapter Four, are drawn upon to determine positive development outcomes where applicable. The second, in contrast, situates the development initiatives explored in the context of this research within critiques emerging from the ‘development through sport’ literature, as well as those from within wider development theory. Constructing this discussion in such a dichotomous way highlights that, despite some positive results, the use of cricket in development still has some way to go if it is to reach its full potential.

Positive development outcomes

One of the main critiques in the emerging ‘development through sport’ literature is, as previously mentioned, the considerable knowledge gaps due to the lack of monitoring and evaluation of initiatives in the field thus far. To this end, the Parivartan Programme stands apart among the development initiatives explored in this thesis, in that it is the only one incorporating a research component. Key Informant 3, involved in the overall implementation of the programme with the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW), described this research component, stating that it is:

...based on a quasi-experimental design with a three point evaluation. All participants, including coaches, mentors and boys, will complete evaluation questionnaires at baseline, midline and end line, with the aim of capturing their changing attitudes towards women over the duration of the programme.
In addition to evaluating the progress of participants from their own perspective, Key Informant 1, who is involved in the community-level implementation of the Parivartan Programme with NGO Apnalaya, stated that the ICRW:

...also interviewed the women in their [the mentors and boys] lives, if they have sisters if they have mothers, if they have girlfriends or wives...all that, so they are interviewing them also...

The fact that the Parivartan Programme contains a research component could be considered a positive outcome in itself, given the previously outlined argument pertaining to the lack of evaluation in ‘development through sport’ initiatives. But the results of this evaluation, whilst only currently at the midline stage, suggest that the programme is also having a positive impact in terms of its main objective of improving gender equality in Mumbai. This is highlighted at the macro level by Key Informant 3, of the ICRW, who stated that:

...from the baseline to midline there is a positive movement in gender equitable behaviour, a reduction in inequitable attitudes towards justifying violence against women, and more athletes reported their intention to intervention at the right point to stop violence.

And at the community-level, Key Informant 1 offers similar sentiments, stating that:

We invested a lot of time in the mentors, and for a while it was slow going. But now we are seeing a real change in their attitudes and behaviours. Now you can see the change in their mindset.

These assertions, based on the midline evaluation of the Parivartan Programme, clearly suggest a shift in the attitudes and behaviours of the participants, and are supported by the mentors from the community-level implementation in Mumbai’s M/East ward. A focus group discussion with these mentors, undertaken purely for the purposes of this thesis, indicated that they were aware of changes in their own attitudes and behaviours as a result of their participation, as highlighted by the following dialogue:

Participant 6: First, I just wanted to be a good cricket player, but after coming to Parivartan I realised that it is important to be a good individual and human being also.

Participant 1: It has changed my thinking about women and girls. It has given me a sense of responsibility, in the society, in the family, in the community also.

Participant 2: I have learned [that there are] many ways in which women suffer, I now realise that women also are human beings. They, too, feel pain when disrespected, have desires to pursue their own interests and the right to express their opinions.
Participant 7: Through the programme, I have learnt how to be polite, how to talk, how to be respectful to girls and women. I have learned that controlling is not a way to love a girl, but [the way to love] is to give her space in her life. I have also learned to control the anger and the violence.

Participant 4: I think we are all addicted to this atmosphere. On any excuse we would start – ‘your mother’ or ‘your sister...’ But we have stopped doing it now after being part of Parivartan. Not completely. Fifty percent from hundred. Fifty percent is still to be achieved.

In addition to understanding the changes within themselves, they were also able to identify ways in which these changes impacted on their families and wider community, as exemplified by these excerpts:

Participant 3: The children who used to come to play, they didn’t respect anybody, they would abuse everybody...once they went through the whole thing the children learned to respect us and we also learnt to respect the children in our teams.

Participant 7: Yaar, and some of the children in my team are related to me, and I am seeing the change in them in my family and towards other people with respect. They [the children] are now more respectful of everyone in the community, and so my family and friends feel that I am going to a place where I am learning good things because they see us all behaving with more respect.

Participant 1: It is mostly about family. Earlier we assumed that all the decisions are to be taken by the men. We don’t need to consult the women, what does she understand anyway? After Parivartan, we started consulting the women in the family about various issues, we learned to respect their ideas and they started showing more confidence in making decisions for the family.

These focus group responses, combined with the assertions of Key Informants 1 and 5, not only illustrate the success of the Parivartan Programme in promoting gender equality, but also offer tentative support to the argument that focusing on males is a viable method of doing so. Situated in the paradigm shift from ‘Women in Development’ (WID) to ‘Gender and Development’ (GAD), researchers such as Poudyal (2000), Kimmel (2002) and Momsen (2004) have put forward an argument that a focus on men needs to be incorporated into development purporting to improve gender equality (outlined in Chapter Four). The Parivartan Programme’s exclusive focus on male attitudes and behaviours, coupled with promising midline results, adds some legitimisation to these claims. A continuation of this trend through to the end of the programme will only add further weight to the argument.

Another area that the Parivartan Programme stands apart from the other initiatives looked at in this research is its long-term sustainability planning. Key
Informant 3 suggested that the delivery of the programme is partially self-sustaining which, in turn, helps to ensure its future implementation. Such self-sustainability was illustrated by Key Informant 8, of Parivartan partner Breakthrough, who described the succession of the message in the Mumbai-wide school intervention:

We trained the coaches on simple concepts of respect, gender and masculinity. The coaches, in turn, train the boys, and it is our belief that the boys will take these lessons back into their communities. Ultimately, we want these boys to train the next intake of boys...and so on.

Key Informant 1 offered similar sentiments with respect to the community-based intervention in the M/East ward of Mumbai, stating:

...we want to use these mentors effectively because they’ve been trained specially. They are leaders in some ways, so you know, we don’t want that investment to go to waste. So [once they have finished with their current teams] we want them to create new teams, and continue the process with those boys, and identify boys from their teams who can become mentors. This will grow our capacity...16 [mentors] can become 20, or more.

In addition to ensuring the continuation of the Parivartan Programme in Mumbai for the foreseeable future, Key Informant 3 suggested that it also plans to replicate the programme in other parts of India. She suggests, however, that such expansion would rely on the ongoing financial support of the Nike Foundation, which in turn, largely relies on positive end-line results from the programme’s current implementation. The implications of this observation, in the context of this research, are threefold. First, it highlights that the key stakeholders of the Parivartan Programme are committed to its future implementation, and have planned for such. Secondly, it illustrates the crucial role of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in ‘development through sport’, highlighting the Parivartan Programme’s successful engagement of, yet continued reliance on, a large corporate entity such as Nike. And thirdly, it confirms the importance of the detailed evaluation of ‘development through sport’ initiatives, not only to fill what Levermore (2008) describes as ‘considerable knowledge gaps’, but to justify the continued allocation of resources. Ultimately, the Parivartan Programme has addressed some of the key critiques levelled at ‘development through sport’ in the past and, as a result, can be tentatively held up as a model of good practice in the context of this research.

In contrast to the significant gains made by the Parivartan Programme, positive development outcomes among the other initiatives explored in the context of this research are far more sporadic. The ‘Youth Against AIDS’ cricket tournament, for
example, did not actually take place in 2011, the first time it has not been held since its inception in 1997. While the cancellation of the tournament suggests a lack of effectiveness, the reality is that it had outgrown the key stakeholders’ capacity to deliver it, as described by Key Informant 1:

From this year we have stopped. Over the years the tournament became very big, it became very famous in this area. We started with 8 teams, then 16 teams... if you calculate 16 teams, that means around 170 odd boys... We used to select 16 teams, because we knew who the good teams are, and we would see to it that the teams are not from one area, that they are from all over Shivaji Nagar. But it started becoming more and more difficult, so we increased it one year to 54 teams. And we went mad, we went mad...this kind of management was too difficult for us. So we stopped, we stopped this year. There is discussion about whether we are having it next year, but I think this year we are not having it.

A number of fundamental reasons underpin the decision to discontinue the tournament, some of which will be discussed in greater detail in the following section, but ultimately they all stem from the large growth in participation in recent years. Given that the tournament’s main objective was to generate ‘mass awareness’ of HIV/AIDS, the organisers’ ability to engage increasing numbers of participants each year can be considered a positive development outcome in itself. Indeed, Key Informant 2 emphatically stated “HIV/AIDS awareness, we are able to definitely see it”.

The success of the International Cricket Council’s (ICC) ‘Think Wise’ Campaign can be measured similarly, albeit on a much larger scale. As with ‘Youth Against AIDS’, the main objective of ‘Think Wise’ is to increase awareness of HIV/AIDS and to reduce the stigma associated with the disease. There is little evidence to suggest that the ICC have achieved this objective, as Key Informant 21 stated:

...it is hard to measure the impacts of that [‘Think Wise’]...we do pre- and post-event surveys involving some quite basic sort of monitoring of attitudes and understanding of behaviours to see whether the event does have any positive impact in that regard. So you know, not fantastic evidence, but there is some attempt in there to try and see if it is actually having an impact.

Despite this lack of evidence, the ICC’s ability to promote these messages on a mass scale cannot be questioned. Partnerships with key broadcasters have enabled the ICC to broadcast the ‘Think Wise’ public announcements into millions of people’s homes, 135 million people in India alone watched the 2011 Cricket World Cup final on television (Times of India, 2011). Combine this with overall crowd figures of 1,199,226 (ESPN Cricinfo, 2012b), as well as overwhelming attendance at the ‘Think Wise’ community engagement events in World Cup host cities, and it is inconceivable to think that the
initiative has had no impact on HIV/AIDS awareness in India. The fact that this impact is largely unmeasured, however, again highlights the need for greater evaluation in ‘development through sport’ to enable a better understanding of its efficacy.

The positive development outcomes outlined thus far have largely been intangible; changes in behaviour, awareness or understanding that, while still measurable, are difficult to quantify. Some material benefits, however, have been accrued among the development initiatives explored in this research. ‘Boundaries for Books’, in which Reliance Life Insurance pledged Rs 25,000 (US$553) for every ‘six’ hit during the 2011 Cricket World Cup, generated significant financial gain for ‘Room to Read’. As it transpired, 258 ‘sixes’ were hit during the tournament (ESPN Cricinfo, 2011), equating to a donation of Rs 6,450,000 (US$142,762) which, according to Room to Read (2011d), is sufficient to ensure access to fully functional libraries with books and trained teachers for at least 7860 children in India (see Table 6.1 for a list of funding capabilities).

Table 6.1: Development capability of ‘Room to Read’ given different levels of funding.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Capability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 1000 (US$22)</td>
<td>Funds the publication and distribution of 20 children’s books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 2000 (US$44)</td>
<td>Funds reading workshops and library activities to one of our libraries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 6500 (US$144)</td>
<td>Enables a teacher to receive three years of library management training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 11500 (US$254)</td>
<td>Funds and supports one year of girls’ education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 16000 (US$354)</td>
<td>Purchases bookshelves and furniture in a newly established library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 30000 (US$664)</td>
<td>Provides 3 years of books to one of our libraries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 150000 (US$3320)</td>
<td>Establishes and stocks a library in India and provides training for three years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 370000 (US$8189)</td>
<td>Develops a new local language children’s books and prints between 5,000 and 10,000 copies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Room to Read, 2011b)

The support of high profile cricketers, according to a ‘Room to Read’ executive, has also attracted considerable private funding from within the global cricket community, although this has yet to be quantified (Room to Read, 2011b). In addition, Key Informant 21 stated that:

A couple of high-profile ambassadors, most notably Shane Watson from Australia, donated either time or memorabilia to a charity auction that they did at the end of the event. That, in totality, raised about US$400,000 over the course of the event, but also raised some good profile for the charity.
Thus between ‘Boundaries for Books’ and the charity auction, approximately Rs. 27,008,000 (US$597,786) was raised for ‘Room to Read’ at the 2011 Cricket World Cup alone. Contextualising this sum with Table 6.1, which lists the funding benchmarks ‘Room to Read’ requires to achieve certain goals, highlights just how significant this contribution is. It is therefore evident that the use of cricket to generate funds for ‘Room to Read’ is having a positive impact in promoting literacy and education in India.

The other initiative with some claim to creating tangible development benefits, in the context of this research, is the ICC’s ‘Great Spirit’ campaign. As discussed in the previous chapter, the campaign emerged through a desire to financially support the education of young family members of those who lost their lives in the Lahore terrorist attacks in 2009. The ICC ran a number of fundraising events which enabled them to achieve this goal, while also providing seed funding for a number projects under the ‘Great Spirit’ banner. In essence, ‘Great Spirit’ drew upon cricket’s ability to generate significant capital, and utilised the material outcome to generate more abstract development benefits through geographically specific social inclusion projects. Such benefits, according to Key Informant 21, include increasing the profile of women’s cricket in the traditionally patriarchal society of Bangladesh; providing some of Delhi’s street dwellers with access to cricket resources previously beyond their means, thereby enabling their regular participation in cricket; and providing a number of community sport leaders in Mumbai with the skills and resources to strengthen their work with disadvantaged children in their own communities.

While the positive development outcomes outlined in the previous paragraphs are specific to each initiative, a number of peripheral benefits were almost universally claimed by each. As Table 6.2 illustrates, key informants from a cross-section of the initiatives explored in the context of this research commonly claimed that their activities, regardless of the primary objective, provide participants with the opportunity to play cricket. This in turn, they argue, improves the health and well-being of participants through regular physical activity; improves their confidence and happiness through increased social inclusion; and provides an alternative to undesirable behaviours such as crime, and drug and alcohol abuse (Figure 6.1). Such benefits were most evident in the ICC’s ‘Great Spirit’ campaign, discussed in the preceding paragraph, but were also clearly delineated by key informants involved in almost all the other initiatives looked at thus far. The one exception was ‘Room to Read’ as its
partnership with the ICC is, at this stage, purely promotional and therefore does not involve cricket participation at the community level.

Table 6.2: Cross-section of key informant statements discussing the peripheral benefits of the initiatives in which they are involved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informant</th>
<th>Initiative</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Youth Against AIDS</td>
<td>I think one benefit, which is not exactly HIV/AIDS itself, is that people here started believing that this kind of standard of tournament can also be held in these kinds of areas. The youth now feel more confident about performing in outside tournaments and things like that. The other is that everybody in this area feels that we are small, that we are not experts, that we are not good players, or we are good players but don’t have opportunities outside, so I think that gave them a very good platform.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Youth Against AIDS</td>
<td>As a result [of this tournament] I would say a whole generation of young boys has got associated with our organisation. It’s not a small thing, more than 150 young boys participating each year, who now know about us and, you know, what we do, our health and education programmes, those kinds of things. That in itself is big from our point of view, in the sense that we are a community organisation and a development organisation. Therefore contacts with the community and interactions with the community are very important. So I think that this tournament gave us that, it gave us what I would call an ‘opening’ to the young boys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Parivartan Programme</td>
<td>As well as our primary objective of promoting gender equality and reducing physical and emotional violence towards women, the Parivartan Programme also helps to enhance the everyday lives of the participants. It gives them a break from the child labour they are compelled to do to help support their families, and helps develop their confidence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Parivartan Programme</td>
<td>One major achievement of the project is that due to the boys’ involvement in cricket their attention towards criminal activities and drugs would reduce a lot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Parivartan Programme</td>
<td>India has a very young population. A few years back we were wondering how we would care for our ageing population, but now we are very young. Therefore, sport is essential to keep the young active...because of this, the [Parivartan] programme has flow on effects like exercise, which leads to improved health, and happiness, which leads to improved confidence, and so on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Parivartan Programme</td>
<td>The games and trainings, for them, you know, it improves their stamina and improves their performance. Because some of these children are physically and nutritionally very weak, so their stamina is very weak. Physical activity helps address that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ICC Initiatives</td>
<td>We have an obligation to promote cricket at all levels so, aside from their primary objectives, the community-based components of our ‘Think Wise’ and ‘Great Spirit’ projects provide an opportunity for a number of children living in disadvantaged communities to participate in organised sport, an opportunity they otherwise might never have had...this can make a significant difference in the development of these children. We see it in what we do, the happiness and confidence these kids gain from simply being able to play.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Author, 2011).
This section, thus far, has outlined the positive development outcomes in India generated by initiatives that explicitly use cricket. Situating these outcomes within the body of knowledge on ‘development through sport’ highlights a number of consistencies in terms of the efficacy of using sport for development purposes. As discussed in Chapter Two, the UN (2003) outlined the positive impacts that sport can have in development, particularly emphasising the key areas of health, education and the economy, as well as the influence it can have in achieving social integration and resolving conflict. In the context of this research, the development initiatives involving cricket in India have made a positive contribution to almost all of these areas. ‘Think Wise’ and the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ cricket tournament have both had some success in health related awareness campaigns, while the peripheral benefits associated with increased physical activity discussed in the previous paragraph also indicate health benefits. Similarly, the ICC’s partnership with ‘Room to Read’ has raised significant funding to support primary education activities in India, while some of the gains made by the Parivartan Programme and ‘Great Spirit’ support the UN’s (2003: v) assertion
that “sport can cut across barriers that divide societies... promote social integration and foster tolerance”. In the context of this research, the only area in the UN’s pronouncement regarding the power of sport in development missing is evidence of its use to foster economic development, but even then, the ICC’s partnership with ‘Room to Read’ has highlighted the potential of cricket to generate significant capital. The positive development outcomes outlined in this chapter, therefore, substantiate the potential of sport in development as described by the UN.

The other argument from the ‘development through sport’ literature to which this research lends support is the positive benefits of including high-profile athletes in development initiatives. Despite some critique regarding the use of sporting celebrities in development, Beutler (2008), Black (2010) and the UN (2003) all suggest that they can be constructive in the promotion and mobilisation of development projects, something which is evident in a number of the initiatives explored in this research. The ICC’s ‘Think Wise’ campaign, and their partnership with ‘Room to Read’, are both largely built around the profile of elite cricketers, and their ‘Great Spirit’ activities have also drawn upon such. Key Informant 21 describes the benefits of utilising the profile of cricketers in this way, stating:

...players like Kumar Sangakkara, Virender Sehwag and Graeme Smith, who have been clearly comfortable talking on the topic [of HIV/AIDS], and recognised that it is something that is important...the public service announcements that we did for the Cricket World Cup feature those three players, and again, all of them gave their time free of charge, and we just sorted out the logistics of them, whereas if they were giving the same amount of time to a commercial sponsor they would be looking at a six figure sum...they are brilliant really, the players...I’d say those three particularly stand out on HIV/AIDS, and over the last 12 months, Shane Watson has been really impressive on ‘Room to Read’. Their involvement has helped us maximise the profile and reach of cricket in pursuit of our social objectives.

Similarly, Key Informant 1 intimated that Sachin Tendulkar’s association with Mumbai-based NGO Apnalaya, has generated significant funding and profile for the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’, as well as many of their non-cricket related activities.

The positive development outcomes outlined in this section, and in particular the approaches that led to these, also speak back to broader development theory. Since the 1970s, development thinking has shifted toward grassroots and participatory approaches which place far greater emphasis on self-reliance, and the need for endogenous rather than exogenous forces of change (Potter et al., 2008). The initiatives
explored in the context of this research have all, to some extent, drawn upon these ideas. The ‘Youth Against AIDS’ cricket tournament, for example, very much embodies the grassroots approach in that the need for intervention was identified within the community, and its implementation draws almost exclusively upon local resources. The Parivartan Programme is similar in terms of problem identification and implementation at the community level, although its multi-scalar nature has enabled the utilisation of external resources to a greater degree. Even the top-down development initiatives instigated by the ICC, outlined in Chapter Five, have facilitated community involvement through a partnership approach. This was most evident in the ‘Great Spirit’ initiative, which deliberately operates within loose parameters enabling it to be adapted to the local environment and, as a result, empower local organisations to utilise the ICC’s resources in the best interests of their own communities. ‘Think Wise’ has also empowered local stakeholders, employing an Indian-based event management company to identify community groups in the 2011 Cricket World Cup host cities that were already working on youth-targeted HIV/AIDS projects. These community groups, in turn, have collaborated with local subsidiaries of UNAIDS (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS) and UNICEF (United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund) to plan and deliver the ‘Think Wise’ activities associated with the World Cup.

The ICC’s partnership with ‘Room to Read’ is again the exception. While ‘Room to Read’ itself clearly incorporates community empowerment strategies into its activities, its partnership with cricket is solely focused on generating capital and awareness through high profile events, and therefore involves very little engagement at a community-level. That said, the partnership illustrates the widespread shift in approach to development in a different way, as Key Informant 21 highlights:

...they are moving their model a little bit, as others are, from being one where ‘the West’ donate and the rest benefit, to acknowledging that actually there are some high net-worth individuals in India that they want to be able to get to, and this is a great way of raising their awareness as an organisation in India.

These sentiments emphasise the move away from the Euro-centricity that defined development through its early incarnations and, in doing so, embody the argument put forth by Potter et al. (2008) that development is increasingly being driven by internal forces of change. This, coupled with the level of community empowerment outlined in the previous paragraph, suggests that the initiatives explored in the context of this
research are, at the very least, attempting to emulate prevailing development theory and practice, and in some cases are doing so with a considerable level of success.

A critique of ‘development through cricket’ in India

The previous section outlined a number of positive outcomes to emerge from the development initiatives explored within this research and, in doing so, offered tentative support to some of the potential benefits decreed in the ‘development through sport’ literature. Evidence substantiating other assertions from this literature as to the potential role of sport in development, however, is less forthcoming. The most obvious discrepancy regarding the use of sport in development between the literature and the initiatives explored, as discussed in the previous chapter, has been the limited incorporation of CSR in the latter. There is some corporate engagement at the top end of the ICC’s development activity, but cricket is largely absent from the CSR policies of their major commercial partners, and the community-level initiatives explored incorporated minimal CSR activity. While these observations do not discount the arguments of Smith and Westerbeek (2007) and Levermore (2010) regarding the potential of sport as a vehicle in the deployment of CSR, they simply shed no further light. Indeed, given the contentions of such authors, the engagement of India’s relatively untapped corporate resources is an area that needs to be explored further if the potential of cricket is to be optimised in terms of its use in the development context.

Another recurring critique from the ‘development through sport’ literature is, as already alluded to in this chapter, a lack of evaluation of initiatives in the field. Coalter (2010a; 2010b), Kruse (2006), Levermore (2008; 2011), Beutler (2008), Kidd (2008) and Hartmann and Kwauk (2010) have all argued that a greater level of evaluation of ‘development through sport’ projects is needed to substantiate the actual benefits of sport in development. While this chapter provides some form of evaluation, it does so more in an attempt to offer a holistic snapshot of the use of cricket in development in India, than to make comment on the efficacy of each initiative individually. As outlined in the previous section, the Parivartan Programme was the only initiative that incorporated any form of rigorous evaluation, with the others basing their activities on the inherent benefits of sport, and their successes on anecdotal evidence. Thus, this research clearly reinforces the aforementioned critique.

This lack of evaluation is no more apparent than in the two initiatives that seek to promote awareness and reduce stigma around HIV/AIDS. Claims of positive
development outcomes, as delineated in the previous section, were based on an exponential increase in participation over time in the case of the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ cricket tournament, and the ability to reach millions of people through television coverage of high-profile events in the case of ‘Think Wise’. While these claims are largely indisputable, they say little about the actual impact of the projects in terms of slowing, or even stopping, the spread of HIV/AIDS in India. Based on these claims alone, it can be argued that cricket has huge power in terms of drawing in India’s population, but whether or not they are actively engaging with the message is, thus far, largely unaccounted for.

Such a critique of mass-awareness campaigns is not without precedent within broader development theory, especially within HIV/AIDS discourse. Waterston (1997), Chin (2007) and Gordon (2008), for example, have all argued that the evaluation of implementation has become far more important than the assessment of results in HIV/AIDS practice and policy. Pisani (2008: 288), an epidemiologist with ten years experience in the AIDS ‘industry’, is particularly scathing, stating:

...you rarely have to say what your ‘bottom line’ is – how many infections you’ll prevent. And you almost never have to show you’ve prevented any infections. You can be judged a success for just doing what you said you were going to do, like build a clinic, or train some nurses, or give leaflets to 400 out of the nation’s 160,000 drug injectors. It’s a bit like declaring that Ford is doing really well in the car market because they’ve got factories and floor managers and an advertising campaign, instead of looking at sales figures. Or even checking that they make cars that run.

While Potts et al. (2008) illustrate the extent to which this has occurred, suggesting that ‘community mobilisation and mass media’ are significantly over-represented in the allocation of HIV/AIDS prevention resources. Thus the focus of both ‘Youth Against AIDS’ and ‘Think Wise’ on method, rather than results, not only reinforces the lack of evaluation endemic within ‘development through sport literature’, it also speaks back to wider HIV/AIDS practice and policy.

The other area which has been given significant coverage in the ‘development through sport’ literature is the impact that mega sporting events have on developing countries that host them. Broad notions of social development are often propagated as justification for developing countries’ pursuit of mega sporting events (Hall, 2006), though the promise of economic gain and modernity provides the fundamental motivation (Pillay and Bass, 2008). Unfortunately, however, neither can be substantiated in respect to the 2011 Cricket World Cup in India. Although the actual
impact of the tournament on India’s economy has yet to be calculated, and is therefore
difficult to draw substantive conclusions upon, initial forecasts indicate that any growth
in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employment will be fleeting. Further,
personal observation in Delhi, Mumbai, Nagpur, Chennai and Kolkata, all host cities of
the 2011 Cricket World Cup, uncovered an event-centric approach to infrastructural
development. Stadia in each of these cities underwent major renovations immediately
prior to the tournament or, in the case of Eden Gardens in Kolkata, well into its staging.
Civil amenities in the immediate vicinity of the stadia, as well as those on arterial
corridors between the stadia and key transport terminals and accommodation nodes,
were also cleaned up, with roads re-sealed, footpaths re-paved, fences and buildings
painted, and informal structures removed. Meanwhile, amenities of similar disrepair on
the periphery of the stadia, in some instances within 500 metres, were left untouched.

Key Informant 21, of the ICC, disassociated his organisation from responsibility
for this form of infrastructural development, stating that:

We rely on the hosts to bring the stadiums up to the required standard, but we
are probably less stringent than some other international confederations in terms
of our requirements...there is not a big infrastructure fund from the ICC that
goes to the host, they get their host fee for every match, which they use on what
they deem appropriate, but certainly there is no massive pot that has gone into
infrastructural development, that would either come from the local stakeholders,
be that local or central government, or the local cricket authorities, or both...but
once the government is involved it tends to improve infrastructure as well as
just the stadium precincts.

Thus, Key Informant 21 infers that the pursuit of economic gain and modernity
associated with India’s hosting of the 2011 Cricket World Cup is being driven
internally.

The above observations can be situated within the well-established critique of
event-driven boosterism, with history suggesting that mega sporting events have done
little to generate economic growth or infrastructural development when hosted in
developing countries. Matheson and Baade (2004), for example, suggest that the
professed economic ‘benefits’ of hosting a mega sporting event are based on *ex ante*
predictions which very rarely equate with the *ex post* reality; and Page and Hall (2003)
and Whitson and Horne (2006) argue that any economic or employment growth
associated with such events is of a transient nature anyway, offering little by way of
sustainable long-term gain. In addition, Hall (1992), Essex and Chalkley (1998),
Eisinger (2000) and Black (2010), among others, have argued that mega sporting events
are often associated with large-scale public expenditure which, despite providing considerable short term gains for some corporate interests, leave behind long-term social, economic and physical legacies that more often than not have unfavourable consequences for the majority of the public stakeholders. While it is still too soon to evaluate the lasting legacies of the 2011 Cricket World Cup in terms of economic and infrastructural development, there is little evidence thus far to suggest that this all too familiar fate will not befall India.

In addition, Hall (2006) and Black (2010) argue that evidence pertaining to positive community-level social development as a result of mega sporting events is scant. Again, there is little in the context of this research to refute such a claim, as key informants from within the two community-level initiatives offered limited expectations regarding the impact of the tournament on their activities. Key Informant 1, involved in both ‘the Parivartan Programme’ and ‘Youth Against AIDS’, neatly surmised this prevailing response, stating:

The children will be excited [about the upcoming cricket world cup]...India is a cricket mad country, cricket is about religion over here. So that will be there, but I don’t think it makes any difference here, to our programmes, or anything like that.

But when discussing the impact of the tournament on development in India in more general terms, a number of the key informants expressed concerns that it may in fact be detrimental, particularly with regard to its timing. This was highlighted by Key Informant 7, who inferred that:

Schools are coming up to exam time so the [Cricket] World Cup will be a distraction, and therefore will affect the children’s education. Children should be studying but instead they will be watching cricket. Always cricket will win in this country...always.

And reinforced by Key Informant 4, who stated:

We see education as a key driver of development in this community, but it is hard to engage them [the children] because they feel obligated to help provide for their families. This is reflected in the low literacy rates of this area compared with other parts of Mumbai...but how can we change these figures...it is hard enough to get them to study for exams without having to compete with the cricket as well.

There was also some resentment amongst key informants involved in the community-level initiatives regarding the level of financial support that the tournament attracted from both central and local government. This was exemplified by Key Informant 1, who stated that:
...the amount of money involved in the organisation of these big sports events, that kind of money is definitely not filtering down. That kind of money is available, why can’t it be used to help the communities, that is our question. On the one hand the government is talking about resources, the social sector, education, health, and they say they don’t have much, not enough, but this kind of money is floating around for sports. This is something we feel strongly about.

Thus, when contextualised within the previous debates of this section, similarities can be drawn with Black’s (2010) summation regarding South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 Football World Cup. India, too, appears to have compromised community-level sport and social development in pursuit of the trappings purportedly associated with hosting a mega-sporting event.

Key Informant 1’s statement above regarding the level of public funds used in the bid for, and hosting of, the 2011 Cricket World Cup, compared to those available for essential social services, is reflective of the inequality in India as a whole. As intimated in earlier chapters of this thesis, and illustrated by the case study of Mumbai in Chapter Four, inequality is rife throughout India. While the development initiatives explored in the context of this research seek to address some of these inequalities, they themselves in some ways perpetuate it. Discrepancies between the initiatives, and in some cases within, show that the needs of some are being privileged over others.

The above is best exemplified by the ICC’s access to local government resources in Mumbai, compared with the community-based development initiatives outlined in Chapter Four (see Figure 6.2 for example). The Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) was instrumental in accessing facilities at Babasaheb Ambedkar Municipal School, including a modern indoor gymnasium, for the ICC’s ‘Great Spirit’ Street 20 programme in Mumbai during the 2011 Cricket World Cup, and were represented at the opening of the programme by the Deputy Municipal Commissioner (Cricket for Change, 2011). In contrast, the following excerpt from an interview with Key Informant 1, who is involved in both ‘Youth Against AIDS’ and the community-level implementation of the Parivartan Programme, highlights the long-term battle which these initiatives have had with the MCGM regarding the designation, access and upkeep of the sole sports ground in the Shivaji Nagar community:

There is only one ground, the Amedegar Ground, and that has a history...it was going to be re-designated in 1995. Somebody saw the notice in some paper, and came to us and said that they are re-designating the ground, but it was the only playground for this entire area, 600,000 population. So everybody was up in arms about it. And then we carried out a whole campaign to save that ground.
So about 7000 individual letters were sent to the MCGM to protest against the re-designation. Then about 75 registered groups in the area, local residents groups, they also protested. The MCGM, they sent letters to about 200 of us, and all 200 people reached the municipal office for a hearing, and made our position that we wanted this ground to remain as a ground. They realised that this was real, and they cancelled that re-designation. We won that around 1998.

We have all our things there. The MCGM, they have put a gutter, a storm water drain, in the middle. So, you can’t use the whole length. Why did they do it is what we can’t understand. They could easily have put the storm water drain somewhere else. As a result, while playing cricket and other things like that, we have to be constantly worried because children have fallen in. It’s an open kind of thing, I mean I have seen cycles going in, children going in, nobody has died so far but, it is a dangerous thing. because even if you tripped and hit your head...we are really worried about that, so we are trying to cover it up or something like that. But it [the covers] doesn’t stay, it gets broken or stolen. And the MCGM is not interested.

So, we repair and maintain the grounds ourselves. As you have seen, you saw the improvements we have made, fences, water, all that. It was last year, though, when we tried to do that, the MCGM made problems for us, they said you don’t have permission. You know, we were not doing any harm to the ground; we were making improvements, fixing it up. But they said we need to have authorisation, we don’t have sanction of the ground by the MCGM. And they do not want to give money for this ground also.

Given that the ICC already has significantly greater access to resources than the community-level initiatives, including elite players, equipment and facilities, not to mention global television exposure, the MCGM’s contrasting attitude propagates inequality in that, metaphorically speaking, the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. The MCGM have been only too willing to provide resources to an organisation that already has many, while constantly undermining the efforts of those that have few.
Another area of significant inequality in India relates to gender. Women and girls in India have long faced discrimination in terms of education and employment and, as outlined in Chapter Four, have been increasingly exposed to physical and emotional abuse. In the context of this research, cricket in India has been constructed as a predominantly masculine pursuit, historically excluding the participation of females as players and, in some instances, even as spectators (Verma and Mahendra, 2005; Banerjee, 2006). There have been some efforts to address these inequalities within the
initiatives explored in this research, most notably in the projects associated with the ICC (see Table 6.3). In addition, as discussed at length in Chapter Four, the primary objective of the Parivartan Programme is to promote gender equality and reduce violence towards women. The exclusive focus on boys and young men within this objective, however, reproduces the gendered stereotypes regarding female participation in cricket, while also excluding females from the peripheral benefits associated with the use of sport in development, as espoused by a number of key informants in the previous section. Similarly, the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ Cricket Tournament has been dominated by male participation throughout its 15 year history, which again reinforces the construction of cricket as a masculine pursuit, but also limits the dissemination of HIV/AIDS awareness material to an already marginalised section of the community. Thus, there is evidence that innate gender inequalities in India are, in some ways, being perpetuated by the community development initiatives explored here, despite intentions to the contrary.

Table 6.3: Strategies within the ICC’s development initiatives that promote gender equality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiative</th>
<th>Attention to gender inequality issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Think Wise    | - Have undertaken to have gender equitable participation in community-level ‘Think Wise’ Projects.  
                  - Broadcast of public service announcements, and display of ‘Think Wise’ logo on umpires shirts, at both men’s and women’s international events.                                                             |
| Great Spirit  | - Provide leadership by promoting gender participation in cricket at the elite level by making a commitment to host the loss-making women’s World T20 Championship concurrently with the lucrative male’s version.  
                  - Ran a ‘Great Spirit’ project in Bangladesh in which the primary objective was to increase female participation in cricket.  
                  - Incorporate activities within each ‘Great Spirit’ project that focus on female participation in cricket.                                                                 |
| Room to Read  | - While not strictly related to its partnership with the ICC, one of the main objectives of ‘Room to Read’ is to support girls to complete secondary school with the life skills they’ll need to succeed in school and beyond.         |

(Sources: Key Informant 21, 2011; Cricket for Change, 2011; Room to Read, 2011a).

Another significant inequality evident within the initiatives explored in this research is what Chambers (1983) refers to as an overlapping ‘urban, tarmac and roadside bias’ associated with development. In essence, he argues that pragmatism often dictates that development projects, particularly those which involve the input of
‘outsiders’, are focused in and around urban centres, and along sealed arterial roads. Thus, he asserts, rural poverty is compounded as marginal rural areas, in which the greatest poverty is so often concentrated, are largely ignored. This argument, despite being made nearly 30 years ago, is still relevant today, and has manifested in the context of this research in a number of different ways.

First, and most obvious, is the almost exclusive urban emphasis to the ICC’s development initiatives, particularly those pertaining to India. The ‘Think Wise’ activities associated with the 2011 Cricket World Cup were, as outlined in Chapter Five, held in the tournament’s host ‘cities’; the two ‘Great Spirit’ projects implemented in India to date were held in Delhi and Mumbai, two of India’s largest urban areas; and, while ‘Room to Read itself has a commitment to rural education, its partnership with the ICC is centred in urban areas due to its alignment with the Cricket World Cup. Key Informant 21 freely concedes that the ICC’s urban focus in India is based on pragmatism, stating:

All the teams are committed to doing at least one social activity during each major ICC event, so at the World Cup that’s fourteen community activities, if you like, one for each team, which is quite a logistical squeeze, you know, for us to fit all those in...So this [urban focus] is a leverage point really. I suppose that we tried to merge two objectives, which were one, to generate enthusiasm for cricket in the host cities, and two, to deliver our [‘Think Wise’ and ‘Great Spirit’] projects to as wider audience as we can. So, yeah, in India, that sort of ended up being the host cities, and there were quite a lot of them, let me see, 9 host cities in India. This in itself proved challenging as it would work slightly differently in each city...it worked better in some than others, with some of the feedback that we got, because India is, as you will know, it is 28 different countries basically.

Evidently, clear parallels exist between the ICC’s development activities and Chambers’ (1983) critique of spatial bias within development.

Secondly, the event-centric infrastructural development associated with the 2011 Cricket World Cup, discussed earlier in this section, illustrates a variation of Chambers’ (1983) conceptualisation of ‘roadside’ and ‘tarmac’ biases. He argues that the concentration of visible development along main roadsides, particularly those with an all-weather seal, is due to the ease of accessibility for ‘development tourists’, including practitioners and researchers involved in the implementation and evaluation of development projects. Whereas, in this case, the improvement of facilities in and around World Cup stadia, and in corridors between the stadia and key transport
terminals and accommodation nodes is aimed at improving access and image for international cricket consumers, not least the global media.

Finally, Chambers’ (1983) notion of ‘tarmac’ bias is also evident in the way that outsiders interact with some of the development initiatives explored in this research. This is best exemplified by an informal discussion with Key Informant 20, an employee of the New Zealand government, regarding a potential visit to a Parivartan Programme activity in Mumbai’s M/East ward by a New Zealand dignitary. As it transpired, the Parivartan Programme was overlooked for a different ‘development through sport’ initiative that was based closer to the South-Mumbai CBD, and more easily accessible via car. The inclusion of this anecdote is by no means a criticism of this decision, indeed the methodology of this research itself is not immune from such bias, in that the selection of the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ as case studies was based, in part, on their geographic location relative to each other, and relative to a direct railway line from Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST), Mumbai’s main train station. Rather, it serves to reinforce the fact that Chambers’ (1983) conceptions of spatial bias are still being reproduced in contemporary development.

The multiple ways in which Chambers’ (1983) notions of spatial bias have manifested in the initiatives explored in this research, and indeed within this research itself, is yet another example of the needs of some being privileged over others. That is not to say that people in central urban areas and along main roads do not suffer, or that development initiatives based in these areas do not need help, or that infrastructure therein does not need improving. It simply suggests that they are receiving more help than those on the periphery. The implication of this in the context of this research is that peripheral communities are not only excluded from the positive development outcomes associated with the initiatives explored here, but are also further marginalised in terms of opportunities to participate in cricket. Thus, despite Guha’s (2002) assertion that cricket has penetrated deep into the countryside, its conceptualisation as a predominantly urban sport in India continues to be replicated.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on the efficacy of the development initiatives outlined in Chapters Four and Five and, in doing so, has informed the research question pertaining to such. This focus was, in some ways, a response to the overwhelming call from within the literature regarding the need for greater evaluation of ‘development through sport’
initiatives, but is by no means an extensive evaluation of any of the individual initiatives explored in the course of this research. Rather it has sought to paint a holistic picture of the use of cricket in development in India. Indeed, one of the key conclusions that can be drawn from this chapter is that, consistent with the literature, much more evaluation of results is needed to determine the true developmental impact of each initiative.

That said, a number of positive development outcomes were uncovered. Most notable was the improvement in the attitudes of male participants toward females reported by the Parivartan Programme, an assertion that was enabled by an extensive evaluation programme within the programme itself. Other positive development outcomes to emerge included the large amount of funding raised for education in India by the partnership between the ICC and ‘Room to Read’, and the increasing numbers of people both ‘Youth Against AIDS’ and ‘Think Wise’ have been able to reach with their HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns. In addition, a number of peripheral benefits derived from the opportunity to participate in organised cricket activities were evident within all of the initiatives explored, including improved health, wellbeing and happiness and increased social inclusion and empowerment. Thus it is clear that cricket is having some positive developmental impacts in India.

Any such impacts, however, were offset by a number of concerns. Again, the lack of evaluation comes to the fore, and is exemplified by the fact that very little is known regarding the impact of ‘Youth Against AIDS’ or ‘Think Wise’ in terms of HIV/AIDS prevalence rates, despite both claiming to be engaging an increasing number of people. The centring of the ICC’s development on its stable of elite tournaments raised concerns regarding project sustainability following the conclusion of the event, while it was also argued that hosting the 2011 Cricket World Cup may have, in fact, been detrimental to development in India, despite promises to the contrary. Similarly, the lack of corporate engagement with each initiative, particularly the lack of cricket within the CSR policies of the ICC’s major corporate partners, was raised as a weakness. In addition, the initiatives explored within this research have all, in some way, led to the perpetuation of a number of economic, gendered and spatial inequalities.

Constructing the efficacy of ‘development through cricket’ in India within this positive/negative dichotomy has highlighted that, despite some optimistic results, the use of cricket in development in India still has some way to go if it is to reach its
potential. Situating the results, both positive and negative, within the literature of ‘development through sport’, as well as wider development theory, provides the grounding upon which this might be achieved. As such, the concluding chapter of this thesis will draw upon the lessons learned here, to outline a potential way forward for the use of cricket in development in India.
A way forward for ‘development through cricket’ in India

The overarching aim of this thesis was to explore the emerging themes from the ‘development through sport’ literature in the context of cricket in India, an intervention justified by the relative dearth of discussion regarding either cricket or India therein. Premised on the argument that the wealth, power, and global television exposure currently associated with cricket in India, and the reverence in which cricket is held in Indian culture, presents it as a potentially powerful development tool in India, this thesis has sought to address three primary research questions. First, drawing upon case studies of two initiatives in the M/East ward of Mumbai which specifically use cricket for wider social purposes, it sought to identify how and why cricket is being used in development at a community level in India. Secondly, it explored the role of cricket authorities and their commercial partners in development in India and, again, the motivation behind their intervention. And finally, with reference to the development initiatives discussed in addressing the previous two questions, it sought to evaluate the effectiveness of the use of cricket in development in India. This chapter summarises the above, addressing each research question in turn, before using them as a platform to
explore the future implementation of ‘development through cricket’ in India, and the potential for further research in the field.

‘Development through cricket’ at the community level in India

The use of cricket in community-level development was explored in Mumbai’s M/East municipal ward, which has the lowest level of human development in a city that is, itself, lagging in this regard. A number of development indicators illustrate the M/East ward’s low level of human development, including a large slum population, low adult literacy, high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, high infant mortality, a burgeoning rate of domestic violence, all of which have culminated in a miserable life expectancy of 39.3 years. Numerous agencies have worked on these issues in this area, but this thesis has focused on two initiatives that have targeted specific development issues, and explicitly used cricket to address them.

The first of these, the Parivartan Programme, uses cricket to help reduce abuse and violence toward women. Situated within the paradigm shift form ‘Women in Development’ (WID) to ‘Gender and Development’ (GAD), it is premised on the theory that boys and young men with gender-equitable male role models are more likely to commit to respectful behaviours and attitudes toward women, and thereafter, the women in their lives will experience an expansion of safe space and freedom. Given cricket’s widespread appeal in India, particularly to boys and young men, it was chosen as the medium for implementing this theory, and was delivered at different scales, and in a number of different ways. At the community level, eighteen young men with leadership potential from the M/East ward were chosen as ‘mentors’, and then each selected a team of 12-20 boys from their respective neighbourhoods. The mentors were trained in topics such as gender, masculinity and respect, and were then trained in ways in which they could pass on these lessons to their teams by identifying teachable moments in cricket, both at practice and in games. The mentors were also provided with a series of cards, which outlined 12 training sessions that incorporated the Parivartan message within a cricket context, aiding the transfer of knowledge and skills from the mentors to their teams. Phase two of the programme involved broadening its reach throughout Mumbai through implementing the training techniques outlined above in selected schools and formal cricket coaching programmes. In addition, phase two has introduced the utilisation of pop culture to reinforce the Parivartan message. A mobile video van periodically visits the M/East ward, as well as participating schools and
clubs, where an interactive show incorporating cricket and street theatre is presented, and cricket themed resources such as comics are distributed. These video van sessions also provide the window in which much of the evaluation of the Parivartan Programme is undertaken.

Compared to the relatively structured use of cricket in the Parivartan Programme, ‘Youth Against AIDS’ uses cricket in a far simpler way. Modelled on the plethora of ‘development through sport’ initiatives that have attempted to address HIV/AIDS, predominantly using football in Africa, the annual ‘Youth Against AIDS’ Cricket Tournament uses cricket to attract players and spectators from throughout the M/East ward to the Ambedkar Kridangan Ground. Once there, participants and their supporters are delivered educational messages relating to HIV/AIDS through different means, including on the players uniforms, signage around the ground, pamphlet distribution, and a commentary that runs throughout the tournament. Cricket pulls people in, providing a platform from which HIV/AIDS education is disseminated.

This thesis’ discussion of development initiatives in Mumbai’s M/East ward illustrates that cricket is being used in community-level development in India. In doing so it informs the part of the first research question relating to how this is being done. To this end, cricket is clearly being used to deliver a number of development messages in a number of different ways. These range from passive delivery, such as the messages promoting HIV/AIDS awareness emblazoned on the players uniforms in the ‘Youth Against AIDS’ Cricket Tournament, to cricket being used in an active capacity, as illustrated by the Parivartan Programme’s use of teachable moments within a game to convey various elements of their philosophy. Ultimately though, cricket is being used to draw people in, and provide a platform from which they can engage with the relevant development message. Conclusions as to why cricket is being used in this way, and therefore informing the second part of this research question, will be outlined later in the chapter.

The role of the ICC and its commercial partners in development in India
A review of the ICC’s website, undertaken in preparation for this research, indicated that their involvement in development was limited to HIV/AIDS related projects. This thesis, however, has illustrated that the ICC’s development activities are far more diverse. While their involvement in HIV/AIDS projects is the most entrenched of their development partnerships, having been first established in 2003, they have since
branched into projects involving social inclusion and education. This thesis outlined the ICC’s involvement in each of these development areas, with a specific focus on their activities in India, enabling an exploration of the role that cricket authorities have in development in India.

The ICC first became involved in HIV/AIDS projects in 2003, in partnership with UNAIDS (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS), and later combined with UNICEF (United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund) and the Global Media AIDS Initiative to instigate ‘Think Wise: the Global Cricket AIDS Partnership’. The overall aim of ‘Think Wise’ is to use the reach and profile of cricket to raise awareness of HIV/AIDS, reduce the stigma attached to the disease, and incentivise behavioural change in an attempt to reduce its spread. In order to achieve this, public service announcements featuring high profile players are played during all major ICC events, both at the host stadia and in the television broadcast, while the ‘Think Wise’ logo is displayed prominently on the sleeves of all elite umpires at these events. In addition to the implementation of these methods, the ICC introduced a community-level element for the 2011 Cricket World Cup in India. This included an HIV/AIDS awareness raising road show that visited under-developed communities in each of the World Cup host cities, and an HIV/AIDS themed schools cricket tournament in the same cities.

In 2008, the ICC decided to complement its global development focus on HIV/AIDS, with a local cause specific to the host country of each of its major events. In some instances, such as the 2010 World T20 Championship in the Caribbean, the local cause remained HIV/AIDS given its strong relevance there. At the 2009 Women’s World Cup in Australia, however, the ICC focused on breast cancer as its local cause due to strong pre-existing links between Cricket Australia and the McGrath Foundation, a breast cancer charity set up by former Australian cricketer Glen McGrath in memory of his wife, Jane, who died of the disease. A terrorist attack on the Sri Lankan cricket team in Pakistan in 2009, saw the ICC’s local focus shift towards raising funds for the victims’ families, and ultimately led to the establishment of its ‘Great Spirit’ campaign, which seeks to promote location-specific social inclusion programmes. Early incarnations of ‘Great Spirit’ included the use of cricket to help re-integrate child soldiers following the civil war in Sri Lanka, and encouraging female participation in cricket to address gender inequality in Bangladesh. In the context of India, ‘Great Spirit’ engaged street kids from a number of Delhi’s deprived communities using
cricket in 2010, providing many of them with the opportunity to participate in organised sport for the first time in their lives. In addition, 45 youth leaders from throughout the state of Maharashtra were invited to the ‘Street20 Cricket Training Programme’ in Mumbai during the 2011 Cricket World Cup, where they were taught how cricket can strengthen their work with disadvantaged children in their own communities, and provided a number of resources to enable them to do so.

The third, and most recent, development activity undertaken by the ICC involves a partnership with international Non-Government Organisation (NGO) ‘Room to Read’, an organisation that aims to improve literacy in developing countries and promote gender equality in education. This partnership has, thus far, been exclusively associated with the 2011 Cricket World Cup, and its activities have, therefore, been predominantly based in India. In order to raise awareness of ‘Room to Read’, and their activities, the ICC produced public service announcements with a player from each participating country discussing their favourite book, and publicised a list containing the same information. Cricket was also used within this partnership to raise funds for ‘Room to Read’. The ICC co-opted Reliance Life Insurance, a subsidiary of one of its major commercial sponsors, resulting in the ‘boundaries for books’ campaign which pledged Rs. 25000 (US$553) for every six hit at the 2011 Cricket World Cup. In addition, the ICC organised a charity auction, for which high profile players, most notably Shane Watson of Australia, M.S. Dhoni of India, and Angelo Matthews of Sri Lanka, donated either time or memorabilia.

This thesis’ delineation of the ICC’s involvement in the above development partnerships has once again highlighted that cricket is being used in development in a number of different ways, to meet a number of different purposes. In doing so, it has informed the first part of the second research question regarding the role of cricket authorities in the implementation of development in India. As with the community-level development outlined in the previous section, the development initiatives that the ICC is involved with ultimately use cricket to draw people’s attention to their respective causes. The main difference being that the reach and profile of the ICC enables them to not only use cricket to draw in those in need, but also those who may have the means to help. Thus, the ICC’s main role in development is to utilise the reach and profile generated by cricket at the elite level in a wider social context.

While the ICC’s role in development has exceeded expectations in terms of the breadth of its focus, the role that its commercial partners play is less forthcoming.
There has clearly been some involvement from sponsors in the ICC’s development initiatives, most notably the financial contribution Reliance Life Insurance made to the ‘Boundaries for Books’ campaign, and the support given by broadcast partners enabling the use of expensive advertising slots for ‘Think Wise’ public service announcements. In addition, some of the ICC’s commercial partners made smaller donations of cricket equipment or clothing, which were used in the delivery of community-based ‘Think Wise’ and ‘Great Spirit’ activities. In a broader context, however, the ICC’s commercial partners appear to have little involvement in development activities that specifically use cricket for wider social purposes. All eleven engage in some form of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), yet despite the clear geographical and commercial synergies each has with cricket, none identify cricket-related projects within their respective CSR policies. The implications of this will be explored further in addressing the third research question, and will be drawn upon when discussing recommendations for the future implementation of ‘development through cricket’ in India.

**Why cricket? Why development?**

The second part of each of the first two research questions asks why cricket is being used for development purposes in India, a question which can be interpreted in two distinct ways depending on the standpoint of the informant being asked. In the community-level context, it can be asked in terms of why cricket, as opposed to other sports or other methods, is being used to meet developmental objectives. In contrast, the ICC’s position as the sport’s global governing body suggests that any involvement in development is, by default, connected to cricket, and thus the question can be reversed to ask why cricket authorities have intervened in development in the way that they have. Regardless of the way the question is framed, however, this thesis has illustrated that the answer can be traced back to the status of cricket within India’s cultural identity. Key informants from all of the initiatives explored within this research, both at the community level and those overseen by the ICC, discussed the power of sport to engage people in development before, without fail, highlighting the hold that cricket has over the people of India. Thus, the centrality of cricket to ‘development through sport’ programmes in India was clearly evident.

This consistency of response among key informants speaks back to the literature reviewed for this research in two distinct ways. First, it supports the UN’s (2003)
argument that the convening power of sport makes it compelling as a tool for advocacy and communication. And second, it reinforces Bale’s (2003) argument that geographical concepts of space and place are intrinsic to modern sport. In terms of the latter, this thesis has shown that cricket would not work in development everywhere in the world, and that most other sports would not work in India. Similarly, it has illustrated that the development needs addressed using cricket are largely determined by the place in which they operate. The ICC’s focus on HIV/AIDS, for example, is driven by the recognition that cricket is popular in many of the countries with the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rates. It is therefore evident that place is not only intrinsic to modern sport, but is also a key component in the implementation of ‘development through sport’.

Having put forth India’s collective passion for cricket as the primary reason for its use in the development initiatives explored in this research, it is important to note that the wealth and power involved at the elite level of the sport has also played a part. This is most overtly highlighted by the ICC’s use of cricket to generate capital for ‘Room to Read’, but is also evident in a more implicit manner. As this thesis has illustrated, India’s aforementioned love of cricket is, in many ways, driven by the commercialisation of cricket, and thus its use in development is intrinsically tied to the trappings of the elite level. It has also uncovered an element of self interest in the ICC’s involvement in development, evident in the fact that its original HIV/AIDS partnership was, in part, motivated by a desire to improve the organisation’s image. In addition, one of the reasons that the ICC broadened their development focus in recent years was to help engage commercial sponsors for whom HIV/AIDS may not be such a good fit, again highlighting that the use of cricket for development in India is motivated by more than just the reverence in which the sport is held in there.

**How effective has ‘development through cricket’ been in India?**

The third and final research question addressed by this thesis concerned the efficacy of ‘development through cricket’ in India. The most consistent critique within the ‘development through sport’ literature, thus far, has been the lack of evaluation among projects that use sport for development purposes. As such, this thesis sought to assess the development initiatives explored in the context of this research. That said, it by no means constitutes an in-depth analysis of the individual initiatives, but rather has drawn
upon processes and outcomes of each, both positive and negative, to build a more holistic understanding of the efficacy of ‘development through cricket’ in India.

Of all the development initiatives explored within this research, the Parivartan Programme stood out in terms of adherence to the key concepts discussed in the ‘development through sport’ literature. Contrary to the critique outlined in the previous paragraph, the Parivartan Programme incorporated a research element that involved base-line, mid-line and end-line evaluation designed to capture changing behaviour. While only at the midline stage at the time of this research, initial results indicated an improvement in attitude and behaviour toward women among participants at both the community-level and city-wide implementations. In addition, the Parivartan Programme exhibited an awareness of debates within wider development theory, most notably the shift in the way that gender is understood in development, and the incorporation of a sustainable framework.

In contrast to the Parivartan Programme, positive development outcomes among the other initiatives explored in the context of this research were less forthcoming. That said, both ‘Youth Against AIDS’ and ‘Think Wise’ have continued to increase the reach of their HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns throughout their existence, once again highlighting the power of cricket to engage people in India. Similarly, ‘Great Spirit’ projects held in India have had some success in engaging marginalised people through cricket leading to greater social inclusion, while the ICC’s partnership with ‘Room to Read’ has generated significant capital for education infrastructure in India. In addition to these project-specific outcomes, a number of peripheral benefits associated with the use of cricket in development were reported across all of the initiatives explored, with the exception of ‘Room to Read’. These included health benefits accrued through increased physical activity, improved confidence and social inclusion among participants as a result of access to organised sport, and the provision of an alternative to undesirable activities such as drug taking and crime.

In situating these positive development outcomes within the body of knowledge on ‘development through sport’, this thesis has highlighted a number of consistencies in terms of the efficacy of using sport for development purposes. Most notably, they support the UN’s (2003) assertion that the power of sport in development lies in its ability to engage people in the key areas of health, education, and social integration. More broadly, the processes behind the positive outcomes outlined above mirror the shift toward grassroots or participatory approaches within development theory and
practice. Both the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ were community-based responses to community-defined issues, while the initiatives instigated by the ICC were based on a partnership approach that, where possible, engaged local stakeholders to facilitate implementation.

It is clear from the preceding paragraphs that the use of cricket for development in India has met with some success. This thesis, however, has also highlighted a number of shortcomings in the development initiatives explored in the course of this research. Chief among them, and consistent with the ‘development through sport’ literature, was the lack of evaluation evident in all but the Parivartan Programme. While all of the initiatives examined claimed that cricket was effective in their respective development fields, only the Parivartan Programme had any evidence to prove that this was actually the case. Thus the power of cricket in development in India, and the power of sport in development in general, remain largely intuitive.

Other critiques discussed in this thesis include the failure of the initiatives explored to attract the involvement of corporate entities through CSR, and conversely, the failure of the ICC’s commercial partners to engage in cricket-related projects within their CSR policies. The implication of this being that the potential of sport in the deployment of CSR, as asserted by Smith and Westerbeek (2007) and Levermore (2010), has not yet been realised in the context of cricket in India. The centring of the ICC’s development initiatives on its stable of elite tournaments also raised concerns, particularly regarding the long-term sustainability of the projects, and any benefits accrued, following the conclusion of each event. Further, it was argued that hosting the 2011 Cricket World Cup may have, in fact, been detrimental to development in India, despite promises to the contrary.

Finally, the initiatives explored within this research have all, in some way, led to the perpetuation of inequality in India. Participants in both the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ Cricket Tournament were exclusively male which, despite the aim of the former to promote gender equality, is reproducing the social construction of cricket as a masculine pursuit. The unequal distribution of resources between the initiatives explored within this thesis mirrors the unequal distribution of wealth endemic in Indian society. And a number of spatial inequalities exist in the way cricket is being used for development in India, most notably the focus on urban as opposed to rural areas, but also spatial discrepancies within the urban form. Thus this thesis has
illustrated that the use of cricket in development, as with cricket in India in general, continues to privilege the needs of some over others.

The future of ‘development through cricket’ in India and potential research
A number of themes have emerged from this thesis, from which policy recommendations as to the future use of cricket in development in India, as well as potential future research in the field, can be drawn. One of the most dominant themes has been the lack of evaluation within the initiatives explored in this research, which is consistent with the ‘development through sport’ literature. While this thesis has offered some evaluation, it has done so in order to obtain a holistic appreciation for the efficacy of ‘development through cricket’ in India, and in no way claims to be a substitute for in-depth analysis of the individual initiatives in question. As such, this thesis joins the growing chorus within the ‘development through sport’ literature calling for greater evaluation of projects that use sport for development purposes (see for example Coalter, 2006, 2009, 2010a, 2010b; Kruse, 2006; Beutler, 2008; Kidd, 2008; Levermore, 2008, 2011; Hartmann and Kwauk, 2010). It is therefore imperative that initiatives seeking to promote ‘development through cricket’ in India, including those discussed in the course of this research, incorporate vigorous analysis in order to assess the veracity of their claims to success. This will not only enable the potential power of cricket in India’s development to shift from intuitive to tangible, but will also speak back to the wider ‘development through sport’ movement in the same regard.

Another critique upon which recommendations for the future can be based is the lack of cricket-related projects within the CSR policies of the ICC’s commercial partners; despite the clear geographical and commercial synergies that each has with cricket. Encouraging these partners to use cricket as a vehicle to deploy their CSR, rather than simply as a platform to sell their product, could greatly enhance the power of cricket in development in India. In addition, the involvement of the Nike Foundation in the Parivartan Programme, and the significant financial contribution that Reliance Life Insurance made to the ‘Boundaries for Books’ campaign, illustrate the benefit of CSR in development at different scales. Thus, initiatives seeking to use cricket for development in India, regardless of scale, should seek input from the corporate sector.

This thesis has also raised concerns over the long-term sustainability of the ICC’s development projects, and their long-term impacts on development in India. The fact that their development projects are largely event-centric, and that the hosting of
these events is geographically fluid, highlights the short-term nature of the ICC’s intervention. While the global television exposure attached to these events enables the delivery of the mass-awareness campaigns associated with ‘Think Wise’ and ‘Room to Read’ to maintain traction outside of the host nation, it does little to foster long-term benefits within the community-level components of ‘Great Spirit’ and, to a lesser extent, ‘Think Wise’. Thus this thesis advocates a shift away from the event-centric approach, to one that incorporates long-term interaction within specific communities, while continuing the use of major events as a platform for mass-awareness and fundraising campaigns.

This shift away from an event-centric approach would also help to address the spatial bias currently evident in ‘development through cricket’ in India. The ICC’s main obligation is to the governance of the sport, and therefore the successful delivery of its tournaments has often necessitated a pragmatic approach to development. In the context of India, this has meant that the community-level components of the ICC’s development projects have predominantly been delivered in urban areas. The fact that cricket moved away from urban predominance following independence (Guha, 2002), and that approximately 72.2 percent of India’s population still lived in rural areas at the 2001 census (Berman, Ahuja and Bhandari, 2010), suggests that a large proportion of cricket loving Indians are not being afforded the benefits of ‘development through cricket’. This, of course, is unsurprising given India’s massive population; indeed implementing an initiative with the ability to impact upon the majority of this population is at best highly impractical, and at worst impossible. That said, the ICC’s development initiatives could, at least, reach some of India’s rural population if they were to move away from an event-centric approach.

It must be noted that the spatial bias outlined above is not exclusive of the ICC’s development initiatives. While this thesis explored community-level development in the M/East ward of Mumbai, and thus has an urban focus itself, initial searches for case studies in the formulation of this research uncovered no initiatives that use cricket to promote development in rural areas. This, in itself, suggests that there is clearly scope for ‘development through cricket’ in India’s rural communities, a point again compounded by the fact that India’s population remains predominantly rural. This thesis has highlighted that cricket can be used in development to address a number of different issues, in a number of different ways, most of which could be adapted to different spatial contexts given appropriate consultation with local stakeholders. It is
therefore evident that the future agenda for ‘development through cricket’ in India needs to incorporate rural, semi-rural, and marginalised urban communities.

The other significant bias evident in the initiatives explored in this research was the lack of female participation in cricket-related development activities. While the ICC have taken significant steps to address this within their development projects, both the Parivartan Programme and ‘Youth Against AIDS’ have remained bastions of male exclusivity. That said, the need to focus on male attitudes to reduce gender inequality is the theoretical basis of the Parivartan Programme, and thus female participation would be counter-intuitive. Despite this, however, the construction of cricket as a masculine pursuit in India clearly needs to be broken down in the ‘development through cricket’ context. This will not only enable greater female participation in cricket in India, and indeed promote gender equality in a wider sense, but will also redistribute the developmental benefits accrued from ‘development through cricket’ projects in a more equitable way.

The recommendations in this section have, thus far, largely been drawn from the critique of the initiatives explored in this research, but it is also important that their positive elements are learned from. The most notable of these was the fact that all of the initiatives utilised a partnership approach, integrating tangible and intellectual resources from a number of key stakeholders. This enabled the individual initiatives to be adapted to the local context in an appropriate manner. The development initiatives explored also incorporated a noticeable shift away from the traditional Eurocentric notion of development, in which the west donate and the rest supposedly ‘benefit’, to one that recognises that the capacity to affect change exists within India itself. The main benefit of this has been the growing realisation among key stakeholders that cricket is not only a powerful method of engaging India’s population in development, but also provides scope to generate significant capital for development. These trends are already making a positive contribution to ‘development through cricket’ in India and, as such, must remain a part of its future agenda.

This thesis has sought to explore emerging themes from the ‘development through sport’ literature in the context of cricket in India. In doing so, it has illustrated that cricket is being used to address multiple development issues at different scales in India, in a number of different ways, and for a number of different reasons, highlighting the key role that sport can play in uplifting and empowering disadvantaged communities.
As such, this final chapter has advocated a number of policy recommendations for the future use of cricket in development. These recommendations include the need for greater evaluation of ‘development through cricket’ projects, both internal and external, to enable the power of cricket in development to shift from intuitive to tangible; more engagement with the commercial side of cricket through CSR; a shift away from the event-centric development approach adopted by the ICC, with the implementation of longer-term, community-orientated projects in its place; the implementation of ‘development through cricket’ projects in rural, semi-rural and peri-urban communities; and greater focus on female participation in projects, particularly at the community-level, to help break down the construction of cricket as a masculine pursuit in India.

The above recommendations also highlight a number of potential future research opportunities, the most obvious of which would involve longitudinal monitoring of ‘development through cricket’ projects in order to establish cricket’s true impact. Other potential research in this field could include the replication or adaption of projects in other parts of India, the implications of female inclusion in projects for the social construction of cricket in India, and the viability of incorporating ‘development through cricket’ programmes within the formal education system following the successful integration of the Parivartan Programme in some of Mumbai’s schools. As this thesis has argued throughout, the wealth, power and global television exposure currently associated with cricket in India, coupled with the religious-like reverence in which it is held in Indian culture, presents it as a potentially powerful tool for development in India. Implementing the lessons learned from ‘development through cricket’ in India here, and through future research, may enable that potential to be fully realised.
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Appendix A
Interview/Focus Group Schedules
Schedule of core questions used for interviews with key informants involved in community-level development initiatives.

1) Can you tell me about your organisation, what it does, and your role within it?
   - What are the main aims and objectives of your organisation?
   - Where does ICRW work?
   - How is it funded?

2) More specifically, I am interested in your involvement in initiatives that use sport for development; can you tell me more about those?
   - When did it begin?
   - What are the main aims and objectives of the programme?
   - What does the programme actually involve?
   - What is the background of the participants in the programme and how are they selected?
   - Specifically, how is sport used in the programme?
   - What are the plans for the future of the programme?
   - How is the programme funded?

3) Can you tell me about other individuals/organisations involved in this programme? What are their roles?

4) Can you tell me why cricket was chosen as the main medium for delivering this programme?

5) Can you tell me about the results of the programme so far?
   - How many people have participated in the programme so far?
   - How do you measure the results of the programme?
   - Have there been any tangible results so far?
   - Can you tell me of any real success stories that have emerged from the programme so far?
   - Overall, how do you think this programme has aided the development of the participants and their communities so far?

6) Have you had any support for this programme from any cricket authorities? (for example the International Cricket Council, the Board of Control for Cricket in India, Mumbai Cricket Association etc).
   - If yes, with which authority and what has their role been? (financial support, logistical support, use of resources etc)
   - If not, why not? Has support from such authorities been actively sought? Or is their support not necessary or desirable for your programme?

7) Have any high profile cricketers been involved in the Parivartan Programme at any stage?
   - If yes, who and what involvement have they had?
   - If no, do you have any plans of enlisting any high profile cricketers in the future?

8) Do you have any support from local, national or international businesses in the implementation of the Parivartan Programme?
- If yes, what are the businesses and what has their involvement been? (financial, logistical, use of resources etc).
- If not, why not? Has support from businesses been actively sought? Or is their support not necessary or desirable for your programme?

9) The Cricket World Cup is about to begin in India, do you think this will have an impact on this programme?
   - Has it had any impact in the lead up to the event?
   - Do you think it will have any impact during/after the event?
   - And in general, what do you think will be the impact of the Cricket World Cup for development in India?
   - Do the organisers of the Cricket World Cup have any specific policies regarding development that you are aware of?
   - Would you like to see organisers of major events like the World Cup do more for programmes like this one?
   - And would you like to see organisers do more for development in general in the countries in which they are held?

10) The Indian Premier League (IPL) has also generated significant interest and wealth since it began three years ago, has there been any spin off effects for this programme?
    - Has the IPL or any of its teams supported this programme in any way?
    - If yes, what has their role been? (financial, logistical, use of resources etc)
    - If not, why not? Has support from the IPL or its teams been actively sought? Or is their support not necessary or desirable for your programme?
    - In a more general sense, do you know of any development policies implemented by the IPL or any of its teams?
    - Would you like to see the wealth and profile generated by the IPL to have a greater impact on development initiatives in the country where it is held?

11) Do you know of anyone else I could talk to that may be of interest to my research?

12) Do you have any other information about this that you think I might find useful?
Schedule of core questions used for interviews with key informants from the ICC.

1) I understand that the ICC focuses its charitable efforts toward HIV and AIDS awareness? Why has it chosen to focus on just one issue, and why HIV/AIDS in particular?

2) How does the ICC use cricket's profile for this cause? What sort of things do you do?

3) Why do you think cricket is a good tool for promoting HIV/AIDS awareness? And in particular, why is the ICC well-positioned to drive it?

4) What other organisations do you work with in implementing these initiatives?

5) Do you actively work with national/state cricket boards? And if so, what is their role?

6) And player endorsement? How active are they in these awareness campaigns?

7) How do you fund these activities?

8) More specifically, was the recent Cricket World Cup used as a platform for this work, and how? What sort of things did the ICC do around the world cup in terms of its charitable work? And what were the outcomes?

9) Which areas did they target in India? Just the cities hosting games? Or rural areas as well? What about within the cities, what communities were included, and how were they identified?

10) And the IPL, does the ICC use this as a platform also? How?

11) What is the main driver of using mega-events such as the world cup and IPL for these initiatives?

12) Is the success (or otherwise) of the work you are doing measured? And if so how?

13) What are the benefits for the ICC in being involved in this development work?

14) Is there any literature or websites with further information on the things we have discussed?

15) Is there anyone from any of your partners in these programmes that I might be able to talk to?
Schedule of core questions used for focus groups.

1) What sort of work or hobbies do you have outside of this programme?
2) What is it about cricket that you like?
3) Why did you want to be part of this programme?
4) What are the lessons you have learned from the programme so far?
5) How do you pass these lessons on to the boys that you coach?
6) How has being part of the programme impacted on your families and your communities?
7) Are you excited about the Cricket World Cup?
8) How do you think the Cricket World Cup will impact on your communities?
9) Will any of you get to go to any games? Or will you get to see them on TV?

Note: Due to the semi-structured nature of the interviews/focus groups, all schedules in this Appendix were used as a guide only. Questions often varied depending on the way each interview/focus group progressed.
Appendix B

List of Key Informants
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informant</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Apnalaya</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Apnalaya</td>
<td>Assistant Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ICRW</td>
<td>Senior Technical Specialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ICRW</td>
<td>Field Co-ordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Apnalaya</td>
<td>Sports Programme Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Performing Artist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Consultant for Parivartan Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Breakthrough</td>
<td>Communications Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Social Worker in M/East Ward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>MCGM</td>
<td>M/East Ward Councillor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>MSSA</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Apnalaya</td>
<td>Trainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Doctor in M/East Ward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>FVPF</td>
<td>Mumbai Field Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ICRW</td>
<td>Regional Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>MSSA</td>
<td>Cricket Coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Breakthrough</td>
<td>Country Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>FVPF</td>
<td>Director of Public Communications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Cricket for Change</td>
<td>Trainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>NZ Government</td>
<td>Public Servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>Head of Member Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The number assigned to each Key Informant is based on the chronology of the interviews.
Appendix C

Ethics approval and participant information sheet and consent form
Professor T Binns  
Department of Geography  
Division of Humanities

Dear Professor Binns,

I am writing to let you know that, at its recent meeting, the Ethics Committee considered your proposal entitled "Development through Sport: The 'Indianisation' of Cricket and its Potential for Development".

As a result of that consideration, the current status of your proposal is: - Approved

For your future reference, the Ethics Committee's reference code for this project is: - 10/212. The comments and views expressed by the Ethics Committee concerning your proposal are as follows:-

While approving the application, the Committee would be grateful if you would respond to the following:

Please make clear the differentiation between the participant cohorts in the Information Sheet, and what is expected of each group.

Approval is for up to three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, re-approval must be requested. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing.

Yours sincerely,

Mr Gary Witte  
Manager, Academic Committees  
Tel: 479 8256  
Email: gary.witte@otago.ac.nz

Cc: Assoc. Prof. S J Fitzsimons Head Department of Geography
Development through sport: The ‘Indianisation’ of cricket and its potential for development.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR KEY INFORMANTS AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the aim of the project?
This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a Master of Arts degree (University of Otago). The project aims to investigate the motivation, implementation and efficacy of ‘development through sport’ initiatives in India, and the involvement of cricket authorities at a number of scales in their formulation and implementation. In addition, recent policy support for the use of sport in development is of particular interest from the perspective of seeking to determine the degree to which such support can make a positive contribution to the practice of ‘development through sport’.

What type of participants are being sought?
This study seeks three main types of participant. Firstly, officials, employees and volunteers of NGO’s and other groups responsible for the implementation of ‘development through sport’ initiatives in India will be sought. Secondly, participants in ‘development through sport’ initiatives in India will be sought. And thirdly, officials and/or employees of international, national and local cricket authorities will be sought.

What will participants be asked to do?
Should they agree to participate, officials, employees and volunteers involved in development initiatives in India, and officials and employees of international, national and local cricket authorities will be asked several questions relevant to the main objectives of this research. The amount of time involved may vary, but discussions may last up to one hour. Participants in the development initiatives, should they agree, will be asked to take part in a focus group discussion regarding their experiences within the development initiative. Again, the amount of time involved may vary, but discussions may last up to one hour. Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Can participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?
You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What data or information will be collected and what use will be made of it?
Information about ‘development through sport’ in India will be collected. If participants agree, the interview will be audio-taped to assist the researcher in interpreting the information provided. The tapes will be destroyed at the completion of the project.
This project involves a semi-structured interview technique. The general line of questioning includes information about ‘development through sport’ initiatives in your city. Topics may include the motivation, implementation and efficacy of ‘development through sport’ initiatives in India, and the perceived impact of the 2011 Cricket World Cup on such initiatives. The precise questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable, you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Information is being collected to assist with understanding the potential of ‘development through sport’, and more specifically the potential use of cricket in development initiatives in India. Individuals will remain anonymous at all times during the processing and writing up of information gathered and it will not be possible to identify participants in any reports or articles of the findings. The data will only be available to the researchers. Participants will remain anonymous.

The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand), but every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity. You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish. The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned below will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

Reasonable precautions will be taken to protect and destroy data gathered by email. However, the security of electronically transmitted information cannot be guaranteed. Caution is advised in the electronic transmission of sensitive material.

What if participants have any questions?
If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Professor Tony Binns  OR  Jerram Bateman
Department of Geography  Department of Geography
+64 3 479 5356  +64 3 479 5356
jab@geography.otago.ac.nz  batje36p@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.
Development through sport: the ‘Indianisation’ of Cricket and its potential for development.

CONSENT FORM FOR KEY INFORMANT AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3. Personal identifying information (audio-tapes) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which they will be destroyed;

4. This project involves a semi-structured open-ended questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions will depend on the way in which the interview develops. In the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable, I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.

5. I will receive no compensation or remuneration for participating in this project

6. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.

I agree to take part in this project.

................................................................. ...........................................
(Signature of participant) (Date)

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.
The human development index (HDI)

The HDI is a summary measure of human development. It measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development:

- A long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth.
- Knowledge, as measured by the adult literacy rate (with two-thirds weight) and the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio (with one-third weight).
- A decent standard of living, as measured by GDP per capita in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms in US dollars.

Before the HDI itself is calculated, an index needs to be created for each of these dimensions. To calculate these indices—the life expectancy, education and GDP indices—minimum and maximum values (goalposts) are chosen for each underlying indicator.

Performance in each dimension is expressed as a value between 0 and 1 by applying the following general formula:

$$\text{Dimension index} = \frac{\text{actual value} - \text{minimum value}}{\text{maximum value} - \text{minimum value}}$$

The HDI is then calculated as a simple average of the dimension indices. The box at right illustrates the calculation of the HDI for a sample country.

**Goalposts for calculating the HDI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy at birth (years)</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult literacy rate (%)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross enrolment ratio (%)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita (PPP US$)</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Calculating the HDI

This illustration of the calculation of the HDI uses data for Brazil.

1. **Calculating the life expectancy index**
   The life expectancy index measures the relative achievement of a country in life expectancy at birth. For Brazil, with a life expectancy of 70.8 years in 2004, the life expectancy index is 0.764.
   $$\text{Life expectancy index} = \frac{70.8 - 25}{75 - 25} = 0.764$$

2. **Calculating the education index**
   The education index measures a country’s relative achievement in both adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment. First, an index for adult literacy and one for combined gross enrolment are calculated. Then these two indices are combined to create the education index, with two-thirds weight given to adult literacy and one-third weight to combined gross enrolment. For Brazil, with an adult literacy rate of 88.6% in 2004, and a combined gross enrolment ratio of 86% in 2004, the education index is 0.876.
   $$\text{Adult literacy index} = \frac{88.6 - 100}{100 - 0} = 0.88$$
   $$\text{Gross enrolment index} = \frac{86 - 0}{100 - 0} = 0.86$$
   $$\text{Education index} = \frac{2/3 (\text{adult literacy index}) + 1/3 (\text{gross enrolment index})}{2/3 (0.88) + 1/3 (0.867)} = 0.876$$

3. **Calculating the GDP index**
   The GDP index is calculated using adjusted GDP per capita (PPP US$). In the HDI income serves as a surrogate for all the dimensions of human development not reflected in a long and healthy life and in knowledge. Income is adjusted because achieving a respectable level of human development does not require unlimited income. Accordingly, the logarithm of income is used. For Brazil, with a GDP per capita of 88,195 (PPP US$) in 2004, the GDP index is 0.735.
   $$\text{GDP index} = \frac{\log(88,195) - \log(100)}{\log(40,000) - \log(100)} = 0.735$$

4. **Calculating the HDI**
   Once the dimension indices have been calculated, determining the HDI is straightforward. It is a simple average of the three dimension indices.
   $$\text{HDI} = \frac{1}{3} (\text{life expectancy index}) + \frac{1}{3} (\text{education index}) + \frac{1}{3} (\text{GDP index}) = \frac{1}{3} (0.764) + \frac{1}{3} (0.876) + \frac{1}{3} (0.735) = 0.792$$

(Source: UNDP, 2011: 167-169)