

Sport and Leisure Promotion in Urban Zimbabwe: Instrument for Sustainable Development and Resilience-building

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Abstract

The article discusses how sport and leisure promotion in urban Zimbabwe can provide important spaces for citizen engagement and resilience-building. Studies on urban development in Africa and, more specifically, Zimbabwe, tend to focus more on matters that are perceived as ‘serious’, such as planning, housing, health, livelihoods, poverty and well-being and other challenges. Leveraging sport for development has not received adequate attention and there is a distinct lack of studies in the context of Zimbabwe. This article argues that sport and leisure promotion can be important drivers for sustainable development and resilience. It uses examples of various sporting and leisure activities to analyse contributions and opportunities provided by sport in promoting urban development and resilience. The article thus highlights how sporting and leisure-based activities in Zimbabwe can be harnessed as a means of promoting development. It proposes a sport and resilience framework that is critical to building capabilities, assets and agency of individuals and households in maintaining and quickly recovering from shock or stress. The article shows various instances in which sport and leisure can be utilised in various programmes related to health, gender equality, youth empowerment and employment creation.

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INTRODUCTION

The article provides an exploratory analysis of how sport and leisure promotion can play a greater role in sustainable development and resilience-building in urban Zimbabwe. The role of sport in urban sustainable development across the global South remains understated and understudied (Chiweshe, 2014). The focus of studies on urban development, especially in Africa, tends to focus more on matters that are perceived as ‘serious’, such as planning, housing, health, livelihoods and other challenges (Güneralp *et al.*, 2017). In policy and literature on urban resilience in Africa, the role of sport has been largely ignored yet across the world sport has exponentially grown to become a multi-billion-dollar industry (*Business Wire*, 2019). Leveraging sport for development, however, has not received adequate attention and there is a distinct lack of studies in the context of Zimbabwe. Sport, being a multibillion-dollar business, is contributing to social and national development through sports industries, tourism and innovation centres. Yet, African countries are failing to capitalise on the popularity and commercial base of their sport because of factors, such as lack of professional structures, corruption, lack of corporate endorsements, a dearth of talent, poor stadium infrastructure, lack of government support, lack of effective advertising and broadcasting systems and lack of proper planning in new media and new markets (Chiweshe, 2014). Financial benefits from sport can be critical in countries’ ability to invest in sustainable development and community resilience.

Urban resilience, in the context of this article, focuses on strengthening communities’ capacity to mitigate, prepare for, respond to and build back better after disasters, through participatory action and reflection programming (Action Aid, 2016). This understanding of resilience places emphasis on building the specific capacities of communities to withstand any external shocks. The United Nations Programme on Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR, 2009) defines resilience as the ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner,

including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions. Urban resilience is intricately linked with sustainable development. Within international and national government arenas, the concept of community resilience is treated to progress towards the objective of sustainable communities (Wright, 2016). Resilience is thus closely related to sustainable development. This explains the incorporation of resilience into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda.

The research focuses on Zimbabwe to provide important insights into how sport and leisure promotion can be utilised in sustainable development which, in turn, increases community resilience. In 2003, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution in favour of the use of sport as a tool for development and peace building. In 2015, it reaffirmed the 1978 UNESCO International Charter for Physical Education and Sport. Between 2008 and 2017, the UN went a step further by establishing the UN Office for Sport and Development and Peace. Studies (Alwany *et al.*, 2002; Chinyoka, 2017; Gwavuya, 2016) on poverty and well-being in Zimbabwe tend to focus on areas that are seen as ‘serious’ spheres of socio-economic and political lives of ordinary people. In Zimbabwe, sport is often omitted from such discussions because it has been viewed as leisure with very little to provide in development discourse (Chiweshe, 2014). Yet Nelson Mandela reminds us of the power of sport by arguing that:

Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than the government in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all kinds of discrimination (Mulcahy, 2017).

The power of sport is being utilised across the world in various instances to promote citizen engagement in important issue-based campaigns. Sport has been successfully used to reach the neediest, including refugees, child soldiers, victims of conflict and natural disasters, poor people, people with

disabilities, victims of racism, stigma and discrimination (Edwards, 2015; Gaidas, 2019). In England, the Premier League and other stakeholders are at the forefront of funding Kick It Out, an organisation working towards improving inclusivity and eliminating racism in football and other spaces, including education (*Goal*, 2019). In the 2020/2021 season, the league also instituted a ritual of taking a knee before the first whistle in support of the global Black Lives Matter movement that seeks racial justice and equality (Siregar, 2020).

In September 2015, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. This agenda outlines a new plan for global development with the ambition to ‘transform our world by 2030’ UN General Assembly, (2015).World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development). Central to the 2030 Agenda are 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that will replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in providing the key reference point for global development efforts. Sport and leisure are, however, not clearly outlined within the wider discussion of meeting some of the key goals related to human and social development (Lindsey and Chapman, 2017). The *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* recognises sport as an important enabler of sustainable development. The 2030 Agenda for recognises:

“...the growing contribution of sport to the realisation of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and young people, individuals and communities and health, education and social inclusion objectives.” (UN General Assembly (2015).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This article utilises the interlinkages between sport and resilience framework that seeks to provide an understanding of how these two concepts intersect. In this article, we propose the concept of sport for resilience to outline activities by various stakeholders that are directly and indirectly building resilient communities and cities. We build this conceptual tool from foregoing discussions around the sport for

development and peace, sport for development and sport for all. Sport for development and peace, for example, refers to the intentional use of sport, physical activity and play to attain specific development and peace objectives, including, most notably, Sustainable Development Goals.³ The focus of such frameworks is to outline the complex relationship between sport and community wellbeing. In our case, we go beyond the focus on development indicators and rather seek to outline how infusing sport into the resilience discourse can lead to important interventions that respond to unique disaster-related needs in urban areas.

According to McGray, Hammill and Bradely (2007), resilience refers mainly to the ability of a people to withstand shocks, recover and go back to their former state after the emergence of a disaster. Sport for resilience is thus concerned with ways in which sport can be utilised to build the abilities and capabilities of individuals and communities to withstand shocks and recover. It is about exploring pathways through that sport will emerge as a central aspect of resilience planning and building. Literature on resilience tends to focus on social-ecological issues (Holling, 1973; Folke *et al.*, 2010), a systems approach focusing on the ability to absorb pressure (Carpenter *et al.*, 2001) or adaptation (Walker *et al.*, 2004). There is a limited scope around how sport and leisure can be important components of resilience thinking. In any case, sport is seen as an altogether separate sphere, yet there is a growing scholarship on the importance of sport in building capabilities however, it is important to however state that we do not seek to romanticise the role or ability of sport to act as a panacea to all developmental challenges. Rather, our focus is on proposing a further analysis of the interconnected nature of sport and resilience-building, especially in an urban setting. We argue that sport is critical building capabilities, assets and agency of individuals and households that people seek to maintain or quickly recover when faced with a shock or stress.

³https://www.sportanddev.org/sites/default/files/downloads/what_is_sport_for_development_and_peace.pdf

LITERATURE REVIEW

SPORT FOR ALL, LEISURE AND URBAN RESILIENCE IN POST-COLONIAL ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe has a history with community-based sporting programmes that seek to enhance public participation in leisure activities and provide platforms for young people to pursue employment and livelihood opportunities through sport. The programmes, however, were not developed with urban resilience as a guiding principle. Nhamo and Magonde (2014) provide an analysis of two-sport for all programmes in post-colonial Zimbabwe. They describe the two programmes as follows:

The Youth Education through Sport (YES) programme was initiated by the Sports and Recreation Commission in 1999. The purpose of the YES programme is to impart life skills to youthful athletes using sport as a platform...The Youth Education through Sport programme is made up of three components which are Sport, Peer Education and Community projects...YES programme has been used extensively to address key developmental issues, such as HIV/AIDS. For many years the YES festivals were re-christened Kicking AIDS out Festivals because of the emphasis the programme placed on dealing with HIV and AIDS issues.

The Community Sport Development Programme (CSDP) is a grassroots “Sport for all” programme with an expanded development of the Youth Education through Sport (YES) component. The CSDP is a strategy that was crafted by the SRC to ensure that sport is taken to the communities throughout Zimbabwe and was launched in 2009. The programme that is currently implemented in 20 prioritised districts is being funded by UNICEF Zimbabwe and the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee. The CSDP is being implemented in the 20 districts through community structures, such as District Sports Development Committees (DSDCs) (Nhamo and Magonde, 2014: 24).

These programmes highlight the Zimbabwean government’s commitment to sport as a tool for community-building. Sport for all programmes is implemented within the purview of the Sport and Recreation Commission (SRC) that among its mandate seeks to promote the use of sport as an effective forum for promoting, health, education, inclusion, peace and community development (SRC, 2010). Nhamo and Magonde (2014) highlight the numerous challenges faced in implementing such sport and development programmes at national level. These include economic and bureaucratic challenges. The key challenge, however, is that

sport and development programmes are often created at the periphery and outside the wider developmental plan of the government.

Sport for All programmes were not conceptualised with resilience-building in mind. An analysis of these activities highlights sport in Zimbabwe narrowly defined as a community-building tool and not a commercial venture that can be a driver for socio-economic development. In any case, developmental plans at the national level rarely view sport as a driver for economic development. In 2020, Zimbabwe instituted the National Development Strategy I (2021-2025) that observes that sport can enhance the quality of life and generate employment, especially for the youth, through a leisure economy. Whilst sport is mentioned in some parts of the strategy, the focus is on health, wellbeing, nation-building, peace and reconciliation. It does not acknowledge how sport can be instrumental in key challenges facing the country, such as high unemployment rates and high rates of poverty.

The strategy also speaks about the commercialisation of sport and developing funding models for sport without providing a clear plan of how this can be achieved. The separation of sport from broader national developmental issues and its inclusion as an afterthought, shows the lack of understanding of the commercial impact of sport in Zimbabwe. In 2008 for example, Adidas and Nike reported sport-related revenues of US\$16.2 billion and US\$18.6 billion, respectively and the European football market had revenues of US\$23 billion. These huge revenue numbers can be contrasted to the fact that in 2008, only 15 African states had a Gross Domestic Product, (GDP) higher than US\$15.6 billion (*ibid.*). This example highlights the commercial importance of sport and how it is an important contributor to the GDP and economic development.

There are also examples of non-state initiatives that promote sport as a developmental tool in Zimbabwe. One such initiative is the Teen Rescue Mission (TRM) in Chitungwiza. The organisation provided golf lessons in 2020 to young people in Chitungwiza during the COVID-19-induced school closures (Mugwara, 2020). Golf was utilised to ensure that youths

did not engage in risky behaviours. Under COVID-19 lockdowns, Zimbabwe has witnessed an increase in youth delinquencies, including drug abuse and teen pregnancies (*ibid.*). Sport has also been used to improve community participation and social cohesion. An example of this is the inclusion of a community-based organisation called Young Achievement Sports for Development (YASD), that is, various programmes aimed at youth involvement in sport. All these examples highlight localised efforts to utilise sport as a vehicle for sustainable development. With economic hardships facing Zimbabwe, the sport has turned out to be a way of survival since most people (including players, administrators, coaches and sports journalists) live on sport. Furthermore, former ZIFA chairman, Cuthbert Dube noted in 2014 that Zimbabwe contributes 15% to the country's GDP (Mukwekwerere, 2016).

SPORT AND THE NEW URBAN AGENDA

The Sustainable Development Goal (SDGs) 11 provides a framework through which nation-states are encouraged to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. Urban resilience is clearly outlined under the New Urban Agenda and has elevated the discourse on SDG 11 through providing a framework and a roadmap for the development of cities that can serve as engines of prosperity and centres of cultural and social well-being while protecting the environment. The role of sport and leisure within the New Urban Agenda requires more nuance in Zimbabwe.

Sport can be instrumental in promoting the four interconnected spheres of the New Urban Agenda: urban financial health; urban institutions and governance; physical health, spatial planning and design; and political will. Sporting spaces are public spaces and, as such, equal access, non-discrimination and right to the city for all are part of debates to access sport. This means access to sport for people with disabilities who are often excluded because there is a lack of investment in equipment and facilities that facilitate their participation in sporting activities. One of the key targets of the New Urban Agenda is to strengthen resilience in cities to reduce the risk and impact of disasters. Many cities have felt the impact of natural disasters and there is need to implement mitigation and adaptation measures to minimise these impacts. Sport must be a part of strengthening resilience in the cities as a driver for socio-economic

development. In an economic sense, investment in sporting venues, activities and businesses can lead to short term and long-term gains if done properly.

In America, the construction of a National Football League (NFL) stadium in Los Angeles was expected to ‘provide more than 3,500 on-site construction jobs in Inglewood and more than 10,000 jobs by the time it is completed’ (*Berkerly Economic Review*, 2019). Sporting venues have also been utilised as crisis centres in times of disasters. Another example from America shows that sports stadia have transformed to help COVID-19 pandemic relief efforts. Fields that stood empty have rapidly been converted into testing centres, field hospitals and morgues (Thompson, 2020). Sporting teams become part of the community and aid in charity initiatives within the cities they operate in. Through such activities, sports teams promote inclusive cities and thus aid in achieving the New Urban Agenda. Another key outcome is the need to fully respect the rights of refugees, migrants and internally displaced persons regardless of their migration status. In Greece, football team Olympiakos in 2016 supported refugees with food and clothing (Trehan, 2016). The team is also one of the largest donors to UNICEF’s 100% campaign in support of global immunisation since 2013.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This article utilises a desk research approach that sought to utilise already existent researchers. According to Wolcott (1990), desk research involves a summary, collection and synthesis of existing research, rather than primary research, where data is collected from a research subject. Desk research determines what is known already and what new data is required to inform research design. This research involved gathering information and analysing information already available in print and published on the internet, internal services and government publications. This research included a systematic review of literature collected from journal articles, books, websites, blogs and government documents related to sport, sustainable development and resilience in Zimbabwe.

A systematic review is appropriate in identifying, appraising and synthesising research-based evidence and presenting it in an accessible

format. Due to the intuitive and inductive nature of systematic reviews, thematic analysis will be utilised to analyse the data. It will consist of three specific activities, the first entailing scrutinising the data for themes, concepts and propositions; the second requires coding the data and refining one's understanding of the subject matter and the final activity involves understanding the data in the context it was collected.

RESULTS

FOOTBALL, SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN RESILIENCE

Football is the most popular game in Africa. Due to football's popularity and emotional nature, the game occupies an important but equally complex and controversial place in the cultural, religious, political and economic and entertainment lives of millions of the continents' powerful and powerless and rich and poor (Pannenberg, 2010). Its popularity is steeped in the historical evolution of sport in urban Zimbabwe. Football became a central activity for the black majority under colonisation mainly because it was cheap and easy to adopt. For the colonial government, participation in sport was viewed as a means of social control. The post-colonial government also appropriated football to persuade crowds to national events, such as Independence Day celebrations, that have been dominated in many years by the two most supported clubs in Zimbabwe, Dynamos and Highlanders. Politicians have, thus, strategically positioned themselves in football administration to gather popular support or close off spaces of which opposition politicians can use to garner mass appeal. Not only is the politics of football expressed in its control by ruling political patrons, but it is also a medium for expressing political concerns and symbols. Football provides a space for the insertion and proliferation of symbols that carry often contested politics and narrations (Muponde and Muchemwa, 2011).

McDowell (2017) shows how Zambia's first president after independence, the late Kenneth Kaunda, was keen to use the sport as a tool for nation-building. In 1980, when Zimbabwe attained independence, a football match against Zambia was part of the activities. Football was thus part of

the symbolic birth of a new nation. Using Zimbabwe as a case study, Chiweshe (2017) shows how national teams often invoke unity and national consciousness. According to Tunen and Brey (2012), this plays sports ideological and political tools for bringing citizens together under one flag and for a moment make them forget the societal conflicts that separate them. They further add that “from the very beginning, football has been a useful tool in stimulating symbolic integration to build state (imagined communities) identities” (Tunon and Brey 2012, 12). The sport is thus an important entry point to understand the historical and contemporary questions around football, urban resilience and community engagement.

In Zimbabwe, oneway football has contributed to various aspects of social development is through grassroots football. Grassroots football provides an important space to engage children at an early age and instil discipline, teamwork and cooperation. In Zimbabwe, the Football for Hope Centre is where the Grassroots Soccer initiative started, and it became part of 20 such initiatives in Africa as part of the 2010 World Cup legacy (Shehu, 2010b). This development through sport, or sport for social change initiative, has had varying levels of success in identifying and nurturing football talent in Zimbabwe. Two exceptional stars have come through its doors, that is, Marvellous Nakamba who currently turns out for Aston Villa in England and is the fourth Zimbabwean to grace the popular English Premier League (EPL) and Kuda Mahachi who plies his trade in the neighbouring South Africa Premier League and is currently on the books of Supersport United. Grassroots football in Zimbabwe had, however, long been teetering on the brink of collapse way before COVID-19 came to add to its mounting woes. Most of the facilities sustaining grassroots football currently are in a derelict, poor and dilapidated state (Zvapano, 2017).

This is further compounded by poor resource outlay for grassroots football from its authorities in Zimbabwe, despite world football governing body, FIFA, through the *Goal Project*, channelling funds for the development of the sector (Lovemore, 2011). Most football grounds and

other sport recreational facilities in most urban areas where there is a higher concentration of the country's population, are in a sorry state, crying out for a touch from local authorities. The available soccer fields are in poor shape and unsuitable for young boys to safely practice their craft (Luginaah and Otiso, 2010). Local authorities in Zimbabwe urban areas have gone to the extent of allocating housing, business or commercial properties and church premises on lands originally designated for football or sports activities, highlighting the levels of how endemic corruption in society has had a huge impact on sport.

Football has also been used to ensure the participation of historically disadvantaged groups. In 2018, Zimbabwe introduced blind football to promote inclusivity and participation of the visually impaired in sporting events. The Zimbabwe National Paralympic Committee (ZNPC) introduced the sport across all ten provinces (Richardson, 2020). This project highlights how promoting participation in sport can have an impact on the lives of marginalised communities. Through the capacity-building activities, the blind football project is creating new career opportunities for players, coaches, administrators and officials. There is need to also explain that football has a dark underbelly that can fuel citizen disengagement and threaten social development. Football has a gruesome past and present across the world related to violence from fans within and without stadia. Zimbabwean football has continuously experienced violence at football venues perpetrated by fans, players and administrators.

Violence has thus remained a constant part of football in Zimbabwe and most other parts of the world. In July 2000, 12 people died following a stampede, when they were crushed, at a World Cup qualifying match between Zimbabwe and South Africa in Harare. Police fired teargas when the crowd threw missiles onto the pitch after South Africa had taken a two-goal lead.⁴ Football tends to be a highly emotive game infused with ethnic, regional, class, neighbourhood and familial rivalries. Amplification of these rivalries by the media tends to build up tense situations, that often ignite into violence. The biggest challenge, however, remains the poor football infrastructure, poor crowd control and policing skills and

⁴<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/826301.stm>

the lack of investment in fan education across many countries in the global south. This makes football stadia death traps and discourages many fans from going to watch the games. This shows that there is need to critically understand the complex nature of the sport to harness its power for good, whilst minimising the negative aspects.

DARTS, POOL AND EVERYDAY ENGAGEMENT OF YOUNG URBAN YOUTHS

Around Harare, leisure and sporting activities are emerging as part of the urban milieu. Across shopping centres, streets, taxi ranks, vending spots, and open spaces, there is an increase in the presence of pool tables, dart boards and table soccer. Some entrepreneurial individuals are taking advantage of many idle youths in these spaces who pay to use the tables. Mwayera (2016) observes that most of these pool tables are illegally located without licenses from the councils. The pool table owners bribe council police to continue operating. Young people often gamble with the games and the tables have proven to be popular in Harare. This is the negative aspect of the pool tables because it is illegal and at times leads to fights. Moyo (2016) has a more positive analysis of the public pool tables, arguing that:

The game has become so popular that hundreds, maybe thousands – of pool tables have sprung up in public places like taxi ranks, storefronts and vending sites in all major urban areas and rural ones too. Gone are the days when the game was associated with bars and club-going types. Now, people of all ages and sexes are warming up to the game. Pool tables in public areas have resulted in greater exposure to the game, with more people becoming interested in watching others play. The tables have had a massive social impact: they are meeting places, they provide entertainment for drinkers and non-drinkers alike, they have fostered professional and semi-professional clubs and they provide an outlet for people to blow off a little steam after a long day.

For unemployed youths, the pool tables have become important spaces to relax and reduce the stress of their difficult life circumstances and for yet other entrepreneurial individuals, the large crowds provide a market to sell different types of wares. The tables also point towards the need for government to invest more in public sport and leisure infrastructure, as there is a clear need for such spaces. Some people have begun manufacturing and selling pool tables, showing how this is also contributing to employment. The informal spots for leisure and gambling,

including darts and pool, need to be understood within the wider context of high youth unemployment and the varied ways in which these youths are attempting to eke out a livelihood. Informal sporting spaces are thus key in understanding survival for urban poor youths and any attempt to build their resilience needs to acknowledge these novel ways young people have instituted to earn an income.

COMMUNITY SPORTS IN URBAN ZIMBABWE

Urban spaces in pre-colonial Zimbabwe were planned in such a way that there were distinct spaces for sport and leisure activities. New suburbs were planned in such a way that there had a community hall that was the hub for community activities, including table and field games. The suburbs also had a soccer pitch and a netball field to provide leisure and entertainment for communities. Over the years, the impacts of bad governance, economic crises and lack of upkeep have led to the deterioration of the recreational infrastructure. For example, the City of Harare runs 13 swimming pools, but some are now dysfunctional and no longer operational (Chidakwa, 2020). Swimming pools were important in providing young people with activities after or out of school, yet as recreational facilities continue to falter, other negative vices, such as drug abuse and teen pregnancies, are on the increase. Public infrastructure across the country has not been maintained in years and historical recreational spaces, such as the Stoddart Hall in Mbare, are in a bad state due to lack of upkeep (Agere, 2017). A report quotes a Sports Commission official arguing that:

The challenge with our facilities, including the Government-owned, is the issue of maintenance of those facilities...The moment you build those facilities if there is no maintenance budget, generally, you run into problems...The other issue is that while we got some facilities owned by local authorities, they have also been lagging in terms of maintenance of those facilities...The other challenge, because we failed to maintain those facilities, we can't host international events because if you are to do that it means the sporting facilities must meet the required standards...And by failing to host, it means as a nation we are losing out in terms of potential revenue. I think, going forward, our appeal to the councils and whoever owns facilities is to make sure those facilities are well-maintained (Mhlanga, 2019).

The poor state of public recreational facilities has meant that the sport and leisure sector cannot grow economically, like in other countries. This affects sports tourism as will be noted later as the country cannot host international events. It also means that grassroots sporting initiatives are negatively affected. Another emergent problem is how corrupt council officials across the country are converting spaces meant for recreation into residential stands (Maponga, 2020). Nemukuyu (2019) shows how illegal land deals in Chitungwiza have seen some home-seekers invading community soccer pitches and other recreational facilities, with houses being constructed three metres from the grounds' touchlines.

SPORT, GENDER AND HEALTH PROMOTION IN ZIMBABWE

In Zimbabwe, there are many examples of sport being used in gender and health promotion projects. These examples provide a localised understanding of how sport can provide a vehicle for important interventions. Botcheva and Huffman (2004) evaluate Human Immuno Virus (HIV and AIDS) attitude change in children educated by prestigious soccer players in Zimbabwe. They found that respected sportsmen may be useful in getting messages across to children about HIV. This initiative provided important entry points into how sport can be used in citizen engagement around health issues. In Epworth, there is an all-female football team known as the ARV Swallows that is described by Lee (2010) as follows:

The ARV Swallows formed in 2009 when a group of HIV positive women, all seeking treatment at an MSF clinic in Epworth decided to form a football team to take on two stereotypes: that HIV is a death sentence and that women cannot play football.

The women are utilising football to challenge the dual stigmas of being HIV positive and being a woman in a patriarchal society. Football provides a space for women in Epworth to not only improve their physical health, but also promote mental wellbeing and an important support system. Another example of sport and health promotion is the 11 for Health football-based health education for children focusing on out-of-school groups in Zimbabwe. An evaluation of the project by Fuller *et al.* (2011) showed that the programme achieved significant increases in

children's knowledge of all health messages. The programme used football as an entry point to teach young people about health and to increase their knowledge on issues, such as HIV and malaria.

In terms of gender, Devi (2017) argues that the use of sport to promote gender equity and empower girls and women is often overlooked because sport is not universally perceived as a suitable or desirable pursuit for girls and women. Women's sport generally has been seen as a space to promote gender equality in various aspects of everyday life. Sport has a long history of being male-dominated, thus there is need to ensure and grow women's participation as a means of meeting Sustainable Developmental Goal 4 on gender equality. The Government of Zimbabwe, however, has not invested in growing women's sport as a space to empower women economically. Zimbabwe, like many other African countries, continuously faces serious challenges with funding both male and female national sporting teams. Women's teams however tend to be more negatively affected when compared to their male counterparts. This sidelining of women's sports teams must be understood within a historical and cultural context of institutionalised patriarchy that has led to the marginalisation of women, even in the sporting realm. Women's continued participation is helping in combating these institutional patriarchal norms that relegate women from public spaces.

LEISURE AND SPORTS TOURISM IN ZIMBABWE

Oyekunle (2017) argues that in South Africa, the government is increasingly advocating for creative industries to contribute to the development of cities, for example, by creating pathways for job creation and encouraging urban regeneration. South Africa has instituted various community-led initiatives that build on promoting leisure as a business opportunity for residents in poor neighbourhoods. One such endeavour is the Tourism Ekasi initiative where specifically Soweto has been turned into a tourist destination as the government markets important spaces related to the struggle for black majority rule, such as Vilakazi Street where the houses of Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu are located. There are markets, arts and performances along the street providing opportunities for local entrepreneurs (Court and McCarthy, 2015). In South Africa, the Mandela brand is lucrative but in Zimbabwe, the

government has failed to invest in initiatives that use the history of the struggle and icons to build vibrant local tourist ventures.

There is a distinct lack of innovation within the policy-making space to innovate around investing in infrastructure that promotes township tourism. Zimbabwe could learn from initiatives, such as the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism in South Africa (R16 million) and the Johannesburg City Council (R7,2 million), contributing finances to build a memorial and museum for Hector Petersen who was shot in Orlando West in 1976 during a protest by young black Africans. Such investments have a direct benefit to the community as they attract local and foreign tourists. Zimbabwe does not have such initiatives and in spaces where communities have tried to build arts enclaves, such as Makokoba in Bulawayo, government support has not been forthcoming. Makokoba has a long history of arts and entertainment in Bulawayo, and it has Amakhosi Cultural Centre within its vicinity (Msimanga, 2015). Lack of government investment has led to Zimbabwean communities failing to benefit from township tourism.

Zimbabwe is also lacking in terms of sport tourism. International and local sporting events can be important engines for economic development. Guvamombe (2014) cites former Education Minister, David Coltart who noted that in Zimbabwe “sports tourism opportunities... are lost and not fully realised because of the linkages that are there between the sports and tourism sectors that are heavily not well established”: South Africa again provides important insights into how sport can spur local employment and economic activities by attracting international visitors. Over the past years, the country has hosted numerous international sporting events, such as the Cricket International Council World Cup (with an estimated generation of R1.2 billion) and the 2010 FIFA soccer World Cup (generated around R56 billion) (Fourie and Spronk, 2010). In Zimbabwe, cricket has in the past attracted international audiences both physically and electronically with huge financial benefits. Muchinjo (2016) highlights that in 2015, Zimbabwe Cricket generated US\$23 million. This is at a time when cricket in Zimbabwe has gone through multiple crises leading to a weakened team that is failing to attract matches with some of the best-supported teams in the world. This cricket

example shows how international sports tourism is dependent on creating a conducive environment.

CONCLUSION

The article has provided an exploratory analysis of how sport and leisure play an integral part in providing resources for sustainable development and urban resilience. It has drawn from historical and contemporary cases to highlight how sport and leisure need to be mainstreamed within the broader framework of social development and resilience. The discussion notes various instances in which sport and leisure can be utilised in various programmes related to health, gender equality, youth empowerment and employment creation. It also uses examples from other contexts beyond Zimbabwe to highlight how sport can be instrumental in promoting sustainable development and resilience. The article observes that in some cases, however, sport can be divisive and cause serious social problems. In conclusion, investment in sport and leisure is critical if the government is to advance sustainable development goals and build community resilience.

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