



Beyond the Bottom Line: **An analysis of the social, technical and intellectual capital provided by National Governing Bodies of sport**

prepared for

CCPR

by the

Carnegie Research Institute

Leeds Metropolitan University

Mel Welch & Prof. Jonathan Long

Carnegie Research Institute

Cavendish Hall

Leeds Metropolitan University

Headingley Campus

Beckett Park,

Leeds, LS6 3QS

Phone: 0113 283 7565

BEYOND THE BOTTOM LINE: An analysis of the social, intellectual and technical capital provided by National Governing Bodies of sport

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	ii
Section 1: Introduction	1
Non-Financial Capital	2
The Unique Contribution of the NGBs?	6
Section 2: Social Capital	7
Participants	7
Clubs, Leagues and Competitions	8
NGB Staff	10
Volunteers	11
Coaches	12
Values	12
Symbolic Capital	14
Section 3: Intellectual Capital	17
Knowledge of the Game	17
Communications Systems	17
Education	18
Performance Development	19
Sports Science	20
Public Relations and Advocacy	21
Commercial Opportunities	22
Section 4: Technical Capital	23
Governance	23
Organising Competitions	24
Events Management	25
Membership Benefits	25
Facilities and Equipment	26
Section 5: Conclusions	28
What If?	28
Differentials	28
Advancing the Method	29
Appendix 1: The Approach Used	30
Phase 1: Review	30
Phase 2: Expert Analysis	30
Phase 3: Consultation with NGBs	31
References	32

Section 1: Introduction

In addition to the financial transactions between the Government, the National Governing Bodies of sport (NGBs) and the population already documented (Carnegie Research Institute, 2006), there are many non-financial contributions. Taking a lead from the consideration of social capital that has been so prominent in public policy debates in recent years, we have tried to assess the production of social, intellectual and technical capital by NGBs (and their regional and county arms). The material we present here demonstrates that these alternative forms of capital are considerable, but also shows how difficult it is to establish their true scale. This report sets out to identify the various benefits that accrue from the work of the NGBs, not just for those directly in membership of the NGB, but for other participants too, and for society more generally (including spectators, interested bystanders, and those with little or no interest or awareness of the activity).

The very scale of participation in sport gives some hint of what a social force it is. Preliminary results from the Taking Part Survey conducted by BMRB on behalf of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport indicates that 52 per cent of adults (aged 16 and above) in England participated on at least one occasion in an active sport during the past 4 weeks¹. The equivalent figure from the General Household Survey for participation in sport, games and physical activities in Great Britain in 2002 was 59 per cent (28 per cent when walking was excluded).

However, these participation figures that government is so interested in, and expects to use in relation to the second round of Public Service Agreements, tell only part of a complex story. In trying to assess the contribution of NGBs we need to look behind these frontline statistics.

Government often appears to see NGBs as a cost, perhaps not fully appreciating the return secured on its investment. This applies less to other parts of the voluntary sector, perhaps because they are seen to be providing for others while sport is seen to be providing for itself. This underlines the importance of demonstrating wider social benefits; hence CCPR commissioning this report on any non-financial capital generated by NGBs. In trying to model what NGBs contribute, some facets have been enumerated and others demonstrated/illustrated by reference to case study.

This report is based on an initial review of existing material, the construction of a conceptual framework for considering these alternative forms of capital (in conjunction with a panel of experts in the field) and intensive work with a selection of NGBs (see Appendix).

¹ This is taken from the first six months of the 2005/6 survey – see www.culture.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/5C34581B-AB19-418D-9490-DD6D501032E6/0/TakingPart_finalReport.pdf

Non-Financial Capital

In order to evaluate how NGBs make a significant contribution beyond the financial we need to consider some of the terms that are used in the literature and to clearly define our own usage of these and other terms.

Capital – might conventionally be seen as wealth used to produce more wealth, or exchange. It resides in the accumulation of goods previously produced that are used in the production of other goods and services, including further capital goods. Ideally in sport there should be a virtuous cycle in which the capital used to produce participation sustains, renews and refreshes capital so it does not get worn out and depleted. Being not-for-profit organisations NGBs (and most of their member organisations – regions, counties, leagues, clubs) use their financial and non-financial capital to generate future capital as there is no requirement to extract a surplus to pay shareholders.

Social Capital – a significant consideration in many policymaking communities, particularly those involved in various aspects of neighbourhood renewal and community cohesion. At base it is recognition that it takes more than money to produce the goods. There has been intense debate about what constitutes social capital, even within the context in which it was originally formulated. The UK government draws upon Putnam's (1993, 1995, 2000) conception which is akin to that of the World Bank (2003) and sees social capital as a complex of connectedness (people interacting with other people), trust and commonly held norms/values.

Social capital describes the pattern and intensity of networks among people and the shared values which arise from those networks. (Office for National Statistics, 2003)

Sporting Capital – to be distinguished from more established conceptions of *Social Capital* by identifying the value to sport and value of sport to society. Part of the problem CCPR faces in policy circles is the lack of weight afforded sporting arguments because sports bodies are seen as mutual self-help (self-interest) organisations rather than altruistic organisations.

Social capital in this report is taken to be represented by the ties/links between people/groups, and in the ways in which organisations organise themselves and reproduce themselves into the future – social capital becomes inherent to them irrespective of the individuals involved. Three dimensions of social capital are typically identified

Bonding capital (links between people like each other) – valuable in and of itself, insofar as bringing people together increases opportunity for participation and those bonded together in sport are likely to participate more frequently than they would otherwise. By encouraging frequent participation, bonding capital also delivers other outcomes, like getting healthy. Sport is generally recognised as playing a significant role in building bonding capital.

Bridging capital (links between different groups) – often talked about, but it is less clear that opportunities are created for sustaining links between people from different backgrounds.

Linking capital – (connections with other parts of the power hierarchy) – may accrue through: the different levels of sport; with other sports; with other partners; lobbying / influencing policy. The scope for creating linking capital appears limited, though clearly what CCPR itself tries to facilitate.

Individuals may contribute to different forms of capital by operating at different levels of the NGB. Here we add to such formulations to encompass other non-financial forms of capital in the intellectual and technical realms.

Intellectual capital – rests in the sporting ethos and moral authority provided by the NGBs and the values they establish (can be most easily identified in individuals, but is diffused through NGB networks + organisations are more than the sum of their parts, acting as repositories as individuals come and go).

Technical capital – lies in the rules and mechanics of the sport that are codified and transmitted. Technical capital reinforces the primary purpose of facilitating sports participation and NGBs are repositories of the mechanics that make possible that participation, e.g.:

- laws of the sport
- running competitions, leagues
- management of events
- knowledge of facilities, equipment and how to use them.

There is also a symbolic dimension to these elements. This *symbolic capital* derives from belief systems, values and commitment (there are shared symbols and social outcomes too) that help to promote collective identity and civic pride. While the symbolic power of sport is sometimes acknowledged, the contribution of NGBs normally goes unrecognised. Perhaps the element of symbolic capital that government is most interested in is the rather more tangible medal haul which can be associated with identification with the nation.

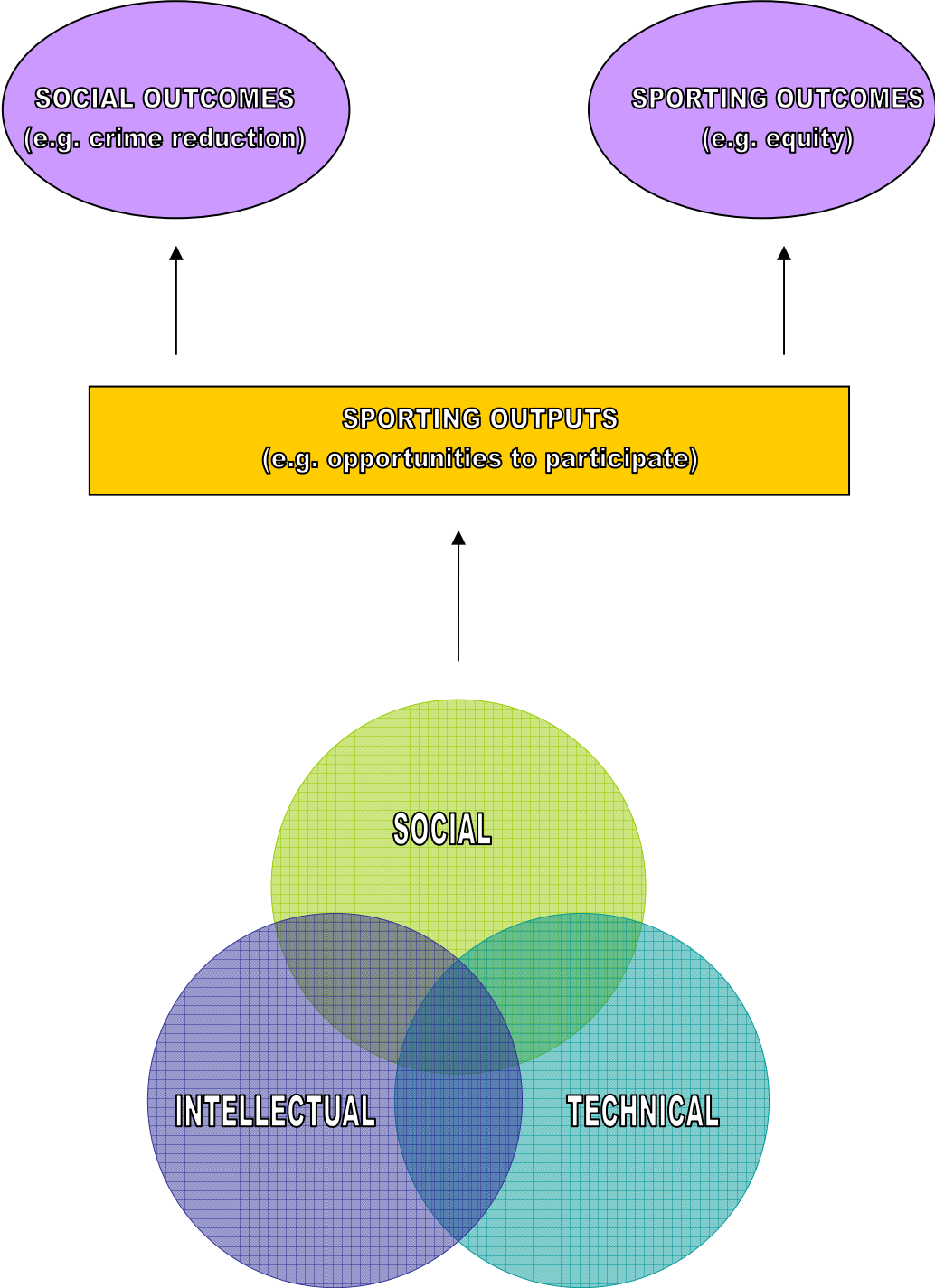
For more information about how we set about the challenge of identifying these forms of non-financial capital, please see the Appendix. Figure 1 provides a simple model of how these different forms of capital combine to produce sporting outcomes, commonly measured in terms of participation, coaching awards, etc. As a consequence of these sporting outputs there are sporting outcomes, like the promotion of fair play and equity in sport, and social outcomes like the reduction of crime. We present these outcomes here as being positive, though we accept that it is possible for some aspects to be negative as well (e.g. the promotion of anti-social values, costs to the health service). Social, intellectual and technical capital are deliberately shown to be overlapping in Figure 1; although we address them as distinct ideas they are not completely separate.

Much of the detail in this report comes from the following governing bodies:

- British Canoe Union (**BCU**)
- British Mountaineering Council (**BMC**)
- British Orienteering Federation (**BOF**)
- English Table Tennis Association (**ETTA**)
- Rugby Football League (**RFL**)
- Sheffield and Hallamshire County Football Association (**SHCFA**)

- The Fitness League (formerly Women's League of Health & Beauty) (**TFL**).

Figure 1: Non-Financial Capital Produced by NGBs



The Unique Contribution of the NGBs?

Because of the growing role of other organisations in sport, NGBs are no longer the sole repository of these values, but they are still the only people doing it primarily for the sport rather than for some other interest. This relates to one of the most intractable problems in making the case for the NGBs: identifying what can be attributed to their actions rather than those of any other actor in the world of sport. Nonetheless, we consider it is reasonable to claim that the framework of governance supplied by NGBs provides continuity and coherence to sport through ethics, rules, accountability, self-regulation of fair play through an enclosed judicial system, and reinvestment in the sport – the essence of capital.

Keen though we are to demonstrate the part NGBs play in shaping the social, we also have to be aware that they and their activities are shaped by social processes. For example, those we interviewed made reference to things like:

- Shifting government priorities and interest. This has resulted recently in increasing pressure from Government and its agencies for objective measurement of benefits provided by NGBs. Often, these measurements are linked to non-sporting outcomes, like crime reduction, health benefits or educational attainment, and do not ascribe significant value or importance to the contribution to the quality of life.
- Increases in legislation (e.g. health and safety, child protection, discrimination laws), which serve to reduce the willingness of volunteers to become involved, and place additional administrative duties on the NGBs and their affiliated clubs.
- Broader societal shifts like changes in family composition and lifestyles reducing activity as a family group.
- Economic drivers including the development of private sector provision of some aspects of active leisure.
- The decline in the provision of work-based sport and recreation clubs has limited participation opportunities in some areas, which are often economically disadvantaged.
- An increase in the tendency to seek litigation, which can restrict or inhibit the provision of coaching and training.
- Increased media coverage of certain sports, but a concentration of media attention towards fewer sports, and hence increased competition between NGBs for media time, sponsorship, and potential elite performers.

NGBs provide the organisational infrastructure that allows opportunities for participation. People become most aware of the contribution of NGBs when something is not working. So it might be appropriate to consider what would happen if the NGBs did not exist, which we shall consider at different stages of this report.

Combining information from various sources we try to shed light on how the NGBs actually deliver these forms of capital. The examples and illustrations are by no means a complete catalogue.

Section 2: Social Capital

Social capital is generated through bringing people together. Putnam (2000) expressed a concern that there were declining opportunities to generate social capital. Clearly sport brings people together in significant numbers around the country. But to be productive in creating social capital this needs to promote reciprocity, understanding, compassion and an inclusive concept of community (Wilson, 1997). The people involved in these links include the staff of the NGB, the volunteers (at national, regional, county and local level) and the members participating in the sport. A significant part is played also by coaches who may be full-time staff (but most often are not) who may be paid or volunteers. There is also an important contribution via spectating (and possibly even through TV viewing).

Whereas the measurement of effectiveness in other leisure areas (e.g. the arts, museums, entertainment) is largely or wholly based on viewers or visitors (i.e. consumers rather than participants) the principal recognised measures of the success of NGBs is an increase in the number of participants. The provision of non-participatory benefits – e.g. live spectator audience, television viewing, news media consumption (printed and electronic), reading of literature – and their consequent impacts (including economic, social, community, and literacy) are largely ignored when evaluating NGB performance.

It was pointed out to us that increases in participation levels are not always contained within the formal structures controlled by NGBs and therefore they are not reflected in membership numbers or income. Nevertheless, they often still contribute to the need to provide an extended range of (free) services.

Even a cursory glance at the evidence indicates that the contribution from the public purse to NGBs helps to support a vast level of activity.

Participants

Connectedness is perhaps the most fundamental aspect of social capital, and participation in sport self evidently encourages people to come together. If people do not participate the other elements of social capital will not happen. We have already noted from the DCMS/MORI survey (England) and the General Household Survey (Great Britain) that just over half of all adults (aged 16 and over) take part in sport or active recreation on at least one occasion in 4 weeks. Even at this level, attempts to establish the numbers involved are ambiguous. For example, according to the GHS (2002) some 125,000 had canoed in the preceding 4 weeks, while six times that number took part over the previous year, and the British Canoe Union claims 1.2 million participants on the basis of those under 16 (not part of GHS) who canoe.

In terms of the contribution to social capital there are two key issues:

- It is difficult to assess how much of this participation can be attributed to NGBs, especially as walking accounts for so much of the participation. Some NGBs have individual members, some operate through the affiliation of a club, and some have a hybrid system². At one level it might be argued that even the most casual sporting

² The Fitness League is organised in a different way again; it is the tutors who affiliate and then run their own classes.

involvement can be attributable to NGBs because they have constructed the game that people recognise (we shall consider this more in the subsequent sections on intellectual and technical capital). In some sports non-members may be even more indebted to the NGB. For example, climbers generally benefit from the legal access agreements negotiated by the British Mountaineering Club (BMC).

- It seems plausible that participation in sport will contribute to bonding by bringing similar people together. Its contribution to bridging capital is less clear. We should acknowledge that bringing people together physically may not do so socially; aggressive competitiveness may divide. Moreover, we know from a series of reported events and research studies that these encounters may promote misogynist, racist, xenophobic and other divisive attitudes, but in recent years NGBs have been playing a part in trying to counteract such damaging divisiveness so that sport can fulfil its potential for promoting social cohesion.

Clubs, Leagues and Competitions

Some people may balk at attributing to NGBs the social capital gained by all participants (over 18 million adults in GB participating in at least one activity, excluding walking, in the previous 4 weeks). Perhaps we are on stronger ground considering those who participate through sports clubs, most of which, with the exception of the recent spate of private health clubs, are affiliated to the governing body (some clubs though would insist that they perform this function despite rather than because of the NGB). People are more likely to increase their social interaction by being a member of a club than by being an individual participant.

NGBs usually comprise an association of clubs, which undertake the day-to-day provision of opportunities for participation by their members. The structures may then provide for inter-club activity (commonly but not necessarily in leagues), which bring club members into contact with members of other clubs, and allow them to travel to experience the conditions, modus operandi and other membership services provided elsewhere. This cross-fertilisation of knowledge and ideas enables clubs to identify and utilise best practice that they may encounter, to benefit their own members.

It has already been estimated that there are over 100,000 voluntary sports clubs in England alone. It is possible to get fairly accurate estimates of the number of clubs within some individual sports, but not others (largely dependent on affiliation procedures). Part of the value of clubs in this regard is that they can offer progression through different levels of participation and are embedded in at least some part of the community.

Although the vast majority of sports clubs are not-for-profit organisations, it is important not to confuse their motive, and the motivation of their voluntary 'staff', with the community and welfare organisations within the voluntary sector. Adams (2006) suggests that voluntary sports clubs are distinct from other voluntary associations in their ability to generate capital that sponsors forms of collective action and that this effects the linking to decision-making processes. To claim all this as the product of NGB action may be to exaggerate the process, but on the basis of Adams's arguments NGBs may play a valuable role in providing a structure that helps to ensure that this capital does not dissipate. The clubs do not exist for purely altruistic purpose; though many individuals do contribute altruistically, clubs are self-help organisations that provide an essential contribution to the quality of life of their neighbourhood. This can

generate significant other social benefits: a valuable outlet for disaffected youth; a means for inactive adults to embark on a regime of enjoyable physical activity, with its commensurate health benefits; or a meeting place for isolated people to come together in friendship, who might otherwise not have associated because of ethnic, social, religious or lifestyle reasons.

Examining the GHS data is a salutary reminder that within the general patterns there are big variations in participation by class, sex, age and a number of other factors. According to the General Household Survey (GHS) in 2002, 17 per cent of adults (aged 16+) were a member of a club for an activity in which they took part in the four weeks before interview. This amounts to 38 per cent of participants when walking is excluded (despite the Ramblers' Association little walking is formally organised through club membership), almost 7 million people. Overall, health and fitness clubs and sports clubs were equally popular amongst adults but there was a large gender difference with men almost twice as likely to be a member of a sports club as women (22 per cent compared to 12 per cent). The GHS also records those who take part competitively in sport and those who receive tuition in sport, two groups who might be benefiting more directly from NGB activity – 28 per cent of participants had competed in the past year (over 5 million people), and 37 per cent had had tuition in that time (some 6.7 million). Gender differences are even more evident among those who take part competitively in sport and physical activity (20 per cent men compared to five per cent women). However, it was women who were more likely to have received tuition. Measures of more formal involvement increased between 1996 and 2002 among those who participated in any activity (once again excluding walking and darts); club membership, competitive participation and tuition, were all found to have risen significantly.

We recognise that any club can be off-putting to outsiders. Even those that are not 'exclusive' may exclude simply because they are good at bonding members together as this can deter others who do not feel they are a part of what is going-on. However, some of the preconceptions may be misplaced. With regard to cost, for example, a simple study of the price of using facilities provided by a local authority compared with playing at a club shows that, for those playing on average once a week or more, voluntary clubs usually work out much cheaper (and far cheaper than similar private sector provision³).

Examples of the club networks include:

- SHCFA has over 2,500 11-a-side teams and nearly 2,000 small-sided teams in their 1,100 affiliated clubs.
- BMC has some 300 affiliated clubs; many of these have mountain huts which they make available to members of other clubs.
- RFL has 480 affiliated clubs, with 60 major leagues for all levels and age categories.
- BOF club events are usually open to any BOF members from other clubs.
- TFL has 376 affiliated classes, about 50 per cent run as clubs; the others are dependent on the TFL Teacher who runs the class. The majority of the members affiliated to TFL (around 10,500) are women of over 40 years of age, many of whom do not undertake any other formal sport or exercise. The clubs (and sometimes the

³ However, it should be noted that the big increase in recent years in the membership of private sector health and fitness centres shows that more and more people are prepared to pay for 'exclusive' facilities, without any need or moral obligation to volunteer to help to run the club.

classes) frequently spawn a wider social network of other activities shared by the participants.

- ETTA operates through 239 affiliated leagues, with around 8,000 teams. There are now nearly 200 'Premier Clubs', who have a large number of members who simply play within the club, not in club teams engaged in inter-club competition.

Research undertaken by Delaney & Keaney in 2005 found that:

- Countries with higher levels of membership in sports groups among their citizens also have higher levels of social trust.
- Members of sports organisations are slightly more likely to be politically involved than both the average citizen and more likely to express the view that immigration enriches the cultural life of the nation.
- Membership also correlated with higher levels of social trust and trust in institutions.

However, they also counsel that the correlations between participation in sport and social trust may be to do with the type of people who participate in sport than the participation itself.

They calculated that 'membership of a sports club has the same impact on individual wellbeing as an increase in income of £3,600 per year'.

NGB Staff

Some of the social capital generated by sport for the previous two categories may be only indirectly related to NGBs; the link for those employed by NGBs is far more direct. NGBs have become increasingly more likely to employ staff at their headquarters, as regional development officers, and as coaches and performance directors. In addition, the larger governing bodies (notably association football) have also developed a network of administrative staff at county level.

Barros and Barros (2005) calculated a tangible benefit to sports administrators themselves from the social capital they held. Social capital (as measured by different forms of ties) had a positive effect on earnings, though not to the same extent as human capital (as measured by education and experience). This helps to identify two different facets of social capital. On the one hand it is a good whose possession confers advantage, but we are more interested here with social capital as a good produced by NGBs for the benefit of participants, sport and society.

In addition to being employers themselves, NGBs may oversee, facilitate or encourage employment opportunities through their members (regions, counties and clubs), by local authorities, educational institutions and other publicly funded bodies (e.g. county sports partnerships) or in the private sector. Some examples of these extensive networks include:

- BCU itself employs around 80 members of staff; in addition there are several hundred coaches, leaders and instructors employed at activity centres and private sector providers.
- RFL itself employs over 90 staff, with a similar number employed through various partnership agreements (eg. with local authorities). In addition, all the professional clubs employ a wide range of staff (management, secretarial, coaching, playing, and

part-time/temporary match day staff). In addition, there are estimated to be over 10,000 volunteers working in leagues and clubs throughout the country.

- SHCFA employs 14 staff itself; in addition, its structures provide part-time employment for several hundred referees, and rely largely on volunteers to administer the club structure (1,100 affiliated clubs).

Table 1 contains the information provided by our seven governing bodies for the people involved in their respective sports. It is not just that the money provided from the public purse pays for only a proportion of the employees, but beyond them in each governing body is a vast array of members, clubs, coaches and volunteers. The large variation in the ratios of full-time equivalent employees to each of the other categories shows the difference in structures of the different sports, and thereby demonstrates that it would be meaningless to try to produce some aggregate indicator for all NGBs.

Table 1: Number of Employees Related to Members, Participants and Volunteers in Selected NGBs

	BCU	SHCFA	BMC	BOF	Fitness	ETTA	RFL
Employees (fte)	80	14 ¹	23	35	2 ¹	28 ²	91 90 ³
Members	30k [1:375]	25k [1:1250]	30k ⁴ [1:1304] 34k ⁵ [1:1478]	8k ⁴ 8k ⁵ [1:457]	10.5k [1:5250]	32k ⁶ [1:1143] 64k ⁴ [1:2285]	35k [1:193]
Participants	1.2m [1:15000]		55k [1:2391]		10,500 [1:5250]		126k [1:696]
Clubs	425 [1:5]	1100 [1:79]	300 [1:13]		376 ⁷ [1:188]		480 [1:3]
Volunteers		# ⁸					10,300 [1:57]

Key

BCU	British Canoe Union
SHCFA	Sheffield and Hallamshire County Football Association
BMC	British Mountaineering Council
BOF	British Orienteering Federation
Fitness	The Fitness League (formerly Women's League of Health & Beauty)
ETTA	English Table Tennis Association
RFL	Rugby Football League

Notes

1	plus those paid sessional fees	2	plus 5 full-time, 13 part time PESSCL staff
3	employed through partnership	4	club members
5	individual members	6	team players
7	including affiliated classes	8	c. 900 referees alone [ratio per fte employee]

The number of footnotes in Table 1 is an indication of the difficulty of identifying standardised data.

Volunteers

The work that the NGBs and their components undertake can never be effectively delivered solely by paid employees. First, the salary bill would be unmanageable. Second, and equally important, the essence of a national governing body is a free association of members, who voluntarily combine for their mutual benefit and support. This implies a level of control of the governance of the NGB for each member that is

incompatible with a 'Civil Service' approach to running the sport. To succeed, the NGB must give each member the opportunity to influence the way in which their sport is governed, in return for which the members afford the NGB the status of being the 'Government' for their sport, and accept the law making and law enforcement rights that go with that status. Therefore, the contribution of the volunteer is critical to the organisation of virtually every sport in Britain. They provide both the governance and the workforce and do a wide range of tasks: committee work, fundraising and handling money, helping to organise and run events, etc. The skills deployed in these roles do not just benefit the sports world, but are transferable to other areas. The NGB structures thereby bring together people who may be from a wide variety of backgrounds, but share the common interest and cause of their sport or activity, thereby forming an extensive network.

The various efforts to establish the scale of volunteering in sport come up with rather different estimates. The European Social Survey (2002) calculated that six per cent of the UK population volunteered in sports clubs whereas the Home Office figures from the *Citizenship Survey* are markedly higher with 10.2 per cent of the population in the twelve months prior to the survey. This makes sport the second most popular area in the UK for providing voluntary help, narrowly below religion at 12 per cent. Using instead the four weeks before interview, the General Household Survey identified 4 per cent of adults had volunteered in sport (cf. three per cent in the arts). CCPR itself maintains that it is nearer 15 per cent (Nichols, 2003). Even using a stricter definition of volunteering in a formal organisation to provide sport the estimate was 12 – 13.4 per cent, over 6 million people in the UK, 'the vast majority in NGBs and their clubs'. On the basis of this estimate 26 per cent of all 'formal' volunteering takes place in sport and recreation, which would make this the most popular area for providing voluntary help, not the second most popular area.

That same study calculated that the time given by 'formal' volunteers in sport and recreation is at least 187 million hours a year, 169 million of which are within the clubs, events and competitions/leagues of the NGBs. That would amount to the equivalent of over 100,000 full-time workers, or nearly £1 billion if paid at the current rate of the minimum wage.

However, it is not just a numbers game. What they get from their volunteering (Kemp, 2002, talks about output variables) determines the nature of the social capital involved. The bulk of responses provided in the Sport England study (Taylor et al., 2003) identified satisfactions that relate to social capital: social benefits like friendship and being part of the club; fulfilment from helping others and giving something back; pride in helping the club; satisfaction from seeing youngsters improve; sense of belonging. Young volunteers were a bit more ego-centred, often motivated by building their CV.

Coaches

The MORI report for Sports Coach UK (2004) estimated that 400,000 of the 1.2 million coaches in the UK are provided by NGBs (although only a very small number of these are actually employees of the NGBs). Many are employed by clubs (both voluntary and private sector) or local authorities; some are self-employed; and most undertake their work in a purely voluntary capacity.

Values

The promotion of a set of common values is typically viewed as part of social capital by authors writing on the subject (e.g. Putnam, Coleman). Clearly though, this is closely related to the intellectual capital reviewed in the next section. NGBs play a key role in maintaining the essential character of their sport or physical activity. They recognise that existing members are likely to want to maintain the essence of the sport they know and love, and potential new members are more likely to be attracted (or encouraged by their parents to get involved) if the sport is safe (or as safe as possible, in the case of those activities that inevitably involve some hazard), maintains a code of ethics and fair play, and is accessible and welcoming to as wide a sector of the community as possible.

For many NGBs, these core values are their first priority; without them, the NGB might be seen to have failed in its fundamental purpose. However, this may mean that the 'welcome' is restricted to people like us (wittingly or unwittingly). Indeed, some may be persuaded to join for that very reason. Most NGBs, and their regional and county subdivisions, admit that they have not been very successful in extending their volunteer base from the traditional white, middle-aged, middle-class and, in most of the established team sports, male stereotype. The same seems to be true in clubs and although many NGBs are now enjoying an influx of paid development officers (who generally represent a much younger and more eclectic mix) the age profile of the volunteer seems to be increasing. This can, in some cases, lead to a distancing between those who play the sport and those who administer it, and certainly can project unforeseen barriers when endeavouring to recruit new, young participants.

There are numerous ways in which NGBs try to maintain standards, e.g.:

- Disciplinary procedures for those abusing the rules or guilty of misconduct;
- Implementation of anti-discrimination regulations;
- Anti-doping programmes;
- Promoting the participation of people from minority ethnic groups and people with a disability;
- Work with programmes to help disaffected young people.

Examples of the espousal of these values by NGBs include:

- SHCFA requires all volunteers working for clubs with junior teams (342 clubs) and all referees to undergo CRB checks; runs a regional centre of excellence for disabled players; has set up a summer league for asylum seekers; and has worked with those seeking to reduce youth crime.
- Each league in membership of RFL runs its own disciplinary system, but there is the right of appeal to RFL. This standardises decision making nationally, while giving 'ownership' of the system locally.
- BMC recognises its responsibility to the environment and all its programmes emphasise the obligations of climbers to the wider natural landscape.
- BOF recognises that orienteering is largely a rural activity and that the opportunities to participate tend to rule out the socially and economically deprived, so they are now trying to introduce activities to inner-city schools and communities.
- ETTA has an extensive programme for people with a disability.
- BCU is very heavily involved in securing access rights to water. Much of this work requires extensive political lobbying (e.g. over 100 Early Day Motions in the House of Commons).

- BCU has set up the Canoe Foundation (a registered charity) aimed at encouraging and supporting young people and people with a disability to take up the sport.
- TFL is providing vital physical activity for (increasingly) older women, who might otherwise not take any exercise.

Symbolic Capital

The value systems help to shape a set of shared sporting symbols that promote collective identity and civic/national pride. We recognise that international success (or failure) by British or English competitors has been assuming a higher level of political significance, and has increasing influence on government decisions about funding NGBs, thereby potentially distorting the overall priorities of the NGB. Because of the significance of such symbols, political analysts typically see them as another way for those with power to continue to exercise power. We interpret symbolic capital more simply here as reflecting the attraction and ‘clout’ of a sport.

If a person does not play a sport, or does not have a close family member who plays/played, then the most likely way they will be aware of the sport, and have formed an opinion of it (good or bad), is through the media. Few sports are visible to the casual observer, who might, as it were, accidentally stumble across the sport while driving to work or walking in the country. Even walking in the park exposes the non-sportsman or woman to a relatively narrow range of activities (football, cricket, tennis, bowls and, less frequently, rugby and golf or some form of putting). Most of the more than one hundred activities recognised by Sport England do not get a look in. Even the most fervent television channel-hopper is unlikely to get far beyond twenty.

The media can, of course, select images for its own purposes: when an event makes the news (perhaps a boating tragedy); or is associated with a celebrity, either as their pastime or as part of a ‘reality’ TV show; or, because a ‘Brit’ has achieved some success in a major international competition (ideally won an Olympic gold medal – cf. the women’s curling team – although that opportunity excludes most sports). Equally, the media will follow a scandal, a controversy or an unexpected failure in substantial detail – witness long-running sagas, verging on the soap opera, surrounding people like Paula Radcliffe, Floyd Landis, Darrell Hair, Sven-Goran Eriksson, Linford Christie, Tim Henman and Jonny Wilkinson.

The examples below demonstrate again that it is difficult to assess just how much of this capital can be attributed to NGBs.

- In some sports the respect for the work of national governing bodies enhances the UK’s international standing.
- BCU has produced a number of Olympic and World champions and medallists in recent years, although their names tend to fade quickly.
- Although participation has declined considerably from the 170,000 members pre-War, the ethos of healthy exercise perpetuated by TFL is still respected by many of their generation.
- Many of the world’s greatest mountaineers and explorers are British and have been trained by the BMC systems, and often put back into the sport in many ways in a voluntary capacity through the BMC.
- RFL has always been recognised in the north of England as a governing body that challenged and overcame the attempts by the ‘Establishment’ to restrict their

activities. Recent reconciliation and treatment as an equal partner has given credence to the mantra that success can be achieved by hard work and endeavour.

- Many other sports live in the national consciousness, even though they may be rarely seen, and not in the media spotlight. Examples include the racket sports, that were all invented in Britain (lawn tennis, squash, badminton and table tennis); all forms of equestrianism (horse racing, show jumping, eventing, etc.); water sports (swimming, sailing, rowing etc.); and a range of activities that may have only been encountered at school (e.g. rounders, netball, cross-country, long-jumping).
- Many events and venues are ingrained in the mind of the nation, even though most citizens will never have attended in person: Royal Ascot, the Boat Race, Test Matches, the Grand National or Derby, the FA Cup Final, Wimbledon, Wembley, Twickenham, Henley, Lord's, St. Andrew's, Old Trafford, Headingley and Silverstone.
- Sporting expressions have invaded the language and become everyday parlance and attach a symbolic value to sport as a whole (the claim of the NGBs is weaker here. We speak of:
 - *"being a good sport"*
 - *"it's not cricket"*
 - *"play to the whistle"*
 - *"a level playing field"*
 - *"moving the goal-posts"*
 - *"the referee's decision is final"*
 - *"a false start"*
 - *"being caught out"*
 - *"being neck and neck"*.

Continuity and History

NGBs contribute to social capital through their very history and continuity. This lends credence to the sporting ethos they establish, the common values they promote and relationships that contribute to trust and reciprocity. As institutions that have survived since the Victorian era, NGBs and their member clubs carry a certain status, a status from which people can derive social capital through association. That status may be strengthened by others sharing it, but is dependent on not too many doing so (many clubs developed to provide for the minority who had completed their education through school or military establishment). Local authority provision for all came much later in the day.

NGBs were formed as mutual interest groups to provide the essential standardisation of rules of play that would allow inter-club competition, and they provided the means for the selection of national representative teams. BCU (and also England Basketball, founded as the Amateur Basket Ball Association) was founded in 1936, in order to organise a Great Britain team to compete in the Olympic Games, which included the sport for the first time.

The extension of participation involved adaptation or conflict, most famously in the case of the 1895 split and the formation of the Northern Rugby Football Union (latterly known as the Rugby Football League), and more generally in the tension between the gentlemen amateurs and the professional players⁴. To participate in sport means to share these legacies, and crucially here, the historical development of NGBs shapes what they are today. Fired by tradition, governing bodies try to maintain standards and ethical positions. As the keepers of the keys to the past they are responsible for the preservation of their sports' values.

⁴ The commercial opportunities inherent in sport took longer to be identified and exploited. As long ago as 1860, some Scottish golfers saw the chance to compete for money and established a competition that was 'Open' to all-comers, for an entry fee.

Section 3: Intellectual Capital

Intellectual capital is associated with the idea of the sport. The NGBs hold the moral authority to determine what the sport is all about.

Knowledge of the Game

If people want information or a definitive ruling on some aspect of the sport they look to the governing body. Hence, one of the fundamental roles of NGBs is to disseminate knowledge and enhance understanding of their sport. They do this both within their membership and for the wider community by providing not just a repository of knowledge but also an interpretation on issues such as:

- The rules of play or performance;
- The construction of calendars of events and fixtures;
- Essential technical knowledge on performance enhancement, including coaching;
- Providing a neutral point of reference for the resolution of disputes, misunderstanding or uncertainty.

It is not just the number of person years contributed to these functions annually, but the accumulated knowledge base passed from one staff/committee member to another that ensures capital is maintained and developed. Meetings of all NGB committees and councils provide valuable opportunities for exchange of information, technical updates and resolution of questions of doubt or interpretation.

Examples of the way in which the NGBs contribute this knowledge include:

- Mapping of orienteering courses by BOF volunteers involves complex technical skill and knowledge that is then passed on to others within the NGB and elsewhere, via website, magazine, handbooks etc.
- The ETTA provides an extensive flow of information (e.g. via its website) to its leagues and clubs, many of which then pass on the information to their individual members. This information is also available free of charge to anybody who plays at a recreational, unaffiliated or casual level, outside the membership of ETTA.
- BCU disseminates vital legal information regarding access to water and health and safety, which is recognised by the judiciary.
- BMC provide technical publications which are continually updated; and continues to support and advocate the more natural forms of climbing, which does not rely on the extensive use of technological aids and is therefore more accessible by the general public.
- RFL provides a resource of information and advice that is drawn upon by many statutory organisations, including central government, local councils and educational authorities and institutions.

Communications Systems

Most NGBs have adapted their communications systems to embrace modern information technology. Indeed, for many NGBs the opportunities presented by the widespread use of the internet and other new technologies have enabled them to achieve hitherto unprecedented levels of mass communication. Previously the ability to communicate with its aficionados had been expensive and time consuming, and those

with little or no television or newspaper coverage found it virtually impossible to reach the wider public. In the reverse direction the Government does not have to worry about communicating with individual members to articulate policy or find out what is required by sport, they have a ready conduit in the NGBs.

Examples of the ways in which NGBs and other members communicate include:

- BOF has an extensive website, as well as magazines, handbooks etc. giving news of forthcoming events. Most clubs in membership of BOF have their own websites, which pass on this information.
- BCU has appointed a PR and Marketing Officer to develop communication – the BCU website is being improved with sections for the general public (which includes all available information regarding access rights to water) and a members-only section, with more detailed news and information.
- ETTA is redeveloping its website to enable interactive data input by members, e.g. the results of locally organised tournaments.
- TFL provides special newsletter and e-mail updates to registered TFL teachers to let them continually increase their knowledge and ability.
- RFL's three websites receive over 80,000 hits per month.
- RFL organises regular seminars for volunteers to update them and exchange information.
- SHCFA has a 'club finder' as part of its website, to enable would-be players to locate a local club; the website is now being improved to enable members to input match results directly.
- SHCFA publishes magazines which are sent to all affiliated clubs and officials, and also to local schools and media.
- BMC provides a national forum for Mountain Rescue Services.

Education

A notable, and readily identifiable, function of an NGB is in the establishment of an appropriate award scheme and the training and/or accreditation of coaches and teachers of the sport. As litigation and blame in respect of accident or injury becomes more prevalent, it is vital for a competent and non-partisan authority to set the standards for people who organise and instruct those wishing to take part in sport. This is especially true in the case of more hazardous pursuits, although injury cannot be ruled out in any form of physical activity. Aside from injury, it is crucial to ensure an adequate level of technical competence for all those who seek to develop levels of performance, whether or not they might be paid for their services.

Nearly all NGBs provide these crucial services by:

- Setting a syllabus and determining course content;
- Delivering or arranging courses;
- Examining (or accrediting exam procedures);
- Issuing licences;
- Maintaining a register of those who have qualified.

In short, the NGBs determine the knowledge and ideas that are passed on.

NGBs have responsibility for policing the systems of accreditation. Most now require acceptable Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) checks before a coach or teacher can

receive a qualification, especially in the case of those working with children. In addition, many NGBs also have mandatory refresher or updating courses, and some withdraw a qualification unless the holder has undergone appropriate updating within a specified period, thereby ensuring that all award holders are conversant with the latest techniques and requirements.

Examples of successful education programmes run by NGBs include:

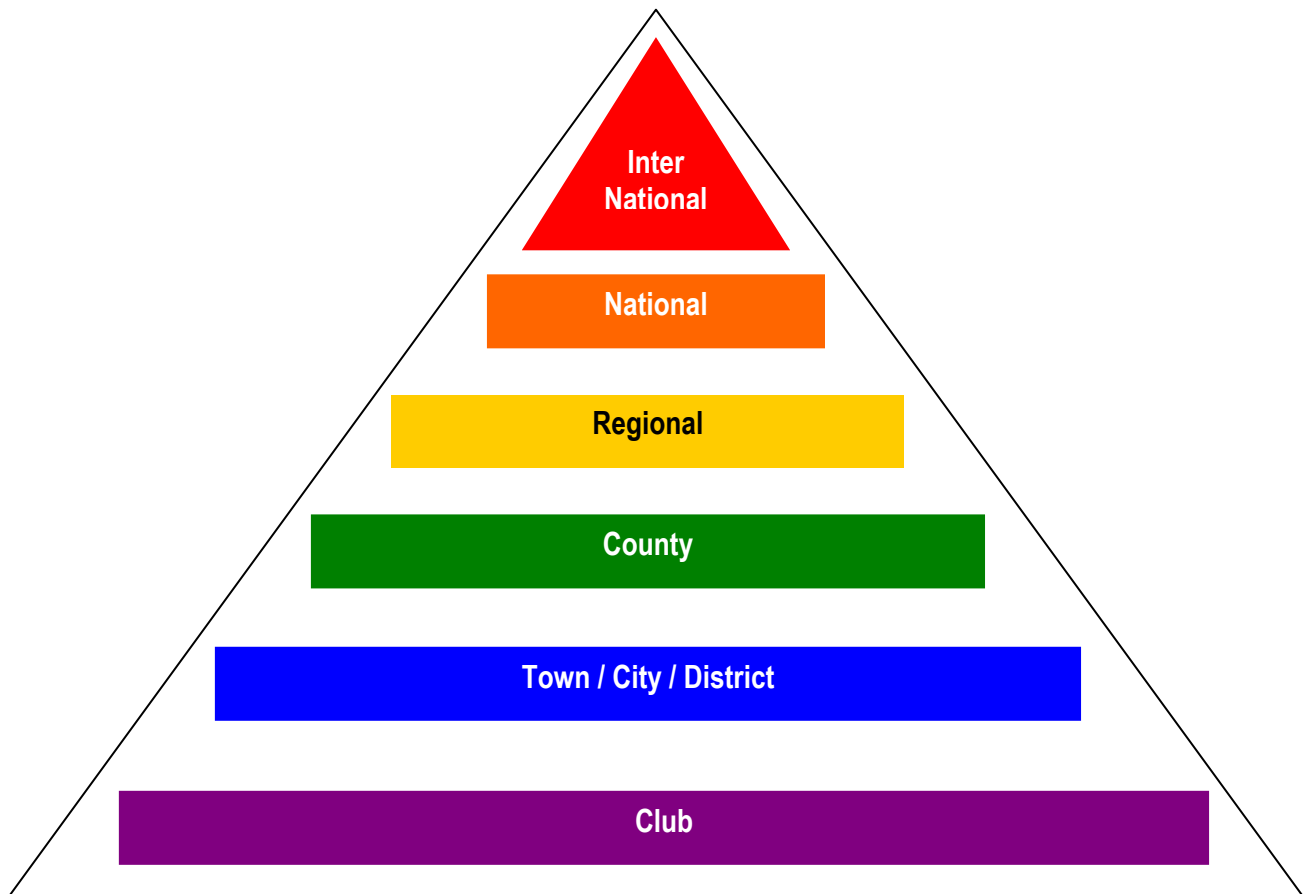
- BOF contribute to the Outdoor and Adventurous Activities part of the national curriculum, and run educational training programmes, not only for coaches but also for on course controllers, players and mappers.
- ETTA recently developed a new course for development offices and other staff appointments.
- BCU runs a UK-wide coaching certificate programme. The BCU coach awards have to be re-validated by coaches every three years and BCU widely advertises to potential employees (e.g. local authorities) the need to employ only qualified coaches, and emphasises the level of award to ensure competence for various levels of activity.
- Like many of the governing bodies, BCU is now developing Club Mark qualification, and is involved with the PESSCL and Step Into Sport programmes.
- TFL runs (and subsidises) extensive (200 hours) training courses for the TFL teacher qualification, which includes both the technical movement knowledge and the management skills to organise and run viable TFL classes.
- SHCFA runs courses on coaching, refereeing, first aid and child protection and provides support for clubs seeking FA Charter Club (equivalent to Club Mark) status.
- RFL trains over 1,000 coaches each year as well as referee training for over 250 per year. In this it is the sole provider of courses.
- BMC supports Mountain Leadership Training England (MLTE formerly MLTB) to provide the training and qualification system for mountain leaders, school teachers and others.

Performance Development

Because most NGBs are responsible for representative sides, talent identification and performance development is one of their principal functions; they have become repositories of knowledge of how this is done. It enables young people with potential in a particular sport or activity to be valued, receive expert coaching and support and to further their ambition. This may culminate in selection to represent city, county, regional or national teams, or to perform individually in high level national or international competition.

Success by sports teams and competitors representing either the country or the locality gives a welcome psychological boost, and can engender improved performance at work and foster greater satisfaction with the quality of life among the population at large. Government has recognised that success in international competition can bring prestige and status to the country, and improve opportunities for trade. All international performers have been developed through the infrastructures put in place by the NGBs and have risen to the top of an underpinning performance pyramid (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: The Performance Pyramid



Examples of the involvement of NGBs in performance development include:

- BOF provide regular elite performance squad training opportunities. This is essential to orienteers because it is impossible to undertake any technical training individually as the course has to be unknown to the competitor.
- ETTA has recently produced the top two juniors in the world with very little grant-aided support.
- Although by their nature the TFL activities are not competitive, it is vital to ensure that those who perform at the prestigious events (e.g. Royal Albert Hall) display the highest possible standards.
- BMC receives very little elite performance support, but is acutely aware of the need to discharge its responsibilities to support and develop outstanding talented junior climbers.
- The RFL process starts as young as 12 years of age, when outstanding young players are identified and progress through club, area, regional and national squads. At the older age categories, the Super League clubs co-operate with RFL to develop talented young players and to ensure that the England and Great Britain teams can perform at the highest possible level.
- SHCFA recognises that the professional football clubs provide talent identification and development for boys from a very young age; however, no such club-based system is in place for girls' football, and SHCFA runs a regional centre of excellence for girls' football.

Sports Science

The development of sports science to support high performance sport is a relatively recent phenomenon. It can be expensive and complicated for individual clubs or players to receive suitable support, and the NGBs play a vital rôle in making these services available, especially to the elite level performers. Services include physiology, biomechanics, motion analysis, psychology, podiatry, medicine, physiotherapy, nutrition, statistical analysis and engineering.

Examples of the involvement of NGBs with sports science include:

- ETTA provides sports psychology support for national team players.
- BCU works closely with the Association of Canoe Traders in the technical developments of equipment, both for safety and high performance reasons.
- TFL pays particular attention to the health benefits of exercise when designing programmes of activity.
- RFL provides sports medicine support services to all professional clubs to monitor player injuries.

Public Relations and Advocacy

NGBs all recognise that one of their fundamental responsibilities is to widen the awareness and image of their sport or activity. Armed with the authority of history they are sport's natural advocates, promoting it and its benefits. They try to create an interest that will then be converted into action, so that people become either a player, coach, official, administrator or spectator (often many or all of these). In order to do so, NGBs spend considerable time, money and expertise in publicity, communication with members and other interested parties, and promotion of events and opportunities. Certainly, interest and desire to participate is raised by an increased public profile for the sport, and NGBs use a wide range of marketing techniques to promote 'brand awareness'.

These functions are not just outward looking. NGBs have an advocacy and campaigning role to play among their own members. This is particularly important in building an ethical and equitable sporting body, one that campaigns against child abuse and racism and promotes inclusive practices. NGBs have to be successful in this if they are to avoid what Putnam refers to as dark capital, the kind that may be very beneficial to a small group, but highly damaging to outsiders.

Examples of these PR, advocacy and campaigning work being undertaken by NGBs include:

- SHCFA recently appointed a full-time public relations officer, with a view to raising the public awareness and recognition of the Association, and to broaden the appeal of football to non-traditional groups – e.g. women and girls (both as players and as referees); veterans (now have over 70 veterans' teams); young people of Asian ethnicity (both boys and girls).
- RFL has a long-term relationship with BBC TV and Sky TV and have expanded their appeal and audience profile by the switch to summer rugby. As in several sports there has been much debate about balance between the money that satellite and cable companies are prepared to pay and the greater exposure that would be provided by 'terrestrial' free to view channels.
- While orienteering is associated with middle class intellectuals, the BOF PR message is that anybody can take part whatever their age or physical fitness.

- ETTA has recently appointed a communications officer at HQ and will soon be launching a new corporate identity.
- BCU negotiates on behalf of canoeists to gain access to water (e.g. 106 Early Day Motions in parliament) and resolve conflict with other recreationists, most commonly with anglers.
- ETTA has a full-time equity officer; BCU has a lead officer for equity, runs equity workshops and has a special committee for disability.
- SHCFA runs a regional centre of excellence for disabled players and a league for asylum seekers.
- RFL runs the Respect Programme with game day managers and is about to relaunch Tackle It, the campaign against racism in rugby league.

Commercial Opportunities

Although NGBs are themselves not-for-profit organisations, they are becoming increasingly aware of the need to maximise revenue for the sport. This can sometimes (but rarely) accrue directly to the NGB itself, but more often it will provide a climate whereby clubs or those trading in equipment for the sport will benefit directly.

Examples of the ways in which NGBs support commercial activity include:

- BMC facilitates contact between specialist equipment manufacturers and BMC members.
- SHCFA are developing programmes that are suitable for sponsorship, to attract external funding into the sport.
- RFL and its leading clubs are able to attract significant sponsorship and advertising revenue into the sport, by virtue of the high profile spectator events; this revenue then contributes to the costs of many of the development programmes run by the RFL and its member clubs. The RFL is also aware of the value of the databases it is developing of people who play, are otherwise involved or buy tickets. This makes the RFL more valuable to future sponsors.
- BOF facilitates contact between specialist equipment manufacturers and BOF clubs and members.
- ETTA members and non-members provide a large market for the sale of equipment.
- BCU facilitates business between canoeists and the Association of Canoe Traders.
- TFL promotes equipment carrying a TFL logo.

Section 4: Technical Capital

It is the technical capital that supports the primary purpose of the NGBs, the provision of sporting opportunity. Acting on behalf of the sport, NGBs have become repositories of the mechanisms necessary to make this happen. In some sports other bodies contribute to this, but with other interests paramount.

Governance

Many other countries take their organisational lead from the British governing bodies that were first in the field. For example, SHCFA was the world's first county football association and even pre-dates the foundation of the Football Association itself. It is the model on which the organisation of football⁵ around the world is based.

However, the structures for the governance of sport are complicated by many historical anomalies. These include:

- Separate governing bodies being established in some (but not all) sports in each of the home countries (as well as, or instead of, Great Britain or United Kingdom organisations) – organic evolution.
- The increasing tendency of NGBs (encouraged by the structures of the Sports Councils) to establish governing bodies to interface directly with each of the national sports councils in UK – sporting reaction.
- The frequent insistence by international sports federations (and most notably by the International Olympic Committee) to recognise and deal with only one NGB for Great Britain or United Kingdom – external imposition.

At a more local level, there is some spatial disjuncture between the government regions for England and the newly established counties (as portrayed through the county sports partnerships) on the one hand and the traditional or pragmatic boundaries for regional/county and/or league or competitions recognised by NGBs. This can cause difficulties when trying to raise funding or planning sports development. However, the various systems of governance used within NGBs have been developed to provide pragmatic solutions in the search for effective organisation, and can even be exploited to advantage in some funding negotiations. They also enable the skills and expertise that exists locally, notably amongst volunteers, to be utilised to best effect.

It should also be recognised that the structures of governance in serving to ensure historical continuity also serve to exclude some groups. For example, SHCFA has nobody from a minority ethnic group and no woman on its Council (it is not alone).

Examples of effective governance identified by NGBs include:

- BOF relies on local knowledge of voluntary committees to identify, design and map courses, ensuring that the essential quality, variety and safety issues are maintained to a high level.
- SHCFA is an autonomous body in its own right. While it follows the lead of the Football Association, it is free to make local decisions appropriate to the needs of its environment.

⁵ Not just association football, but many of the other varieties, including rugby (both codes), Gaelic and Australian.

- BMC and BCU have management committees with representatives from each of their regions, thereby ensuring that knowledge of regional and local issues contributes to decision making and is shared with other parts of the country.
- BCU has separate committees to manage each of its eight disciplines (sprint, slalom, polo, etc.) to ensure that specific technical expertise is available, largely through volunteers, to enable effective management of each discipline.
- TFL Council is constituted so that professional and commercial interests can never comprise the majority of members and thereby distort the overall aim of the NGB.

Organising Competitions

One of the original reasons for the formation of the NGBs was to provide a service that clubs or individuals found difficult – arranging competition or interaction between players from different parts of the country. This also meant ensuring that they all performed to the same rules, codes and customs, and that standards of conduct, fair play and respect to fellow competitors and officials were maintained⁶. These continue to be key aspects of NGB work, and are just as important today as in the time of the founding fathers.

Examples of NGB involvement in facilitating competition and interaction include:

- BOF co-ordinates the calendar of events to make sure that events in a locale do not coincide⁷ and that major events do not clash.
- ETTA organises national championships for a wide range of categories:
 - Male/female
 - Various age ranges
 - Various levels of ability
 - Able-bodied/disabled
 - Singles/doubles
- BCU endorsement is required for all canoeing competitions and events to ensure technical quality and safety.
- SHCFA devolves the organisation of most competitions to their affiliated leagues, while maintaining responsibility for disciplinary procedures, child protection and first aid requirements.
- RFL maintains a complex network of affiliate leagues, catering for all levels of performance.
- BMC member clubs often maintain mountain huts which they make available for use by visiting climbers from other clubs.

⁶ One of the other original *raison d'être* of the NGBs, the strict maintenance of amateurism, has now disappeared from most NGB agendas.

⁷ Because of the nature of orienteering, it is essential to continually identify and develop new courses. Competitors travel from a wide radius to an event; the more important the event, the further they travel.

Events Management

Most NGBs have some form of national championship or festival, with a level of spectator (and sometimes media) following. In many sports, most of the spectators are themselves players (or ex-players) who like to see the experts/elite perform. A limited number of sports (notably the major team games⁸) have a fan base whose only involvement with the sport is as spectators, and television coverage has created a legion of armchair fans, who may never have experienced a live sporting event and may have a synthesised view of 'what it is really like'⁹.

In order to establish credibility for an event, it is important to ensure consistency of all aspects of the way in which the event is staged and controlled, and this is a vital responsibility for the NGB. It is not just that commercial events organisers would charge large sums, but many of these events can only be delivered because of the accumulated knowledge of how the sport operates.

Examples of event management or control by NGBs include:

- Every event run under the auspices of BOF is 'special' and cannot be repeated. The nature of orienteering is such that the competitors cannot know the course in advance; once used, the course is known and therefore not able to be re-used (of course, some 'permanent' courses are set up for introductory events, for newcomers who have never experienced orienteering before, for example for schoolchildren).
- RFL organises major events of national significance (RL Challenge Cup, Super League Final, World Club Challenge and international matches) with attendances of up to 80,000 and a television audience of several million.
- TFL runs celebration events at Royal Albert Hall, with an international presence.
- BCU frequently hosts international championship events (eg European under 23 slalom championship at Holme Pierpont in August 2006)
- Many ETTA events are hosted by local authorities and make significant contribution to local tourism.
- BMC organises an international conference each year, to discuss and exchange information of worldwide issues.

Membership Benefits

NGBs are acutely aware that much of the work that they undertake can benefit members and non-members equally. Indeed, the increasing emphasis on sports development is aimed deliberately at non-members, and many of these new participants enjoy the informality of the particular form of participation that they have been introduced to, and see no reason to go any further (and to pay membership fees). These forms of informal participation are being encouraged by many programmes run by local authorities, intervention programmes for young people at risk (e.g. Positive Futures), and by the upsurge in provision at private health and fitness centres. Although these non-members have limited opportunity for advancement in a competitive sense, they still enjoy many of the services provided by the NGB (e.g. consistency of rules and ethics, safety issues, training of coaches, liaison with

⁸ Association football, rugby football (both codes), cricket and, to a lesser extent, basketball and ice-hockey.

⁹ Television cameras, using long-focus lenses, foreshorten distance and, consequently, give a false perception of speed, making everything (including a ball) appear to be moving much slower than it really is.

equipment manufacturers, and of course, advocacy on behalf of the sport, to encourage the providers to offer the opportunity in the first instance).

NGBs do, therefore, recognise the need to provide additional services to benefit their members (although in some case, for example disciplinary procedures, some members may find the 'service' to be unwanted). Particularly important in an increasingly litigious age is the way many NGBs negotiate collective insurance at a preferential rate.

Examples of the way in which NGBs seek to benefit their members and encourage new members include:

- TFL provides its magazine to all members, and accredited TFL Teachers also receive public liability insurance cover.
- TFL provides a licensing scheme for accredited TFL Teachers which enables them to obtain a Phonographic Performance Licence at much reduced cost and inconvenience.
- BMC members get significant levels of insurance cover, receive the BMC magazine, and all are entitled to discounts on the purchase of equipment from many suppliers.
- SHCFA insist on all affiliated clubs having public liability insurance, through a specially negotiated SHCFA policy, which provides this cover at a much discounted rate (c. £6 per club).
- RFL is developing a portfolio of discounts to members from suppliers; provides a centralised, heavily discounted insurance scheme for clubs and players; and provides advice and information to clubs on a variety of topics included funding opportunities.
- BOF provides individual insurance cover for members and operates an information exchange between affiliated clubs about events.
- ETTA is investigating provision of public liability insurance for all affiliated clubs.
- BCU pays fees to British Waterways Board and the Environment Agency for licences to use their water on behalf of all its 425 member clubs. It also provides all members with a licence to canoe on all water to which BCU has negotiated access rights.

Facilities and Equipment

For many sports the opportunity to own or have exclusive use of facilities to take part in the activity is impossible or limited to a minority of clubs. Similarly few NGBs own any facilities although some are based adjacent to a top-level facility (e.g. BCU at Holme Pierpont) to which they have good access. However, many NGBs have recognised that the long-term future of their sport will be much more secure if as many clubs as possible do own (or at least operate from) a permanent base, and have implemented support programmes to help clubs with these developments.

NGBs can offer advice on what form sports facilities should take and often set standards for equipment (both personal and event related) and work closely with manufacturers/distributors. Unfortunately, recent EU legislation has reduced the opportunities for NGBs to obtain significant income by the endorsement or approval of specific equipment, and restriction on the use of other equipment at certain events.

Examples of the involvement of NGBs in the development of facilities and equipment include:

- BCU co-operates with the Association of Canoe Traders and has helped to establish agreed BSI Standards.
- BMC provides a licensing scheme to assure equipment safety for commercial providers.
- England Basketball established the Outdoor Basketball Initiative, a not-for-profit company that has erected over 9,000 outdoor basketball goals in England, all available for use free of charge and with unrestricted access.
- West Riding County Football Association has developed its headquarters with a playing arena, which has some spectator-accommodation and a first class playing surface. As well as providing an excellent venue for representative matches and cup finals, it provides a first class training base which has been used by visiting international teams.

Section 5: Conclusions

What If?

It is tempting to speculate on ‘What if the NGBs did not exist?’ Some of the functions identified above are done by NGBs (rather than anybody else) just because they are there; some would leave a major gap if the NGB did not exist; some it is hard to imagine being conducted by other bodies (e.g. formulating agreed sets of rules and disciplinary procedures); and in some cases the absence of the NGB would lead to very different sporting relationships – for example, if a sport were to be dominated by commercial interests instead, it would be less likely to attract volunteers on the same scale.

The likely conclusion would be that, as has already happened once before, we would have to invent NGBs if they did not exist. It is possible for sport to be largely run in other ways: the educational system in USA provides enormous opportunity for participation and spectating; the state-run system of eastern Europe for many years provided a stream of medals from international competition; and the private sector provision is able to provide for the basic fitness requirements of increasing numbers. However, no system can be as cost effective, as open to all or as potentially fair as one in which the participants, of their own choice, combine to provide the government, the legislature, the taxation, the judiciary, and the workforce. Moreover, without NGBs the government would find it much harder to implement schemes like Club Mark.

In answer to the question, “What did the NGBs ever do for us?”, the answer is simple: “They provide sport for many even if they do still face the challenge of widening participation”. If the world of sport simply reproduces itself through these processes, such forms of capital may be seen to be of little value unless they have social relevance. Nonetheless, quite independent of wider social benefits it seems reasonable to claim that:

- NGBs do help to promote social capital if only among part of the population.
- The Capital that resides in NGBs does provide a service for those who participate in the enjoyment of the sport. However, in many cases these participants (who include spectators and armchair consumers) are unaware of how the NGB has supported them, and may themselves have failed to make any direct contribution (financial or otherwise) for the services they have received.
- If NGBs did not fulfil their various roles, there would be pressure on the government to finance some alternative.

Differentials

We know from the General Household Survey that not only are women less likely to participate in sport, but they are less likely to have done so as a member of a club or part of an organised competition, those aspects of sport most likely to be attributable to NGB activity. Similar differentials exist for social class, ethnicity, disability and age (we lack information on religion and sexual orientation). This clearly affects not only who benefits from the social, intellectual and technical capital generated by NGBs, but also the nature of that capital. Indeed, part of the value associated with the social capital may be derived from some people not having it (Bourdieu, 1993/9).

It should have been evident from what we have been saying that the relationships producing this capital are not static. The NGBs are subject to changing socio-political processes, like shifting tastes and legislative constraints; and the NGBs can also act themselves, like the way some have done to promote equity, thereby increasing bridging capital.

Advancing the Method

The data available at this stage are not of sufficient quality to warrant their aggregation to produce compound measures of the non-financial capital produced by NGBs. As the quality of data improves it may be possible to use an intermediate approach. Recognising that detailed study of all NGBs is not a realistic proposition, NGBs could be grouped into a number of categories, each representing a similar scale of operations. Ideal types might then be selected to represent each category and the data produced weighted by the scale of operation and multiplied by the number of NGBs in that category.

We would welcome engaging in discussion with interested parties about the appropriateness of the overall approach, the elements of social, intellectual and technical capital and what constitute suitable measures of these elements.

It may be necessary to distinguish between what is capital and what is the product of that capital. Capital only realises its value insofar as it produces outputs. A longer term challenge might be to examine the way in which different forms of capital come together to secure the outputs that will secure outcomes.

Appendix 1: The Approach Used

CCPR commissioned research and analysis from the Carnegie Research Institute in 2005 to review the levels of social, intellectual and technical capital generated by or inherent in the national governing bodies of sport (NGBs) and other voluntary national sports organisations and their members.

Phase 1: Review

To address this challenge we initially tried to dissect what might be encompassed by each form of non-financial capital and consider where we might find useful data. This review of the existing material produced an initial framework.

Phase 2: Expert Analysis

A panel of acknowledged experts in the subject area was assembled for a workshop to review and refine that initial framework:

- Professor Tony Bovaird, University of the West of England
- Professor Fred Coalter, University of Stirling
- Professor Margaret Talbot, CCPR (now Association for PE)
- Professor Peter Taylor, University of Sheffield (now Sheffield Hallam University)
- Professor Jonathan Long, Mel Welch and Paul Robinson, Carnegie Research Institute

This process identified the key elements of these different forms of capital:

Social and human capital (reproducible and sustainable) might be evidenced in:

- Volunteers (helping; self-determination) – the number of people and the hours they contribute could be used to produce hypothetical delivery costs;
- Paid staff;
- Clubs and leagues – clubs offer bonding capital, and also have some bridging capital, but the latter is not easy to identify;
- Inter-club competition beyond leagues;
- Events– drawing people together, including spectating;
- NGB continuity and history;
- Symbolic value, reflected in ‘pulling power’ pride, status (a major reason for reinvestment) – indicated in part by international success/medals.

Intellectual Capital (diffusion/passing on of knowledge) might be evidenced in:

- Knowledge of the game;
- Communications systems;
- Education in the form of badges, award schemes and coaching;
- Advocacy/campaigning around issues like: child protection; disability discrimination; health and safety; ethics and fair play;
- Performance development (all levels) – e.g. through talent ID schemes;
- Sports science – programmes operated and projects funded;
- Commercial value/products that operate as ‘invisible’ exports, like databases, TV/media rights and copyright.

Technical Capital, which reinforces the primary sporting purpose, might be evidenced in:

- Governance, e.g. fair play framework;
- Management of competitions & leagues;
- Event management;
- Facilities & equipment (ownership, management of, knowledge base);
- Insurance cover offered to membership.

This meeting quickly confirmed the impossibility of establishing a £ equivalent for the various elements identified as being part of social, intellectual and technical capital. The panel also recognised the shortcomings of the standard data sets (large scale surveys and audits) in terms of providing appropriate measures. Consequently, much of the emphasis had to be on exploring with individual NGBs what data they held that might be capable of demonstrating the nature and scale of these elements.

Phase 3: Consultation with NGBs

Apart from data available through national surveys, we therefore identified a set of NGBs to work with us in identifying the kind of material suggested above. These were selected to represent different scales of membership/operation, and a spread of sport and recreation against the following criteria:

- Size – membership / participants;
- Size – number of paid staff;
- Wealth;
- International success;
- Olympic / non-Olympic;
- Competitive / recreational;
- Primarily participation / participation and spectating;
- Professional element / purely amateur;
- Team / individual sport;
- Proportion of junior / adult / senior membership;
- Male / female participation rates.

The following were selected and agreed to participate:

- British Canoe Union (**BCU**)
- Sheffield and Hallamshire County Football Association (**SHCFA**) [although a sub-national body it is a similar size to many NGBs and larger than many more]
- British Mountaineering Council (**BMC**)
- British Orienteering Federation (**BOF**)
- The Fitness League (formerly Women's League of Health & Beauty) (**TFL**)
- English Table Tennis Association (**ETTA**)
- Rugby Football League (**RFL**)

A series of interviews were arranged with senior officers, who were sent a pro forma identifying the information needed for the project and a meeting was then arranged to collect raw data and officers' views. Follow-up phone calls were used to gather supplementary information and check records.

References

Adams, A. (2006) *The political opportunity structure for voluntary sports clubs in England*. Paper presented to the annual conference of the European Association of Sport Management, Nicosia, 6-9 September.

Barros, C.P. & Barros, C. (2005) Human and social capital in the earnings of sports administrators. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 5 (1) 47-62.

Bourdieu, P. (1993, trans. 1999) *The Weight of the World: social suffering in contemporary society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Carnegie Research Institute (2005) *Financial Capital and Turnover of National Governing Bodies of Sport (NGBs)*. Unpublished report to CCPR.

Coleman, J. (1988) Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 (Supplement) 95-120.

Delaney, L. & Keaney, E. (2005) *Sport and Social Capital in the United Kingdom: Statistical Evidence from National and International Survey Data*. London, IPPR.

Eley, D. & Kirk, D. (2002) Developing citizenship through sport: the impact of a sport-based volunteer programme on young sport leaders. *Sport, Education and Society*, 7 (2) 151-166.

Fox, K. & Rickards, L. (2004) *Sport and Leisure: results from the sport and leisure module of the 2002 General Household Survey*. London, HMSO.

http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_compendia/Sport&Leisure.pdf

Kemp, S. (2002) The hidden workforce: volunteers' learning in the Olympics. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 26 (2/3/4) 109-116.

MORI for Sport Coach UK (2004) *Sports Coaching in the UK*.

<http://www.sportscoachuk.org/NR/rdonlyres/4CC9B752-610A-4060-895E-D6C7BDEDCAB9/0/SportsCoachingUKFinalReport.pdf>

Nichols, G. (2003) *Citizenship in Action: voluntary sector sport and recreation*. London, CCPR.

Office for National Statistics (2003) *Social Capital: Measuring networks and shared values*. <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nugget.asp?ID=314&Pos=&ColRank=1&Rank=374> (accessed 6/7/06)

Putnam, R.D. (1993) The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life. *The American Prospect*, 4 (13) 11-18.

Putnam, R.D. (1995) Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6 (1) 65-78.

Putnam, R.D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster (Touchstone).

Taylor, P., Nichols, G., Holmes, K., James, M., Gratton, C., Garrett, R., Kokolakis, R., Mulder, C., & King, L. (2003) *Sports Volunteering in England, 2002*. London, Sport England.

http://www.sportengland.org/volunteer_full_report.pdf

Wilson, P. (1997) Building social capital: a learning agenda for the twenty-first century. *Urban Studies*, 34 (5/6) 754-760.

World Bank (2003) *Social Capital for Development*.

<http://www1.worldbank.org/prem/poverty/scapital/whatsc.htm> accessed 04/07/06.