

Sport in Benin: Political game and organizational and management stake for global development

Gouda Lompo Souaïbou

Human and Social Sciences Laboratory (HSSL), Porto-Novo-Benin, National Institute of Youth, Physical Education and Sport, University of Abomey-Calavi, (INJEPS/UAC), Benin

Abstract

In search of a model for the development of sport, Benin adopted in the years 1970 to 1990, a centralized organization entirely controlled by the socialist state without this producing notable results at the international level. Since 1990, the establishment of a democratic state has resulted in the democratization of sport on the federal model and free association. How do the players take on this change and what are the implications for sports performance and results? Considering, on the one hand, that in an organization, change leads to a redistribution of the cards by the actors to satisfy their own interests, on the other hand, that sport has long represented an important political stake (Gouda, 1997), this research aims to understand, by relying on the sociological and managerial approach of organizations, how the actors integrate this development into their organizational logic.

Keywords: sport, organization, development, Benin

Introduction

The successes of the American black minority, then the domination of world football by Brazil of "King Pelé" have maintained the myth of an innate sports aptitude of the black race and created disproportionate hopes for the entry on the scene of the actors of the African continent. However, the history of the modern Olympic Games seems to reveal that the international hierarchy of sports performances reflects if not the economic power of states, at least the international economic and political hierarchy.

Indeed, by associating economic variables with the performance of the countries participating in the Munich Olympic Games (OG), Levine (1972) showed that economic prosperity measured by gross national product (GNP) was the most relevant indicator of Olympic success. Likewise, after having noted the weight of socio-economic variables (in particular the national income per capita) on the performance of countries at the Olympic Games in Tokyo and Mexico, Novikov and Maximenko (1972) also show that the distribution of trophies concerns a number of small number of countries which does not vary from one Olympiad to another despite the increase in the number of participants. According to this work, there seems to be a correlation between the socio-economic level of a country and its potential for the development of sport. In short, the map of sports underdevelopment would be the pale copy of socio-economic underdevelopment. More recent work validates these same findings (Gelès *et al.*, 1994). Some authors raise the responsibility of the State, which in these countries, arrogates by a binding legislation, the monopoly of the organization of the sport without putting in place a coherent policy of management and financing, supervision and creation of infrastructure (Gouda, 1997; Kémo-Keimbou, 2002) ^[20]. For others, it is the Olympic model of competition that is unsuitable for the political, cultural and socio-economic contexts of the countries (Gouda and Chifflet, 1991) ^[25]; Gouda, for example, concludes that it is to the extent that sporting choices take into account the

goals of development, that is to say better being and a significant increase in the standard of living of African peoples that, through their contributions specific, the APS will contribute to the promotion of the African man (Gouda, 1986,398). Ultimately, the development of sport on the model of Olympic competition seems to have shown its limits in African countries and the alternative would be to be sought in other avenues including the use of "sport as a factor of economic and social development." The question that this raises is whether the organization of sport in developing countries takes this reality into account here through the case of Benin, a French-speaking country in West Africa classified by the World Bank among the least developed countries in the world (World Bank, 2000). A review of research carried out on sport in this area of countries from 1960 to 1990 (state control of sport) and qualitative investigations carried out over the period after 1990 (democratization of sport) will make it possible to identify the changes made in the formal system and from the point of view of actors.

State of the Problem and Hypothesis

State of the problem

The "Revolutionary Military Government" established in Benin in 1972 affirmed its desire to place sport at the service of the training of young people by adopting, in 1976, a sports charter which stipulates that "sport is a prime political instrument. It must be democratic and popular. Its organization is the responsibility of the State ". It is a "mass sport" entirely oriented towards "the development of man" (Ordinance 76-16 of March 29, 1976). This desire to make sport a means of training young people has resulted in two important provisions:

- the establishment of a centralized and hierarchical system around the territorial division: from city and village districts (base) to the national level (summit) via the municipalities (made up of town districts and villages), districts (composed of municipalities),

provinces (grouping together districts), national level (selection of provinces);

- a marginalization of the sports performance model promoted by the National Olympic Committee of Benin (CNOB), thereby reduced to the symbolic role of IOC representative (Gouda, 1986) ^[22].

However, in reality, the revolutionary power not being able to finance all the structures planned to organize sport, it favors the international representativeness of the national teams. This results in a "top-down operation" (Chifflet and Gouda, 1992) ^[21, 24] in which the state finances the organization of national championships (especially in football) in which the provincial teams participate, leaving the other levels behind. Faced with this situation, most federations adopt autonomous strategies for finding resources and the CNOB, with Olympic scholarships and funds allocated by the IOC, becomes the privileged partner of neglected federations (athletics, judo, cycling, etc.).

The "mass sport" at the service of the training of young people recommended by the charter of 1976 therefore remained a watchword while the race for international titles which characterized the sports policies of African countries, concerned about the 1960s to assert their national sovereignty (Elane-Jackson, 1977; Fatès, 1994) ^[10, 12]. However, with the advent of democracy in the early 1990s, Benin's leaders sought to break with this model. Thus, the "National Conference of the Living Forces", held in 1990, initiated the democratization of political life and of the various sectors of society, including sport. The new texts governing the sport advocate an association-based organization (the club) within a federal system. The charter adopted in 1991 affirms the will of the State to "base sports policy on democracy and human rights" and to consider "the organization and development of sport as a fundamental element of education, culture and social life ". The development of sport is then entrusted to the sportsmen and to the associations which can constitute themselves freely and regroup in leagues (at the departmental level) and federations (at the national level). A question arises, however: have the new official provisions fostered a change in the political approach to sport in Benin?

This question is all the more relevant since the formal structure and the official prescriptions are not deterministic of the functioning and the changes in organizations since they always leave room for the sometimes contradictory strategies of the actors (Friedberg, 1993; Crozier and Friedberg, 1977) ^[13, 8]. On the basis of this, we can imagine that the different players in sport have a different reading of the texts governing their activities and therefore adopt divergent strategies marked by resistance to change, with the corollary of the persistence of operating modes inherited from the centralized system from the 1970s to the 1990s and the significance of the performance model. The analysis of the sport system since 1990 will make it possible to address these questions and to understand the continuities and ruptures that arise from the change in political ideology or the mode of governance of sport based on the charters of 1976 and 1991.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis supported in this research considers that the liberal sports system now offered in Benin instead of the state system of the revolutionary period is also an industrial,

technological and scientific model intersecting liberal and democratic political and ideological characteristics. As such, it remains a political invention that will always allow actors to redistribute the cards in order to maintain sport in its former status as an instrument of power.

The different actors of the sports system will endeavor to animate each one according to his interests and his political position while sacrificing the best interests of Benin.

Theoretical Frame

The research covers the entire organization of sport in Benin with the federal system as a collective action system. According to the 1991 charter, this brings together all the sports associations and constitutes the link between the latter and the other institutions Beninese National Olympic and Sports Committee (CNOSB) and the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Leisure (MJSL). It is therefore not a question of studying the internal workings of each federation but rather of reporting on the "organized action" (Friedberg, 1993) ^[13] of sport, by analyzing the relationships between federations and other institutions. The sociology of organizations with in particular the work of Crozier and Friedberg (1977) ^[8], Reynaud (1989), Friedberg (1993) ^[13] adapted to sports organizations by Gouda (1986 and 1997) ^[22, 20], Chifflet (1990) ^[7, 24], Gasparini (2000) ^[15], serve to clarify the articulation between the formal system and the actors' (informal) strategies, then to identify the environmental influences on the functioning of sport.

Methodology

To analyze the ruptures and continuities introduced in the vision, organization and management of Beninese sport during the period 1990-2010, we followed the following methodology:

- Target population: it includes players, referees, supporters, coaches, members of federal structures, executives of the MJSL, DDJSL, members of the executive offices of football cells and sports journalists.
- Sampling method: this is a non-probability method with a reasoned choice technique (subjects are resource persons for their quality and the information held).
- sample size: 120 subjects including 69 from the 1st division 43 from the 2nd division and 8 from the 3rd division for the football questionnaire, and 36 people were met (in the context of the interviews) among which we have specialist football teachers, executives from departmental directorates and the MJSL, leaders of the Benin Football Federation (FBF), regional leagues, supporters, a referee and a journalist.

In preparation for the interviews, an interview guide had been developed with questions relating to the organization, development and management of football and sport in Benin. The inquiries were carried out in May and June 2008 throughout the national territory.

Previous surveys using another grid had made it possible to gather some information and certain data on the situation in 2002. We will report in this work of the synthesis of the results obtained in 2008 with the questionnaire sent to the 120 subjects and then the interviews structured on the basis of a grid designed for this purpose. It is important to remember that the data collected and processed in 2002 and supplemented by a field survey in 2006-2007 at INJEPS, in Cotonou and Porto-Novo, respectively 1st and 2nd city of

Benin, made it possible to better target organizational and management problems relating to football in particular.

Above all, this work of 2002 shed light on the internal and external relations of the Beninese sports system. In April 2008, a pre-survey made it possible to test the questionnaire developed as well as the relevance of the interview guide. The interview guide was designed to collect the opinions of so-called resource persons, members of structures having in one way or another in charge of Beninese football. The items relate to the resources, to the strategies of the adopted development policy, the relevance of the choices, the sources of conflicts...

According to Blanchet and Gotman, the interview is a relevant means of "analyzing the meaning that the actors give to their practices..., highlighting the value systems and the normative benchmarks from which they orient themselves and determine themselves" (Blanchet and Gotman, 1992, 27) ^[5] and it is in this perspective that the use of the interview fits.

Documentary analysis: we have carried out a census and a systematic analysis of official texts (law, decrees, orders, notes and circulars) relating to sport in general, and football in particular.

Observation: the field trips made it possible to see concretely the achievements (infrastructure and equipment, trained human resources and actors of all kinds).

Data processing: the data collected was analyzed. Those related to the questionnaire were the subject of a quantitative analysis, while those resulting from the interviews, after their transcription were analyzed qualitatively. The recorded and transcribed interviews were subject to thematic content analysis.

It is a manual data processing if one refers to the modalities of coding of, presentation and interpretation of the data (Hubertman and Miles 1991) ^[26].

A vertical analysis (condensation of data) made it possible to retain in the interviews what is related to the problematic treated while identifying the point of view of each on the different aspects of the problems studied.

The last phase of the work took place in 2008, notably May and June for data collection and July / August 2008 for processing. The first results and their analysis were not available until October 2008.

Results and Discussion

The formal sport system is approached here through the distribution of powers between the four main structures of Beninese sport (ministry, federations, national Olympic sports committee and the National Institute of Youth, Physical Education and Sport (INJEPS)).

The Ministry, holder of the competence for the organization of sport

The Ministry of Youth, Sports and Recreation (MJSL) is the central administration of sport in Benin. It is responsible with its decentralized structures (National Directorate and Departmental Directorates of Sports) "to promote sport through the consistent application of the national sports charter; to supervise and coordinate the activities of the CNOSB); to monitor the management and 'animation of sports and socio-educational infrastructures throughout the territory ". Apart from this supervisory role, it is also responsible, according to the same charter, to provide the entire sports movement with the financial, human and material resources necessary for their action: "the stadiums,

the playing fields and the sports facilities are built by the State, local communities, any particular group "(Article 22) and," the financing of sport is the responsibility of the State and local communities "(Article 27) with" the participation of a fund National for the Development of Sports (FNDS) created by the Ministry in charge of sports "(Article 28). Faced with the attributions of the MJSL, one can deduce, following the example of what Gasparini reveals in France, that the State is the "holder of the competence in matters of organization of the sport with power of delegation to the federations" (Gasparini, 2000, p. 43) ^[15]. Indeed, while the MJSL has a monitoring and support role, the application of sports policy is based on the sports association and the dynamism of the Federations.

We find that the ministry has remained as an ideological platform serving theories of democratic renewal and change without really caring about sport.

The federal system, guardian of sporting order

Sports associations can form themselves freely and join single-sport or multidisciplinary federations whose competences fall within four areas: "promoting education through physical and sports activities, developing and organizing the practice of APS, training and improving their executives with the assistance of the ministry in charge of sports, issue the licenses ". While these responsibilities focus on educational objectives (almost imposed by the ministry), the federations retain all their autonomy to develop their sport in relation to the national and international Olympic movement. They have with regard to affiliated associations a "disciplinary power" for the respect of the rules of internal functioning and a "normative power" concerning the technical rules and the sporting ethics of the discipline in agreement with the international sport federations to which they adhere. The federal system is thus "the promoter and guardian of a true sports order" (Gasparini, 2000, p. 43) ^[15] with the assistance of the CNOSB, representing the international Olympic movement. In reality, sports federations have simply been taken over by politicians to turn them into instruments for mobilizing voters. There is no rupture but continuity with the revolutionary period (cf. dissolution of the football federation in 2000).

The National Olympic and Sports Committee: pillar of the organization of competitive sport

The Beninese National Olympic and Sports Committee (CNOSB) was born from the merger in 1991 of the National Sports Council (CNS), the supreme body of sport during the revolutionary period, and the former Beninese National Olympic Committee (CNOB). While the latter was confined to the sole representation of the IOC, the CNOSB officially holds a central place in the organization of sport with two types of attributions. Those conferred by the sports charter - "represent Beninese sport to public authorities and official bodies abroad; develop the Olympic spirit; collaborate in the preparation of Beninese athletes and ensure their participation in the Olympic Games and regional games, continental and international; promote the social promotion of athletes and the training of executives and leaders; participate in the creation of infrastructure and equipment; help promote traditional sports, the sports press and sports medicine "- and those prescribed by the IOC, including: "to develop and protect the Olympic movement", "to propagate

the fundamental principles of Olympism"; "to encourage the development of high level sport"; "to ensure compliance with the IOC medical code"; "represent Benin at the Olympic Games", etc. while taking care to "preserve its autonomy" and "resist all pressures, including those of a political, religious or economic nature, which may prevent it from complying with the Olympic charter" (Statute of the CNOSB, article 6). This duality of the CNOSB's powers, between state prescriptions and defense of the Olympism, makes it an important "relay" between the state and the federations. It seems that, through this new legislation, sports leaders are seeking to take advantage of the role played by the former CNOB in the financing of federations and their participation in international competitions in the face of the difficulties encountered by the State at the end of the 1980s. (Gouda, 1986) ^[22]. However, one can wonder if the CNOSB really has the means to meet this double expectation.

What remains remarkable is that neither revolutionary ideology nor theories of renewal and change have been able to penetrate the stronghold of the Beninese National Olympic and Sports Committee.

The National Institute for Youth, Physical Education and Sport (INJEPS): marginalization of academics or lack of an executive training policy?

The university supervision of INJEPS appears to be a negation of its membership in the Beninese sports system. Indeed, the National Institute of Youth, Physical Education and Sport (INJEPS) trains of teachers of physical education and sports (baccalaureate training plus 5 years) who specialize in a sports discipline (assumed equivalence of the 2nd degree coaching diploma). These intervene in some of the federations alongside former sportsmen, sometimes after having followed additional trainings of second (or even third) degree coaches organized by the federations with the assistance of the CNOSB, the FSI or the counterpart federations of the developed countries (France, Germany, China, Korea) or even certain organizations such as CONFESJES. Some federations grant the status of facilitators to their most advanced practitioners (boxing, judo, karate, taekwondo and tennis). The case of the football federation which is the most well-off with its 156 coaches (98 of the 1st degree, 45 of the 2nd degree and 13 of the 3rd degree) of which 110 come from the INJEPS (14 of the 2nd degree and 96 of the 1st degree) shows that the INJEPS is the main provider of federal sports executives.

However, these are often only first degree trainers, their services do not satisfy the federations ("of course, we have a school which trains executives... and here I think that it is not a very training. specific, these are general training ", FB Football;" they are mainly PE teachers but they are not specialized, we do not have specialized training ", FB Cycling).

This divergence between the demand from the federations and the training offered by the INJEPS is explained, on the one hand, by the latter's attachment to the Ministry of National Education, which has confused the necessary communication (even conflicts of attribution) with the MJSJ ("At the INJEPS, we have no relation with the ministry whereas it is here that the sports executives are trained"; the INJEPS is not exploited in a way The problem was accentuated with the transfer of PE teachers to the Ministry of National Education "), on the other hand, by the imprecision of the status of coach: "the absence of

regulatory provisions concerning the status and remuneration of coaches and animators, as is the case for PE teachers, slows down the commitment of people in a way out".

The situation of sports supervision in Benin reveals, on the one hand, the inadequacy of the training offer in relation to the demand of the federations, on the other hand, that of this demand itself in relation to the orientations official in favor of "grassroots sport" for education. Indeed, all the actors (federations, the ministry and the CNOSB) deplore the insufficiency of qualified coaches (second and third level) whose objective is to prepare high-performance athletes whereas the defined policy would have gained by based on the intervention of diverse sports executives: high-level coaches, researchers, administrators, managers, planners, lawyers, communicators and therefore university executives!

The current paradox is that, with the INJEPS, Benin has an academic institution whose quality is recognized internationally, while at the local level this institute is perceived as a barely useful gadget for PSE.

Investments

Financing of Beninese sport

As we have seen previously, the sports charter gives an important place to the public financing of sport. However, the ministry which is, in Gouda's (1986) ^[22] expression, "the poor relation of the government" does not have the means to fully assume this role. Indeed, all the officials of the ministry note the discrepancy between the provisions of the charter and the financial means at their disposal ("In our countries, it is especially the public authorities which intervene in the aid to the sports federations and that is not enough. and does not correspond to real needs "; "Participation in any international sports competition, the organization of national competitions requires the release of exceptional funds outside the ministry "; " it is not an exaggeration to say that more than 80% of the budget Ministerial is devoted to performance sport to the detriment of the other sectors of the ministry: youth and leisure. Faced with this situation, the ministry relies on two sources of power conferred on it by its position as a legislator in the field of sport "Information literacy" ("we make sure that other parts of the ministry are not aware of the part of the ministerial budget devoted to sport"). The second is linked to the definition of "control rules" consisted in redefining the subsidy criteria to favor the federations organizing annual championships in order to identify a national team. These provisions paradoxically favor, on the one hand, performance sport and not grassroots sport, on the other hand, well-off federations (which can meet the criteria set), in particular the football federation: "some federations have luckier than others and obtain special funds from the ministry for major international competitions. We are thinking in particular of the football federation which has obtained unprecedented financial support in the history of Beninese sport: Coupe d ' Africa of Nations 2004, 2008, Africa Cup and Junior World Cup 2005, Africa Cup and Senior World Cup 2006 and 2010. Priority funding for football is part of a strategy to maintain international representativeness of sport Beninese and to showcase politics.

Federal officials disapprove of this selective funding which favors participation in international football competitions ("`

it would be better to take advantage of this money to do grassroots actions and be patient, rather than figuring in the competitions international "; we want to do everything at the same time and the resources released are not up to the ambitions and the hopes of the State ") and the most neglected are looking for other sources of funding. Sponsorship, little developed and dominated by cigarette companies (large companies have a monopoly and do not have to invest to face the competition) concerns few federations (tennis, boxing, cycling) but the latter often benefit from the help of heads of passionate companies to which they grant the status of presidents. The federations seek above all foreign aid: "without the support of international organizations, it seems illusory to believe that Benin can have a competitive sports elite, given the mismatch between financial resources and the objectives of the ministry "and build up their network of relations with the embassies of friendly countries (in particular France requested by almost all the federations), foreign counterpart federations, international federations and the IOC which finance participation in international competitions (individual sports benefit almost every Olympic Games). Faced with the problems of financing sport, the policy observed is more about continuity than change. Because only the football federation can obtain from the government relatively large sums, ten billion (10,000,000,000) CFA francs in 2005. As regards the amounts allocated, the government of "change" is without comparison with its predecessors.

Equipment policy: a pending issue

In the 1970s and 1980s, in addition to the municipal stadium available to each provincial capital, Benin acquired two major sports facilities (a sports complex comprising a 35,000-seat stadium, a sports center, three Olympic pools and six tennis courts and a "Sports Hall" with 3,000 seats). If most of the officials of the ministry recognizing that this equipment does not meet the expectations of the sports movement ("Benin is sorely lacking in sports infrastructure, both locally and nationally"), some do not perceive it. as a brake, considering rather that some federations hide their lack of initiative behind the precariousness of the facilities: "at the initiation stage, young people do not need luxurious sports facilities; the poor quality of the football pitches made laterite or sand can even benefit players when playing on grass fields. " In reality, these remarks poorly hide the inability of the ministry to provide the sports movement with the necessary infrastructure. It is then content to maintain the existing equipment to ensure the organization of departmental and national championships in the most popular sports (notably football) and (implicitly) delegates the creation of new infrastructures to private economic actors: "I think that 'it would be interesting for us to involve other actors in social and economic life (companies, economic operators) but some companies do not see the profit that this could have for them, for the image of their companies ".

In contrast, for federal officials, regulatory infrastructure and equipment are essential to develop sport and interest young people and, as provided for in the charter, the State must make them available to federations: "The ideal would be was to ensure that all municipalities have at least one small stadium "; "If people cannot have practice areas in their localities, it will be difficult to hope for their

membership in the sports movement.". However, it should be noted that the State of Benin, continuing its tireless efforts, will provide the sports movement with the new modern sports complex in Porto-Novo soon.

Finally, let us recall that in 1994-1995, the Division of Youth and Sports Activities of UNESCO with the support of the Malagasy government, carried out a study on the sports situation in the least developed countries, including 16 in Africa (Benin is also included between them). The results of this study reveal that, on average, for the 16 African LDCs (UNESCO –ED-99 / MINEPS III / Ref.1) there are:

- 1 gymnasium for 8,600,000 inhabitants;
- 1 swimming pool for 2,350,000 inhabitants;
- 1 athletics track for 563,000 inhabitants;
- 1 football field for 106,000 inhabitants.

However rare they are, these facilities are poorly operated and poorly maintained. As a general rule, only the capital has efficient facilities which are often inaccessible even to national teams for their training, but they are used for non-sporting events.

One would think that as soon as a sports policy emerges, an infrastructure and equipment policy will follow. At the moment it is piecemeal. The partial conclusion does not advocate any material difference between the previous period and the current period. However, compared to Benin, the above study includes ratios that better reflect the exact situation in Benin. The situation has certainly improved, but it is hardly satisfactory.

Sport Management in Benin

Sport development is the product of policy, development strategies, the design of training programs and participation in national and international competitions.

▪ Determination of the country's sporting objectives Nationally

It is the State, through its sectoral ministries, that determines development policy as well as the objectives to be achieved. The MJSL deals with the development and implementation of government policy in the sectors of Youth, Sports and Recreation and the adoption of plans and programs aimed at the promotion and development of these areas. (Decree No. 2007 of December 31, 2007, Title 1: Article 1).

The executives of the MJSL and the DDJSL are the main actors who ensure the implementation of this government policy. An MJSL executive discussing the skills of a leader said: "How do you expect someone to run a structure better if he does not have a minimum of management knowledge, and / or administration, he will set goals that he cannot even achieve". Still addressing this subject, a Director of the MJSL said: "I take the Athletics leagues: we only see practitioners who form their nuclei and yet they hardly exist and function..., that is to say that even we athletes, federal as well as technicians have our limits, especially in the management of our activities...; It's because there is money in football that everyone is jostling over there and yet, we see what happens. We hide our faults behind our good will, but it is happening today, will alone is not enough, you have to have the required skills... ".

At federal level

"Developing the sporting discipline of football"... "Leading football": these are the missions of the FBF according to the

members interviewed. The development of this discipline as they all wish goes through the establishment of solid structures with men as primary resources. Certainly not just any man! This is what leads an MJSL executive to say that "... sport has become an industry, and must support its man; to do this, we need organized structures that should not be left to just anyone; people who for one reason or another storm the governing structures of sport, put themselves in a difficult position; indeed, they will take a lot of hits! ". According to a member of the federation "Benin must have a new development plan, today sport cannot be managed without organizational management skills, and you must have learned the administration of sport in professional schools like the INJEPS and in specialized sports (and football) structures, which is why FIFA has given instructions for administrative and sports directors to be appointed. There are very few in Benin, we may have to rent them and pay dearly for them ".

At regional level

The members of the structures are individuals from all social strata, with sports qualifications for some, but none of them has a diploma in sports management or management, worse observation, the priority is not always the same for members of the same structure on the priority objective:

- the first responds "to promote grassroots football";
- the second "to mobilize the resources necessary for the organization of our structure above all else".

This shows that there are no common strategies in these structures, and therefore no collective actions. It will be difficult for this structure to play its role, and to help the emergence of our football.

At local level

Objectives at club level are mostly set by presidents who are elected or chosen, either because of their political position, because of their wealth, or because of their sporting skills. The problem of unilateral management, with the notabilitarian model therefore still persists in some clubs, because it is the president who leaves the money and therefore, it is he who decides everything, in particular the objectives of the club, the salary and other bonuses. From the surveys carried out, it emerges that 67.5% of the subjects surveyed think that it is the president who determines the objectives of the club, against 32.5% who think that it is the club office that decides.

Leadership style

At the level of the ministry and its deconcentrated structures, the actors say that they take into account the texts and the budget allocated to the ministry. The departmental structures which, according to these leaders, serve as intermediaries between the MJSL and the populations, should normally work with the municipalities and districts, or even the districts, but they cannot do so because they do not have a substantial budget, which leads a manager to say: "we develop activity programs that rot in our drawers for lack of resources, we will not be able to fully play our role, and this in one way or another slows down the development of our sport, whereas sport must start from the bottom up ". Beninese sports organizations do not really have entrepreneurs (CEOs) to lead them, the lack of culture, training and managerial strategy of the leaders in place,

unable to communicate with the economic sector, has repercussions on several levels. At the level of the components of the sports institution (clubs, commissions, leagues, federations, Olympic committee), there is a lack of managerial spirit among almost all sports leaders. Oumarou, (1997) distinguishes four models of clubs: the notabilitarian or the club is controlled by the notables cumulating political and / or economic positions; the community model where the club is run by public or club leaders; the municipal model where the club is managed by the majority of sports associations grouped around the first models, a product of the amateur sport organization system. The notabilitarian model where the typical leader uses only his money, his political position to manage the club, the model where the typical leader uses his membership in the club and his "sports know-how" to make his power prevail at the head of the association athletic. And an MJSL executive affirmed that "... unfortunately it is true laymen that we put at the head of our organizations;... this is why there are conflicts everywhere in almost all structures (leagues, FBF, DDJSL and even to the MJSL)... "and a club president and CEO to say "... leaders who are elected and who do not know the realities of football,... FIFA grants are not distributed fairly which is a source of discontent ...". In addition, it should be noted that these leaders remain volunteer men who do not develop any rapprochement between their club and the economic and commercial sectors. According to Tabé (2006; 55), the clubs which are established in towns, municipalities or neighborhoods do not benefit from the necessary support from local representatives, who themselves are faced with a question of arbitration for the concurrent use of available resources.

The management problem remains unresolved, since the survey results show that 96.66% of players say that their club does not have a manager while 3.33% of these footballers say that the club does not have a manager but, that they have people who take care of their business. The managerial spirit is therefore non-existent in many of our clubs. This can justify the poor performance of our clubs in African competitions. The players, for 80.83% of them are not bound to their clubs by a contract. So there is no contractual commitment that would oblige players to deliver results.

Level of development of Beninese football

The current level of Beninese football is not perceived in the same way by all actors. Our results showed that 39.16% of the subjects think that the level of development of Beninese football is satisfactory, against 60.83% of the subjects who think that Benin could do much better.

Management of national teams

National teams, by their performance reflect the level of development of a country. All the subjects surveyed were not satisfied with the way in which the Beninese national teams are constituted, prepared and administered. Thus 72.5% of subjects are dissatisfied with the way the national teams are managed. The reasons given are mainly linked to the skills of managers and strategies (selection, preparation and management of teams).

According to the chief referee, "there are people who are into football for themselves first; there are others who have the will but do not have the capacity and skills, and at the same time there are people who are able to do better, but

who cannot afford to go there -low what creates sources of tension, and that everyone knows, but we are silent". This shows that the strategic choices of the players in the system are in line with their current interests.

The journalist affirms that his corporation's role is: "... to inform the populations about daily life, to encourage and support structural reforms in terms of development in general and sport in particular, to strongly denounce the incompetence and complacency of the authorities, support (more importantly) and promote initiatives tending to take over the whole organization of grassroots sport like CIFAS, and ends his remarks by saying that "today's leader must have skills in" Public management " perfect knowledge of human resources management, intellectual honesty and a specialty if possible ". There is therefore an awareness among some of the actors, in the sense of a better organization of the sports system with particular emphasis on the skills that our leaders must have.

Conclusion

Many sport charters have artificially linked the development of sport to the political success of the governments in place. The enactment of a law is certainly necessary, but it should by no means be too ideological. Its role is to define a legal framework, to specify the relations of the State with the sports movement for the representation of the nation, to guarantee the practice of sport for all and to consider the financial framework in which the sports offer can develop.

Using the current guidelines for performance sport may be possible, but Sport for All, which rarely benefits from a clear policy let alone material support, is clearly underdeveloped. Despite the neglect of this sector in political speeches, the development of traditional bodily activities would nevertheless have the advantage of taking into account the practice of men and women over the age of forty, while not requiring expensive equipment. In this way, sport would make the link with cultural leisure (Gouda and Chifflet, 1996) ^[23].

The change would be to develop a sports policy in which sport would participate in the education of youth, education for citizenship and above all, integrate the overall development project of the Beninese nation. In such a perspective, sport would be linked to health, well-being or sustainable human development, based on a social and cultural diagnosis on the one hand, and economic and commercial on the other.

At the very least, such a policy must meet a few necessary (but certainly insufficient) conditions:

- consistency of the proposed policy with the human resources on the one hand, material and financial resources on the other hand, available in the country;
- consistency between government directives and their translation into legislative and regulatory texts likely to restructure the sports institution;
- the conscious choice of an elite policy in a small number of sports, knowing that this choice must be accompanied by the definition of the means to achieve it (professionalization, privatization, decentralization, regional planning, detection, training, evaluation, selection, etc.) and that sports policies based on the mechanical link between grassroots sport and elite sport have shown their limits (the specific structures for access to high performance are nowadays essentials);
- The definition of a "sport for all" policy (physical

practices for all) that is not linked to the politics of the elite. It is in this sector that the State should be an incentive (flexible regulation) much more than an organizer or service provider, by financially supporting local operations responding to the principle of integrated development with other social, cultural and economic needs (projects integrated development of territory, municipality or district, socio-professional integration of young people, environmental protection, sports tourism, etc.);

- Collaboration between the ministries responsible for sports on the one hand, national education, the environment and nature protection, defense, public security and local communities, health, public works, industry and commerce on the other hand, to create socio-educational equipment suitable for duplication. The main objective of the sports ministry must be the construction of medium-sized multipurpose facilities (the prime contractors of which would be local companies meeting the needs of the greatest number and therefore national championships rather than the construction of a sports complex. luxury goods with a single international vocation (for non-sporting use) for the sole benefit of the capital It is at this level that a real inter-regional balance must be ensured in the national land use plan.
- The definition of objectives for school and university sport (not compulsory and different from physical education) which are not identical to those of the clubs. Either school sport takes charge of all voluntary sport for young people up to 14/16 years, for example, and leaves adolescents and adults to the "civil" associative sector, or school and university sport is a component of the whole. the sports system and must "find" its place alongside other associations with specific objectives;
- The definition of clear objectives for physical education in connection with the objectives of national education and the abandonment of the idea of making physical education the footing of performance sport, a lure that costs too much to a country (although it allows many executives to realize their own strategy);
- The establishment of a research sector (INJEPS should be the place for reflection and development of knowledge on Beninese sport).
- Beninese sport has real potential, but it is still poorly organized and poorly administered.

References

1. Abba S. The traditional chiefdom in question in African Political Review, 1990, 38.
2. Alaphilippe F. Federal power, in Sport; Powers, Paris, 1992, 61.
3. Andreff W. The diplomatic world, 1988.
4. Baba-Moussa AR, Hervé N. Sport, youth and education in Benin, in Proceedings of the international sports management colloquium: sport as a vector of social economic development, University of Burgundy-Royal Institute for the training of executives Rabat-Salé (The name of the people who directed the acts and the pages of the article), 2002.
5. Blanchet A, Gotman A. The Investigation and Its Methods: The Interview, Paris: Nathan, 1992.
6. Brohm JM. Political Sociology of Sport, Paris: Jean Pierre Delarge, 1976.

7. Chifflet P. Sports federations: policies, strategies, audiences. Operating logic of the French sports system, Studies and Research Laboratory on Sports Offer, University of Grenoble 1, 1990.
8. Crozier M, Friedberg E. The actor and the system, Paris: Le Seuil, 1977.
9. Defrance J. The comparative and historical approach of the relations between "sporting" institutions and the State, in Sport and Politics, Conference Act University of Ottawa – Canada, 1990.
10. Elame-Jackson R. The mirage of the development of sport in Africa: the example of countries south of the Sahara, former French colonies, Doctoral thesis of 3rd cycle, Paris VII, 1977.
11. Ezziani and Kaach. Essay on the issue of sport in a developing country: Morocco, doctoral thesis from the University of Grenoble 2, 1984.
12. Fates Y. Sport et Tiers-Monde, Paris: PUF, 1994.
13. Friedberg E. The power and the rule, Paris: Le Seuil, 1993.
14. Gasparini W. The social construction of the sports organization. Field and associative engagement, STAPS. 1997; 43:51-69.
15. Gasparini W. Sociology of the Sports Organization, Paris: La Découverte, Repères, 2000.
16. Gay-Lescot JL. The masses or the elite? Comparative study of sports equipment policies under the popular front and under Vichy, Spirales, 1992.
17. Gouda S. High-level sport: a new requirement for French-speaking Africa, communication to the Meeting of Partners for the Development of Sport in Africa, CONFESJES, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, 2002.
18. Gouda S. The notion of athletes and the Olympic reality in black Africa, communication to the session of the International Olympic Academy, Olympia (Greece), 2001.
19. Gouda S. Physical and sports activities in French-speaking Black Africa, changes and object of change in government policies, communication to the World Congress on Sport for All, Quebec – Canada, 2000.
20. Gouda S. States, Sports and Politics in French-speaking black Africa: case of Benin, Congo, Niger and Senegal, doctoral thesis from the University Joseph Fourier in Grenoble, Mention STAPS, 387 pages, 1997.
21. Gouda S. Sports and Cultural Identities, communication to the UNESCO World Congress Nabeul – Tunisia, 1992.
22. Gouda S. Organizational analysis of physical and sports activities in a black African country: Benin, postgraduate doctoral thesis in STAPS, Université Scientifique et Technologique de Grenoble, 433 pages, 1986.
23. Gouda S, Chifflet P. Olympism and national identities in French-speaking black Africa, in Revue STAPS, Presse Universitaire de Grenoble, 1996.
24. Gouda S, Chifflet P. Sport and National Policy in Benin from 1975 to 1990 in Revue STAPS, PUG, 1992.
25. Gouda S, Chifflet P. Sports, Cultural Identities and Development in French-speaking Countries of Black Africa, Research Report, National University of Benin Porto-Novo, 158 pages, 1991.
26. Huberman AM, Miles MB. Analysis of qualitative data, collection of new methods, Col Université (translation by De Baker C. and Lamongie V., Association ERASME), Brussels, De Boeck, 1991.
27. Raynaut, Abba S. Thirty years of independence: benchmarks and trends in African Policy Review n ° 38, 1990.