

Sport and Peace:
An Analysis of Sports Programs' Contribution
to Building Peace in East Africa



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Sport and Peace in East Africa

To my ten-day old Nephew, Ernest.

May you know peace, hope, love, and team sports.

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Abstract

This paper analyses case studies from East Africa in the nascent Sport, Development and Peace sector: The East Africa Cup (EAC), Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA), and Vijana Amani Pamoja (VAP). Employing Gordon Allport's Contact Hypothesis it asks 'To what degree are sports programs an effective means of creating positive contact in order to reduce prejudice?' Having done so it applies this finding to John Paul Lederach's theories of conflict transformation, asking 'How can contact through sports programs contribute to building peace?'

Key Words:

Africa, East Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, MYSA, East Africa Cup, VAP, Sport, Sport and Peace, Sport Development and Peace, SDP, Peace Studies, Conflict Resolution, John Paul Lederach, Gordon Allport, Conflict Transformation, Contact Hypothesis.

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Abbreviations

CHRISC	Christian Sports Contact
EAC	East Africa Cup
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (Germany Society for International Cooperation)
KRIK	Kristen Idrettskontakt (Christian Sports Contact)
IYSPE	International Year of Sport for Physical Education
MYSA	Mathare Youth Sports Association
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPA	Norwegian People's Aid
VAP	Vijana Amani Pamoja (Youth Together in Peace)
RTP	Right to Play
SDP	Sport, Development and Peace
SDPIWG	Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group
UN	United Nations
YDF	Youth Development through Football

Introduction

The phenomenon of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) has arisen over recent years as development and peacebuilding organisations look to new and innovative methods for introducing their programs. It includes diverse stakeholders, with grassroots insight from multi-lateral and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and top-down endorsement from the United Nations.

The number of such programs has increased significantly since the UN International Year of Sport for Physical Education (IYSPE) in 2005. However, this increase has not resulted in significant academic literature on the topic, prompting the questioning and analysis of sport as a vehicle for peacebuilding. It is essential to introduce this subject into the academic consciousness and analyse these programs using theoretical frameworks from the academic discipline of conflict resolution, in order to analyse their contribution.

This study will explore the contribution of sports programs to peacebuilding efforts in East Africa. It is acknowledged that such programs are often one component within a larger peacebuilding project. More specifically, the tools of sport and play are complementarily applied to other programs, providing opportunities for differing populations with varying interests. Efforts to build peace exist on a myriad of levels, but the programs examined within this study are solely grassroots initiatives in East Africa, that use sport as a method of peacebuilding. A common aim of such programs has been to utilise the convening power of team sports, with the hope of creating friendships that change stereotypes and produce lasting positive change in the region.

0.1 Definition and History of Sport

The Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) commissioned one of the most thorough reviews of the field thus far. It analysed the use of sport for a number of factors: child and youth development and education; health objectives; gender and development; inclusion, health and well being of people with disabilities; and peace and development. It defines sport as:

All forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction, such as play, recreation, organized or competitive sport, and indigenous sports and games. (Donnelly and Kidd, 2007:12)

They state that in the SDP world it is unusual to find such a comprehensive definition. More common is a focus on “organised sport and physical activity” which may neglect other forms such as “informal, child-/youth-organized, play, games and sports in which so many participate” (Donnelly and Kidd, 2007:12).

Historically, the idea that intrinsic value may be given to participation in sport can be traced back to the United Kingdom of the mid-1800s. Bouzou believes the “international climate of the second Industrial Revolution...created the conditions for the large-scale spread of sport” (2010:43). There, “middle-class reformers in the areas of education and urban welfare began to develop the idea that sport participation, appropriately directed, could be involved in the development of character, work discipline, teamwork, fair play, and other socially approved characteristics” (Donnelly and Kidd, 2007:9).

Levermore argues that sport has “long been used by states in an attempt to foster development, particularly in unifying often disparate groups of people” (2008:184). Examples of this include the use of sport for education “in youth detention centres, and by urban agencies, such as the YMCA, in an attempt to affect the character and behaviour of participants,” (Donnelly and Kidd, 2007:9) and within colonialism as high-income countries used sports to ‘civilise’ the subjects of their colonies. On the one hand history reveals sport as a tool to

organize populations, but paradoxically recognizes a rich history between sport and the pursuit of peace.¹

0.2 History of Sport and Peace

One of the earliest examples of this is the foundation of The Olympic Games: “the most high-profile, universal sporting event in the world” (Woodhouse, 2010:495). In its original form, the games were established “primarily to stop war” (Woodhouse, 2010:494) between the Peloponnesian city-states. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) reinstated this ideal in 1990 through ‘the Olympic Truce’, intended to “support and stimulate initiatives in support of peace” (Woodhouse, 2010:495). This was supported by UN General Assembly resolution 48/10 in 1993, subsequently co-sponsored by a significant number of states in 2003, and in 2011 the 66th session of the General Assembly unanimously supported a resolution on the Olympic Truce in preparation for the London Olympics of 2012, which Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon described as being “the first time in our history, [that] all 193 UN Member States co-sponsored the Olympic truce resolution” (United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon’s Statements, 2012).

0.3 The UN and Sport

The United Nations connection with sport extends beyond the Olympics. As far back as 1978 UNESCO described sport and physical education as a “fundamental right for all” (Why Sport, 2013). In 2001, the UN endorsed this relationship when Secretary-General Kofi Annan appointed Adolf Ogi to the newly created position of UN Special Advisor on Sport, Development and Peace. This led to the 2003 adoption of resolution 58/5 whereby the UN designated 2005 the ‘International Year of Sport and Physical Education’ (IYSPE). This campaign called upon member states to consider the role of sport in relation to their development programs and policies. As a result, new and unexpected partnerships were engendered between charities and sporting institutions (Giulianotti, 2011).

¹ For a more extensive review of the history of sport see Bouzou, Joel, *Peace Through Sport: When the Myth Becomes Reality*, Paris: Armand Colin, 2010, pp. 31-96

Subsequently the last decade witnessed a significant increase in the number of organisations using Sport as a tool for Development and/or Peace (SDP).

Nevertheless, it is important to state that this paper does not argue that sport is a cure-all without potential for negative outcomes. Whilst sport can be an excellent medium for peacebuilding, it is recognised the reverse is also true, as Donnelly and Kidd argue: “games and sports have contributed to and are deeply associated with the very difference, inequality and conflict they are sometimes recruited to address” (2007:165). Examples of this include the use of Sport to recruit soldiers in World War I; the so-called ‘Soccer War’ between Honduras and El Salvador; the soccer fans perpetrating genocide in the Yugoslavian civil war (Donnelly and Kidd, 2007:165); and the plethora of examples where sport has been used to breed nationalism, sexism or other prejudices. This paper takes the position from the outset that the determining factor in the outcome of a sports program is the motivation and strategy employed by the group using sport, rather than an inherent ability of sport to ‘conjure’ peace between conflicting groups.

0.4 Ethical Considerations/Methodology

Interviews conducted for this research were semi-structured in order to elicit rather than prescribe responses to questions, Robson describes this as being “a respondent interview” (1993:237), selected to attenuate the cultural gap and allow space for the interviewee to provide responses. Verbal permission was granted during all interviews, and an agreement was made to send the final dissertation to these officials. Due care was taken throughout to ensure the research project fitted within relevant ethical frameworks, such as to “obtain explicit authorisation before you observe” and “retain the right to report your work” (Robson, 1993:34).

This second chapter takes a case study approach to explore the work of specific SDP organisations in East Africa. This approach is valued in many fields as a scientific strategy which is “essentially exploratory” (Robson, 1993:53) to

investigate “particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence” (Robson, 1993:52). The ‘case’ is the organisation in focus, which may be investigated through the employment of many different types of technique. For this project, semi-structured interview and observation are the primary tools employed. Observation has:

“One overpower claim to validity: it deals not with what people say they do but what they *actually* do – to the extent that their behaviour is open to observation, and insofar as observation is as objective as it seems to be.” (Gilham, 2008:1)

As such, this researcher attempted to organise opportunities to both observe and interview. For the East Africa Cup in section 2.1 this was feasible, and the researcher observed events over the entirety of the tournament, together with interviews of coaches and organisers. However, given the dates of the research period, this was not possible with the organisations in Kenya (Section 2.2), as they were not running programs at the time. As such, interviews were the primary means of gathering data.

I understand that my actions and attendance as an observer may have affected the behaviour of the organisations and individuals observed and that being a European Caucasian in Africa may have altered interactions and responses. I hold no affiliations to any groups in conflict, or any organisations I visited, but do accept that I may hold favourable impressions as a result of the hospitality I received.

0.5 Structure

Under the research title ‘Sport and Peace: To what extent can sport programs contribute to building peace in East Africa?’ This thesis examines three case studies from East Africa, by addressing a sub question in each chapter and utilising a dual-pronged analytical focus in chapters three and four.

The first chapter addresses the sub question 'What does current literature tell us about the potential of sports programs to fulfil conflict resolution objectives?' To do so, it first reviews current literature from the field of Sport, Development and Peace. Relevant literature from the field of conflict resolution is then introduced; chosen for the purpose is Gordon Allport's Contact Hypothesis, and John Paul Lederach's Conflict Transformation.

The second chapter addresses the sub question 'How are sports programs attempting to build peace in their region?' It introduces case studies from East Africa. Those chosen for this purpose are annual tournament The East Africa Cup (EAC) of Moshi, Tanzania, and Kenyan SDP organisations Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) and Vijana Amani Pamoja (VAP).

Chapter three is the first level of analysis, where the conditions and processes of the contact hypothesis are matched to the case studies to discuss the sub-question 'To what degree are sports programs an effective means of creating positive contact in order to reduce prejudice?'

Chapter four is the second level of analysis, which takes the analysis from the previous chapter and applies it to the framework of conflict transformation, asking the sub-question 'Can contact through sports programs contribute to building peace?' It then discusses the contrast between the two analytical frameworks, and highlights the work of the sports programs.

The concluding chapter will underline the findings of the thesis, providing an answer to the main research question and providing recommendations for further research in the field of conflict resolution, and for the strengthening of the field of Sport, Development and Peace.

Chapter One: SDP and the World of Conflict Resolution

This chapter will introduce literature on theories pertaining to SDP and conflict resolution, addressing the sub-question: 'What does current literature tell us about the potential of sports programs to fulfil conflict resolution objectives?'

The first section will introduce the literature on the field of Sport, Development and Peace, providing an understanding of current research in the field. The second part will introduce relevant literature from the field of conflict resolution, first, the 'contact hypothesis,' by Gordon Allport, and second, the theory of 'conflict transformation' by John Paul Lederach.

1.1 Sport, Development and Peace (SDP)

As previously stated, the SDP sector is young, initiated only eight years ago. As a result, it is lacking in academic analysis from conflict resolution academics. Literature reviewed comes from a range of sectors such as sociology, development, management, and from actors in the field such as the International Working Group on Sport Development and Peace (IWGSDP).

However, there are a number of writers who have surveyed and analysed the field as it is thus far. One such writer is Roger Levermore from the University of Liverpool Management School. In '*Sport: a new engine of development*', Levermore argues that sport should be viewed as an engine of development, rather than as a by-product. Levermore's analysis of the field of development holds there to be six areas: "Conflict resolution and intercultural understanding; Building physical, social, sport and community infrastructure; Raising awareness, particularly through education; Empowerment; Direct impact on

physical and psychological health, as well as general welfare; Economic development/poverty alleviation“ (2008:185-6).²

Levermore introduces examples of conflict resolution programs that use sport to “alleviate the tension caused by conflict fought along ethnic lines” (2008:186), such as the Sporting NGOs ‘Football4Peace’ which brings Arab and Jewish children together in Israel through football coaching; ‘Football For Peace’ in Rwanda, which works on ethnicity and conflict resolution training; Open Fun Football Schools in the Balkans; and the Tegla Laroupe Peace Foundation which promotes peace in the Greater Horn of Africa (2008:186). The sector also includes programs that are “building social cohesion in societies not affected by violent ethnic conflict, such as through race, gender, youth, migration and poverty” (2008:187).

Giulianotti is another who has examined the field. Locating SDP within its historical context, he creates a typology of three distinct categorisations of SDP programs, the technical, dialogical and critical models. SDP work is:

Largely driven by Global North agencies...conducted in the Global South or regions ravaged by warfare, social breakdown and natural disaster. Key institutions within the SDP sector include nation-states, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), inter-governmental organizations, international sport federations, transnational corporations (especially through ‘corporate social responsibility’ programmes), and grassroots community-based organizations (2011:207).³

Tom Woodhouse is one of the few conflict resolution academics to be actively involved in the theorisation of conflict resolution and sport. In *Peacekeeping*,

² The author states this classification was based in part on the Sport for Development and Peace Working Group’s 2006 attempt to categorise programs in the SDP field.

³ Richard Giulianotti is also the author of sociological studies on sport and football, listed in the bibliography. These are excellent guides on many topics including colonialism and post-colonialism.

Peace Culture and Conflict Resolution, Woodhouse cites an example from the Cote d'Ivoire where the UN Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI) promoted a:

Very active sport-based peace-building programme since 2006. This included activities during the 2006 football World Cup, when it provided opportunities for viewing of matches on widescreens throughout the country, during which peace messages and information about the mandate of the peacekeeping mission were delivered (2010:495).

He cites further examples from UN programs in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Liberia. The central theme of his paper is the argument “that the potential of sport in general to contribute to the culture of peace and the practice of conflict resolution is greater than has been realized by those who see conflict resolution as an exclusive concern of politics” (2010:495).

Furthermore, in *'Contemporary Conflict Resolution'*, Woodhouse, together with Ramsbotham and Miall, states “there are many examples where different sports and sportspeople have explicitly worked in a conflict resolving manner, and where sport has been seen as a bridge-building activity and an alternative to violence and destructive conflict” (2011:355). One such example is provided by Alex Cardenas, doctoral candidate and founder of Goals for Peace, who cites Ivorian football captain Didier Drogba's successful efforts to build peace in the nation via “football diplomacy” as “a visible sign of hope and a momentous achievement in consolidating peace in this nation” (*Athletes and Social Change*, 2012:34).

Bouzou also notes peacebuilding programs in the Ivory Coast, which used judo because of its “moral code of respect for one's opponent that is particularly relevant to the country's young people who had been subjected to fratricidal conflict” (2010:156). He believes in the ability of sport as a tool for reconciliation:

In countries emerging from severe internal conflict, where hostile

communities have clashed for ethnic, political, religious, cultural or social reasons, sport can be used to facilitate a mutual recognition, to initiate a first step enabling each to discover the other in a human, rather than hateful, light (2010:156).

For Bouzou, sport also has the capacity “to transcend barriers of all types”, including deep divisions and ancient enmities, through the pursuit of a common activity. The central focus of his book is to invite those who play and spread sport, and those who promote peace, to join together “under the same banner and serve the same cause” (2010:13). He provides an overview of the reach of sport in terms of internationalisation and globalisation, before arguing for its utilisation as a cohesive factor in society. He concludes that sports are “a pragmatic instrument for sustainable peace” (2010:121).

Several writers discuss the ability of sports to contribute towards reconciliation. Sociologist Brian Wilson suggests the wisdom in remaining cautious about the successes of SDP: “these interventions may be effective in promoting (at least temporary) forms of reconciliation and positive social change – and should therefore be continued and/or pursued under the right circumstances – [but] the durability of their contributions should not be overstated” (2012:149). This point is reiterated in Levermore’s previously stated work, where he stresses the difficulties of evaluating SDP programs.

Jonathan Lea-Howarth argues that team sports can provide a politically neutral, sub-systemic ‘hub’ for Others to build positive relationships and can engage large quantities of willing participants actively as players or organizers (2006:42). He believes that “in some cases (e.g. Sierra Leone) football may represent one of the few cultural reference points shared by Others. This gives football great potential to be utilised in peacebuilding” (2006:42). This view will be explored in this paper, particularly in relation to Lederach’s framework which recommends the use of cultural resources for building peace.

Lea-Howarth also makes an excellent judgement about the effectiveness of sports programs:

Whilst building relationships at the grassroots is important, events such as the heavy fighting in Liberia in 2003 and Israel's war with Hezbollah in 2006 suggest Tidwell (1998) was correct that governments, militias and armies retain the greatest ability to decide between conditions of war and peace. If war does erupt, sports projects may find it impossible to operate under such conditions, and much of their good work in terms of building relationships may be lost as people experience fresh atrocities (2006:42).

Such an analysis is important to understand when considering programs in East Africa, where violence over recent years has indeed forced the sports programs in our case studies (Section 2.2) to cancel events for fear of it spreading to their facilities and participants. Lea-Howarth concludes that while sports programs may contribute to peacebuilding initiatives at the grassroots level, their influence is very much dependent on governmental and other community leaders.

This section has reviewed a section of the current literature on SDP, providing examples of programs existing in countries around the world. It introduced a broad overview of the field as largely driven by Global North agencies. There is dissonance among the writers, some of who believe in sports potential for reconciliation, citing examples from the Cote d'Ivoire and UN missions. Others cite the immaturity of the sector as grounds for remaining cautious, and the relative powerlessness that sports programs find themselves in regarding the escalation and de-escalation of conflict. The next section initiates the review of relevant literature from the field of conflict resolution.

1.2 The Contact Hypothesis

The contact hypothesis is selected as a framework to apply to this analysis of SDP programs for a number of reasons. First, because sports programs

researched in East Africa believe that contact, or 'bringing people together' to play sports will result in positive achievements. Second, because its condition of superordinate goals can be seen as an excellent fit with SDP programs, which use sports as the means for participants to work together, in a broader context of achieving development and peace objectives.

The contact hypothesis holds that positive inter-group contact can be used to promote better inter-group relations and thereby reduce prejudice. First posited by sociologist Robin Williams in 1947, it was later made famous by social psychologist Gordon Allport in 1954 (Hewstone et al, 2011:374). Allport held that positive effects of intergroup contact occur in contexts where four essential conditions are present: equal group status within the situation; superordinate goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom (Pettigrew, 1998:66). These four conditions are here explored in more depth.

Equal status: All groups must expect and perceive they have equal status within the contact situation. Some writers insist on equal status of groups outside the exercise, and Jackman & Crane (1986) believe there are negative effects from contact with outgroup members of a lower status. However, writers are split between the importance of equal status solely within the contact, or a need for broader equality between groups if contact is to be positive.

Superordinate goals: Pettigrew argues, "Prejudice reduction through contact requires an active, goal-oriented effort," and believes "athletic teams furnish a prime example" (1998:66). This desire to win as a team creates interdependence and furthers the process of friendship and lessening of prejudice.

Intergroup cooperation: These goals must be achieved through an interdependent effort without competition within the group. This condition was experimented upon in many contexts, with positive results in Australia, Germany, Japan, and with Mexican Americans (1998:66).

Support of an authority: The group must be under the supervision of an authority, which is able to impose social sanctions. This condition is important because “with explicit social sanction, intergroup contact is more readily accepted and has more positive effects” (1998:67). Acceptance becomes normative when authority support is established, as has been proven by its importance in the military, business and religious institutions (1998:67).

Many scholars have addressed the hypothesis from a range of different angles and fields. While some authors praise its ideal and investigate the detail of how and who it works for, others criticise it or suggest reformulations. In their 2011 paper, Hewstone and Swart celebrate the contact hypothesis, arguing it has been sufficiently proven to lose the term hypothesis, and instead be acknowledged as a fully-fledged theory (2011:380). In addition to the larger body of work on direct contact, they discuss the value of indirect contact. First, through ‘extended’ contact, referring to the “impact on prejudice of knowing about, or observing, at least one, and preferably more than one, in-group member who has an out-group friend” (2011:377). Second, through ‘imagined contact’: where “simply imagining contact with out-group members could improve inter-group attitudes”, which research has found can “reduce inter-group bias and improve both explicit and implicit out-group attitudes” (2011:377).

Many writers discuss its potential for use with ethnic minorities. Binder et al focussed their research on Western societies and relationships between members of ethnic majorities and members of ethnic minorities. They sought to answer the question *Does Contact Reduce Prejudice or Does Prejudice Reduce Contact?* The authors follow the path of most research projects in focusing on positive forms of contact, “we therefore regard the conventional term “contact” as synonymous with the terms “friendship contact” and “outgroup friendships” (2008:843). Their findings support existing research, where “longitudinal effects emerged for both friendship contact on prejudice and for prejudice on contact using two different measures of prejudice” and “majority members showed stronger contact effects than members of ethnic minorities, for whom such effects were actually nonexistent” (2009:852). This finding is interesting given

its potential to be generalized: the effect of contact on majority members is stronger than for members of minorities. Applying this idea to East Africa, it suggests that majority groups may reduce prejudice, but the behaviour of minority groups is not affected.

In a similar vein, Jens Thomsen's research (*How does Intergroup Contact Generate Ethnic Tolerance? The Contact hypothesis in a Scandinavian Context*) examines whether intergroup contact influences attitudes toward ethnic minority rights. He believes that "few scholars have examined the political implications of intergroup contact" with the key question "Does intergroup contact increase support for ethnic minority rights – commonly conceptualized as ethnic tolerance?" (2012:160).

Thomsen believes "superficial contact is unlikely to change attitudes or beliefs since this type of contact does not involve meaningful communication" (2012:161), thereby dismissing "random encounters at the pub or in the supermarket" which "do not provide stereotype-disconfirming evidence." Instead "the contact situation must be regular and involve communication about important, rather than trivial, issues." This is an important point, reinforcing the arguments of Pettigrew. It is discussed later within the case studies.

Challenges and Reconceptualization of Contact Theory

Thomas Pettigrew (1998) joins Hewstone and Swart in asserting the success of the hypothesis, calling it 'intergroup contact theory.' However, his argument for a reformulation of the hypothesis principally focuses on the lack of 'processes' involved in Allport's hypothesis. Whilst Allport's thesis predicts when contact might lead to positive change, Pettigrew believes it is lacking by not stating, "how and why the change occurs" (1998:70). Therefore, he suggests the following five inter-related processes are present:

First, learning about the out-group. This covers cognitive change through new learning. In the initial stage, this was held to be "the major way that intergroup

contact has effects”, but later “cognitive research has uncovered a host of mechanisms that limit learning material that counters our attitudes and stereotypes” (1998:71). This new research suggests that cognitive analyses are still part of the equation, but other processes are equally important.

Second: Positive contact between groups can result in a change in behaviour. This often has the consequential effect of changing attitudes, as new situations require a change in expectations. If these expectations encourage acceptance of ‘others’, the behaviour change may produce a change in attitude. This is most likely where there is repeated contact in a variety of settings.

Third, by creating affective ties. This process involves changed emotions, and can compliment the first process. Emotional ties are important in overcoming the “anxiety [which] is common in initial encounters between groups” (1998:72). Sports may be particularly applicable here with their potential to excite, arouse and sadden.

Fourth, through ingroup reappraisal: Where positive intergroup contact occurs, there may be a reshaping of ones view of ones own group. This process can be catalysed by “having less contact with the ingroup as a result of more contact with the outgroup” (1998:72). Positive contact with others makes one reassess the stereotypes communicated by ones own group, leading one to reassess ones understanding and membership of that ingroup.

Fifth, an essential condition which Pettigrew adds: “The contact situation must provide the participants with the opportunity to become friends” (1998:76). This furthers the argument of Thomsen that superficial contact does not suffice. Pettigrew asserts: “constructive contact relates more closely to long-term close relationships than to initial acquaintanceship,” because “optimal intergroup contact requires time for cross-group friendships to develop” (1998:76).

Forbes (*Ethnic Conflict and the Contact Hypothesis*) delivers a strong critique. Reflecting upon Pettigrew’s assertion that “the world is experiencing two major

intergroup trends—massive migration and increased group conflict” (2004:69), he questions the theory: “Aren’t high levels of contact often associated with high levels of prejudice and discrimination in the parts of the world where different racial and ethnic groups live in close proximity and come into contact most frequently?” (2004:70). He cites examples of conflict between France and Germany, the Balkans, India and Pakistan. Forbes believes the hypothesis was shown to be false fifty years ago, focusing on the inability to “promote true acquaintance without increasing casual contacts” (2004:86).

Barlow et al (*The Contact Caveat: Negative Contact Predicts Increased Prejudice More Than Positive Contact Predicts Reduced Prejudice*), focus their research on the flip side of the Contact hypothesis: the potential for negative contact to increase prejudice. In a similar vein to Forbes, they discuss racially diverse areas “in which contact is presumably common” which “often show the highest levels of intergroup antipathy” (2012:1629). However, unlike Forbes, they do not believe this shows the theory to have failed, but instead focuses on the importance of creating ‘positive’ contact. They suggest that prejudiced people may actively behave “to *ensure* that intergroup contact will confirm their expectations and be negative”, and therefore “it is likely that bidirectionality is at play” (2012:1640).

The authors insist: “factors that curb contact’s ability to reduce prejudice are now the most problematic theoretically, yet the least understood. These negative factors... deserve to become a major focus of future contact research” (2012:1630). Specific questions for researchers suggested are: “what factors predict negative contact? When will negative contact emerge as opposed to positive contact? If negative contact increases prejudice, how does it do so?” (2012:1640).

Having reviewed the praise, criticism and reformulations of the contact hypothesis, the next chapter will proceed to match it with programs in the SDP world, where the essential conditions and processes will be used as a framework to analyse whether SDP programs are suitable for creating positive contact, and

whether this hypothesis is suitable for analysing SDP programs. The next section now introduces the next conflict resolution theory: the conflict transformation work of John Paul Lederach,

1.3 Conflict Transformation

John Paul Lederach uses the term 'conflict transformation' to describe his work, rather than the more common 'conflict resolution'. He started using this term in the 1980s, believing that while the word 'resolution' does reveal the seriousness of the change required, it can be understood incorrectly. He believes the word choice 'resolution' is dangerous, allowing the possibility of 'covering up' deep changes that are necessary, in order to find a quick fix: "given its emphasis on immediate solutions, it tends to concentrate on the substance and content of the problem" (2003:30). For him, the term conflict transformation is more accurate because:

I am engaged in constructive change efforts that include, and go beyond, the resolution of specific problems. It is scientifically sound language because it is based on two verifiable realities: conflict is normal in human relationships, and conflict is a motor of change. Transformation provides a clear and important vision because it brings into focus the horizon toward which we journey – the building of healthy relationships and communities, locally and globally. (2003:4)

Lederach believes peace is a complex concept, fully understood only in relation to a host of other terms. In 'Building Peace', he discusses the four major concepts utilized by the Mennonite Central Committee in its work in Nicaragua: Truth, Mercy, Justice, and Peace:

Truth is the longing for acknowledgement of wrong and the validation of painful loss and experiences, but it is coupled with Mercy, which articulates the need for acceptance, letting go, and a new beginning. Justice represents the search for individual and group rights, for social restructuring, and for restitution, but it is linked with Peace, which

underscores the need for interdependence, well-being, and security. (1997:28)

These terms are understood as mutually interdependent, and together hold pivotal importance for building peace. Such an understanding can be described as one of 'positive peace', as formulated in 1996 by Johan Galtung, to create improved conditions in the face of direct, structural and cultural violence.

In his 2002 article 'The Challenge of the 21st Century: Justpeace', Lederach elaborates further on the need for justice. He argues there "persists a deep felt perception in many peoples' minds that to reduce violence peace compromises social justice." He disagrees with this premise and therefore, suggests a new definition:

Justpeace \ jest pés \ n, vi, (justpeace-building) 1: an adaptive process-structure of human relationships characterized by high justice and low violence 2: an infrastructure of organization or governance that responds to human conflict through nonviolent means as first and last resorts 3: a view of systems as responsive to the permanency and interdependence of relationships and change. (2002)

For Lederach, peace is a "dynamic social construct" not just "a stage in time or a condition" (1997:20). This approach is important to note, since it requires work on a continuous, on-going process, rather than simply post-conflict. Contemporary conflict is no longer predominantly war between states but rather local in nature, involving people who are geographically proximate to one another. Consequently, Lederach argues that peace practitioners must cease to focus entirely on the immediate product of peacemaking, but instead concern themselves with the process, which should refocus "toward a frame of reference that focuses on the restoration and rebuilding of relationships" (1997:24).

Lederach's work receives attention within the field of conflict resolution for his focus on culture and his method of 'elicitive training'. In 'Preparing for Peace:

Conflict Transformation Across Cultures', Lederach discusses a story of his trip to Yaviza, near Panama City, to provide a week-long training seminar on conflict resolution to leaders of the indigenous Wounaan and Embere communities. He discovered the idea of coming to be the 'teacher' was presumptuous, finding instead "most of the time I was the one learning" (1995:3). This discovery led him to question whether it is possible for a foreigner to ever perceive he could teach indigenous people:

My fundamental thesis is that we need to explore critically at a much deeper level both the content and the approach to conflict resolution training and its relationship to culture. I believe this is more readily accomplished if we move...to a critical examination of training as a project, a socially constructed, educational phenomenon comprised of purpose, process, and content and inherently encompassing culture and ideology. (1995:6)

He came to believe that "each culture has its own conception of conflict resolution and management techniques," (Maiese, 2004) leading to the creation of new training models with "a methodological framework that emphasizes the importance of cultural factors in conflict resolution processes" (Maiese, 2004). In doing so, his work can be seen to follow Adam Curle's praxis on "indigenous empowerment" that Ramsbotham et al refer to as "peacebuilding from below" (2011:216). This succeeded in moving "the emphasis in conflict resolution work from an outsider neutral approach towards a partnership with local actors" (2011:217). Lederach is distinctive in this approach, which he has named 'elicitive training'. This approach will be utilised in understanding the programs from East Africa. Do they utilise cultural resources for conflict resolution and management?

In 'Preparing for Peace', elicitive training is contrasted with the more traditional 'prescriptive' methods of training where the most significant change is the role of the trainer. Where the prescriptive trainer provides strategies and blueprints for how to move forwards through the "transfer of knowledge from trainer to

trainee”, the elicitive trainer instead draws out cultural knowledge, with the goal to discover local knowledge (1995:8). Whilst prescriptive methods of training need not be culturally blind, the context where the teacher is seen as the expert creates a pedagogy that is inherently less likely to include local culture (1995:51). In contrast, Avruch believes:

The elicitive model cannot be dismissive of culture, because culture is deeply embedded in the foundational assumptions of the model; it is part of the inherent context for theory and practice. Cultural analysis in the elicitive mode is not therefore a “value-added” asset to export-quality theory and practice—an advanced (and elective!) course in the conflict resolution curriculum. Instead, cultural analysis is practice—elementary, intermediate, and advanced at the same time. (1998:98)

The elicitive approach “emphasizes cultural empowerment and mutuality” (Conflict Research Consortium, 1997) in contrast to prescriptive training, which takes “a given approach to conflict...prescribed as the model and no effort...made to build on cultural resources found in a setting” (Conflict Research Consortium, 1997). Instead, Lederach aims to create a “‘peace constituency’, built within the context of the conflict” (Ramsbotham et al, 2011:221), which Ramsbotham et al believe:

is a departure from conventional practice where peacemaking resources from outside the conflict may be valued more highly than peacemaking assets, which may exist within the community. (2011:221)

Lederach’s theories were chosen as a way to show the contribution of SDP programs for a number of reasons. First, because he understands that peace is not simple, but is affected by many other principles, namely justice, mercy and truth. Second, because his focus on transformation of relationships rather than resolution is helpful. Third, because his programs that focus on peacebuilding from below, which utilise cultural resources will be seen to match SDP programs which use the cultural resource of sport, to work at the grassroots level. This

will be taken as a framework to be used in analysis the case studies in the forthcoming chapters.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the sub-question: 'What does current literature tell us about the potential of sports programs to fulfil conflict resolution objectives?'

This chapter found that literature on SDP cites examples from regions as diverse as Rwanda, the Horn of Africa, the Balkans and Israel. Sport's potential to contribute to peace was argued to be greater than previously realised through bridge-building, alternatives to violence, providing a cultural reference point between distinct groups, and facilitating mutual recognition. However, alternative voices have called for sports' potential to not be overstated, given the lack of research into its sustainability, and the fact that governments and those in authority continue to hold the pivotal roles in creating war or peace.

The contact hypothesis highlights the ability of positive contact to change perceptions, thereby reducing stereotypes. Research shows that majority members receive a stronger effect from contact than members from ethnic minorities (who receive no effect). In addition, superficial contact is argued to produce no change in attitudes, underlining the importance of positive, meaningful communication. Academic critique of this theory highlights dissonance over the context of the Twentieth Century world where massive migration – more contact – has resulted in more conflict, citing examples such as the Balkans, France and Germany, India and Pakistan. Furthermore, the possibility of negative contact increasing prejudice is argued to further accentuate the need for positive contact, calling for research to be employed on the contributory factors to negative contact.

This hypothesis will be understood to represent four essential conditions for contact to reduce prejudice: equal status, superordinate goals, intergroup cooperation, support of an authority. In addition to this, five essential conditions

are necessary: learning about the 'other' group, changing behaviour, generating affective ties, ingroup reappraisal, plus, the opportunity contact provides for social engagement and prospective friendship. Attention will also be paid to contexts where negative contact is observed, and causal consequences of this.

Conflict transformation does not discuss sport's programs directly, but nevertheless has four principles that may be used to analyse the potential of sports programs to fulfil conflict resolution objectives. Understood to be a broader framework, it is selected for its focus on creative solutions to peacebuilding. This framework will be understood to represent four key indicators: First, a focus on rebuilding relationships over simply resolving the present escalating point; Second, the need for truth, mercy and justice to create peace; Third, the continual need for peacebuilding throughout the conflict cycle; and fourth, a focus on cultural resources for the transformation of conflict.

The contact hypothesis framework will be used in chapter three to analyse sports programs potential for creating positive contact between groups, discussing the sub-question 'to what extent are sports programs an effective means of creating positive contact in order to reduce prejudice?'

The conflict transformation framework will be used as a second layer of analysis in chapter four to discuss the contribution of sports and contact for building peace. It discusses the sub-question 'Can contact through sports programs contribute to building peace?'

Chapter Two – SDP Programs in East Africa

The previous chapter reviewed literature on sport and peace. First, literature on the emerging sector of Sport, Development and Peace, then from within conflict resolution, Gordon Allport's contact hypothesis followed by John Paul Lederach's conflict transformation. The present chapter introduces case studies, providing details of history and program content, to answer the sub-question: 'How are sports programs attempting to build peace in their region?'

The case studies introduced below were selected because of the specific historical background, aims and goals of the organisations. The East Africa Cup is the largest SDP tournament in the region. This annual, transnational event is interesting for this research because it brings together significant numbers of young people for peace objectives through sport. These can be juxtaposed with the Kenyan sports organisations of Section 2.2. The work of Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) and Vijana Amani Pamoja (VAP) is almost entirely within Nairobi and their programs run throughout the year, with the exception of seasonal or school breaks. Their programs also have foci on peace through sports, but may be contrasted in approach and size to the East Africa Cup.

2.1 The East Africa Cup

'Ujuzi, umoja na upendo!' – "One week in Moshi, the whole year in the community!"

The East Africa Cup (EAC) is a youth sports tournament for boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 16. Established in 2004, it is held annually in the last week of June. Moshi, near Mt. Kilimanjaro, Tanzania, was chosen as the location for its regional centrality. Recognised at the prestigious 2011 Peace and Sport International Forum in Monaco for its 'effective promotion of sustainable peace through sport', it was inspired by the much larger Norway Cup, and is the principal responsibility of Norwegian organisations Norwegian Peoples Aid

(NPA), KRIK Norway and its African version Christian Sports Contact (CHRISC), and Kenyan organisation Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA).

The 2012 tournament ran for one week, comprised of 89 teams. It involved more than 1600 young people, with an equal gender balance (Olsen, 2012). Over 40 organisations participated in the sports categories of volleyball, sitting volleyball and football. Other teams participated in 'cultural' evenings that used song, drama and dance on stage to highlight to all 1600 watching participants "more regional understanding of the regions diverse cultures" (Olsen, 2012). Executive Committee member Svein Olsen believes this is "a potential tool for awareness and bridge building between the many cultures of the participants" (Olsen, 24/06/12 Interview).

There are additional opportunities for over-age participants through teams such as: refereeing, leadership, instructing, coaching, first aid, and photography. These can be an important way of continuing the development of leadership skills and friendships through the tournament. An example of this is the referees, who are given five days of coaching before the tournament begins, being housed together in accommodation away from the participants throughout both the training and the tournament. The sense of camaraderie and togetherness amongst this group was palpable.

Whilst sports is one of the prime factors behind the Cup, the timetable is split between mornings devoted to seminars, afternoons to sports, and evenings to the cultural events. The EAC organisers are clear that the event is intended for more than simply sports: "the EAC is more than a football event; as with other years, no participant kicked a ball without attending a morning workshop first, and this year there were more sessions than ever" (East Africa Cup Website, 2012). Seminars are centered on topics such as HIV/Aids Awareness, coaching, first aid/sports injuries, conflict resolution, interfaith dialogue, positive potential of sports for children with disabilities, journalism/media skills, gender based violence, transformative masculinity, coach education and leadership. Facilitators for these seminars come from a range of organizations and nations,

in addition to those from East Africa: the UK, USA, Norway, Somalia, Zimbabwe and Switzerland (Olsen, 2012). Olsen was also keen to point out in his report evaluating the 2012 Cup that “the highlight of the closing ceremony was the fair play awards – because the biggest trophies don't just go to the best players but to the best all-round participants” (2012).

The Cup aims to be more than simply a one week per year experience, encapsulated in the slogan ‘*ujuzi, umoja na upendo!*’ – translated as “One week in Moshi, the whole year in the community!” A primary criterion for teams wishing to enter the cup is that they must be more than simply a sports team; they must be “involved in life skills training in some form on a consistent and systematic basis”, intended to “inspire and catalyse life skills programs in the various ‘home’ communities of the participants” (Olsen, 2012).

Participants Perspectives

CHRISC Uganda (2012) felt it was a very helpful event:

The interaction at the field of play, seminars and evening entertainment enabled them [to] make friends from different countries. The event creates an opportunity for youth to mingle up, share experiences and learn from each other.

The same author adds another point:

The event excited most youth especially those that participated for the first time. It was an experience of a lifetime. Crossing the boundaries of one country to another was a good experience. This created excitement and joy to the youths and will live to tell the experience to their colleagues. (2012)

This experience of crossing borders seemed to be of serious significance to these young people, for many of whom it was the first opportunity. The memory and

shared experience is also highlighted, as it ensures news of all these young people meeting others from across the region would spread further than the 1600 participants physically present, a factor Hewstone and Swart might see as positive for its indirect contact.

The international sporting NGO 'Right To Play' (RTP) ran conflict resolution seminars at the cup. RTP coordinator at the cup, Akope Caroline Aisu, stated they were "ensuring participants know about leadership and conflict and about playing with a purpose. We need to promote one Africa" (Sport and Dev, 2012). Shukri Yusuf Apri, Head of Field Office for Norwegian People's Aid Somalia (NPAS), shares this view. She reflected upon what she was seeing at the cup and its applicability within a Somalian context:

If children in Africa were exposed to other countries, we wouldn't have bombers from Somalia in Kenya, they would know that we all belong to one family and we are grateful this happens at East Africa Cup (Sport and Dev, 2012).

The tournament brought about a change in her thinking: She hopes to bring young Somali's to the cup in future:

"I see young boys concentrating on football, but I never knew about the other lessons it can teach. Now I am at East Africa Cup, my attitude is changing and I understand why young people choose to come together and I see the benefits it can bring" (Sport and Dev, 2012).

This experience of crossing borders, meeting and potentially becoming friends could certainly further the idea of one Africa for those participants, their families and those they share the experience with at home. For another RTP staff member, Benjamin Nzobonankira, (RTP Burundi Coordinator, Personal Communication, 25/6/2012) sports had played a vital role in aiding his recovery from conflict in the region. Born in Burundi, Benjamin fled from country to country across the region as different conflicts escalated, from Rwanda, to the

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Democratic Republic of Congo, and finally to Tanzania where an RTP program within the refugee camp helped his recovery from trauma, leading him to believe that he could return to his home country. He now helps refugees and those with physical disabilities as a coordinator for RTP in Burundi.

2.2. SDP Programs in Kenya

The next section focuses on the work of two SDP organisations located in Nairobi, Kenya. Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) is the largest, with a proud 26-year history and 25,000 participants per year. Vijana Amani Pamoja (VAP), translated as 'Youth Together for Peace', follows this, calling itself MYSA's little sister.⁴

This section has chosen to analyse the work of these two organisations together for two main reasons. First, because while many researchers have discussed MYSA, VAP has not been introduced into the academic consciousness thus far. Second, because the organisations network together and share learning's, which can result in a similar methodology employed. This research can highlight those similarities, most pertinently through the 'Violence Prevention' program.

2.2.1 Vijana Amani Pamoja (VAP)

Vijana Amani Pamoja (VAP) started as a football organisation named CASTLE (Captain Area Soccer League) in 2006. It trained players who would later become coaches and leaders. Their name and focus has now evolved to include partnering with a number of schools and community associations around the eastern outskirts of Nairobi, to promote programs that use football to provide education on topics such as HIV/Aids prevention, tuberculosis prevention, mental disability and girls' reproductive health. These thematic programs are typically run for seven weeks. Delivery is typically by volunteer coaches and peer educators, who receive training from VAP and partner organisation MYSA. Programs are extra-curricular, typically after-school, or in one case, delivered during the physical education (PE) class.

⁴ VAP and MYSA are two of the four Kenyan members of German-based networking organisation Streetfootballworld, which exists to support a worldwide network of organizations that use football as a tool to empower disadvantaged young people by engaging private and public partners to create social change. (streetfootballworld.org/aboutus, 2012)
The other two Kenyan members are Carolina 4 Kibera, located in the Kibera informal settlement of Nairobi and Moving The Goalposts, of Kilifi.

VAP decided to use football for its projects because it found: “If you want kids to come and listen to your message, put a ball out and start dribbling. 20 kids will surround you” (Njeri, Personal Communication, 2012). Interestingly, VAP projects did not initially include a focus on peace or conflict resolution, but it found itself in a position of responsibility within its community that was affected by the post-election violence of 2007-8. As Nancy Njeri (Personal Communication, 2012) states:

It was a bad time. One of our areas was a hotspot: the Kiambiu slum... We came up with a program for trauma recovery [‘Moving Forward’] and ran a football tournament for peacebuilding... We gave food for affected families... There was much tension. We ran this program for some time but it was difficult [to continue] because of a lack of donors... After the violence we received funding from FIFA.

The trauma recovery program ‘Moving Forward’ is a partnership of MercyCorps and Care, created by Rolf Schwery Consulting in Switzerland. Developed to aid “the recovery and personal development of children and youth affected by the hostilities in Kenya” (Schwery, 2008), it provided a framework to “partner together with other organisations to bring tribes together to play [football and other activities] and reinforce the importance of peace and working together (Otieno, Personal Communication, 2012). Program officer Otieno believes it was “fruitful when going in because people were shocked...According to wars and violence, kids are mostly used. Use kids to stop violence because their voice [is important].” With this in mind, VAP has made attempts to halt the use of young people in violence by keeping them busy in football teams, but also through intervention in youth unemployment by opening a salon for girls, (and plans for a barbers shop for boys in the future) to receive training and earn a wage.

Otieno believes football was an appropriate tool for this to happen because: “Football is about passing the ball, working together to score the goal – it’s the same in life – that is the teaching. Our tribe is Kenya, just one.” However, he

highlights both the powerlessness and time dimension by stating that the football tournaments could only happen post-conflict, they were forced to wait for the violence to end before starting the tournaments.

The election violence also created increased amounts of sexual violence such as rape, resulting in escalated infection rates. Therefore, their peace programs were complemented with HIV/Aids awareness workshops. Since then, they have joined with MYSA to send staff for training in the violence prevention curriculum, through 'Youth Development through Football' (YDF), a partnership including FIFA and the German and South African governments. As of August 2012, VAP had not yet initiated the delivery of this curriculum. They hope to evaluate the impact of their peace tournaments in the near future.

2.2.2 Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA)

Mathare Youth Sports Association has already been introduced as one of the principal organisers of the East Africa Cup. MYSA is one of the longest running sports programs in East Africa, having recently celebrated its 25 Year Anniversary. Founded by Canadian UN worker Bob Munro in 1987, the original aim was to address environmental issues in the Mathare informal settlements of Nairobi. Still headquartered in Mathare, MYSA now has a large, dedicated compound, housing one full-size football pitch, a well-equipped gym, staff offices, and one of FIFAs 'Football for Hope 20 Centres for 2010', part of the official campaign for the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, where the FIFA corporate social responsibility department committed to providing centres for football, health and education across Africa. This centre consists of a high quality 3G all-weather 5-a-side football pitch and an ICT/Library centre. MYSA is also one of the principal organisers of the East Africa Cup.

MYSA operates in 16 'zones' across Nairobi, with a total of 25,000 participants. As such, it is thought to be the biggest such program in East Africa (Muchoki, Personal Communication, 2012). MYSA participated in the 2012 EAC by sending two girls' football teams, two boys' football teams, and one 'cultural' team. MYSA

teams represent the tribal diversity of Nairobi, with Bethwell Mwaura (Personal Communication, 2012) stating “there are a few exceptions, but every team is mixed, with a minimum of four tribes in each team.” He believes this is because of the focus on winning the competition, resulting in coaches poaching good players from other teams based on ability rather than tribal allegiances. In addition to its well-known football tournament, MYSA has programs focusing on a number of themes. These include kicking aids out, leadership awards, improving libraries in informal settlements, help for jail kids, and the football for hope center.

The 2007/8-election violence forced MYSA to cancel games and programs between January 2nd and 8th 2008, over fears they would not be able to guarantee safety of the participants. In violence that the International Crisis Group estimates killed 900 and displaced over 250,000 (2008) there were “burning vehicles and houses...and serious migration of participants, because of tribal allegiances meaning they must move” (Muchoki, Personal Communication, 2012). After the signing of the peace accord, MYSA became actively involved in attempts to help, giving away clothes and blankets to IDP camps and organising football tournaments. MYSA participants lost uniforms, books and birth certificates. According to Muchoki (2012) “there was tension at first, fear of an ‘eruption’... People at these tournaments were from many ethnic backgrounds.” He explained that in these tournaments, teams continued playing in the same multi-tribal makeup as before the violence, causing older brothers and parents to cheer and support players from other tribes, something he believes was very positive.

MYSA has come onboard with the Youth Development through Football (YDF) partnership, sending Bethwell Mwaura for training in South Africa for the ‘Violence Prevention’ program. Mwaura explained that in 2009, “the MYSA strategic plan had no specific factoring of Peace. The Streetfootballworld network and GIZ changed this, through its curriculum on violence prevention through football”(Personal Communication, 2012). He believes the impact of this program has been positive, with coaches no longer “violating their players [by

shouting at them]...now they do not do this violence, so less conflict” (Personal Communication, 2012).

MYSA planned to use this curriculum to hold events before the March 2013 Kenyan presidential elections,⁵ intending to train each of their 1400 coaches in plans drawn up with the governmental commission’s plans for peacebuilding and violence prevention. The program has nine lessons including how to mediate and what to do when seeing symptoms of trauma. Muchoki explained that MYSA is mainstreaming this program across its organisation.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter presented case studies from East Africa, answering the question: ‘How are sports programs attempting to build peace in their region?’

The East Africa Cup was chosen for this analysis because of its explicit focus on building peace through bringing young people together at a sports tournament to meet ‘others’ and so establish friendships. MYSA is an organisation with strong links to the EAC. It is well established over 25 years, with a significant number of participants year-round, and builds peace through its football tournament, football for hope centre and violence prevention program. VAP was chosen for its focus on bringing youth together for peace through sports in the wake of the 2007/8 electoral violence. It is also involved in the violence prevention program and has previously run the trauma recovery program ‘moving forwards’.

These case studies will be analysed in Chapter Three against the contact hypothesis to ask whether positive contact may occur through such programs. It will also question whether this method of contact is applicable as a tool for understanding sports programs contribution to peace. Chapter Four will take

⁵ MYSA were awaiting news on further funding when this research was carried out in September 2012.

this analysis further by applying the conflict transformation framework to ask whether contact through sports may contribute to building peace.

Chapter Three: The Contact Hypothesis Applied

This chapter will attach the case studies from the previous chapter to the contact hypothesis, in order to answer the sub-question: 'To what degree are sports programs an effective means of creating positive contact in order to reduce prejudice?'

The framework of contact hypothesis identified within Chapter One is as follows.

There are held to be four essential conditions for positive contact to reduce prejudice: equal status, superordinate goals, intergroup cooperation, support of an authority.

In addition to this, five processes are necessary: learning about the 'other' group, changing behaviour, generating affective ties, ingroup reappraisal, plus the ability of the contact situation to provide opportunities for participants to become friends.

3.1 Contact at the East Africa Cup

Can the EAC be attached to the contact hypothesis? Groups participating in the cup were treated with equality across a wide range of factors within the tournament: size of teams, provision of seminars in participants' languages, food and accommodation provision, and rules within sports games. Teams were provided with shirts and balls to practice with, but sporting footwear was not provided. This resulted in one girl's Under-16 team from Zanzibar competing barefoot against another team who had the correct footwear, football boots with studs. This created a distinct disadvantage, in addition to a safety concern and could have hampered efforts at positive contact and friendship between the two teams after a heavy loss for the disadvantaged team. Outside of the tournament, groups would not all be considered at an equal level, but tournament organisers

and coaches stress the success of this tournament given equality *within* the tournament is provided. In order to do this they also apply a strict process to verify the age of each player, one of the most contentious issues of the cup.

The use of sports can certainly be seen as an example of working towards a superordinate goal. Players competed in their 'home' teams, an excellent way of deepening friendships started in ones home nation. The contact hypothesis might suggest additional potential for friendships across nation should teams be mixed so that participants from Kenya would learn in seminars and play together in the same team with participants from Tanzania and Rwanda, rather than solely competing against them.

The EAC method is a good example of intergroup cooperation, where all participants are working together for the same objective, whether that be scoring a goal in football or a point in (sitting/) volleyball. This can also be extended to teams learning together in the classroom, or performing/watching a cultural performance together. The cup provides clear authority support, where participants are under clear supervision and support throughout all activities. An example of this is the excellent introduction to the event, the 'opening ceremony', where the aims of the week, rules and sanctions are clearly introduced. The presence of a Tanzanian Government Minister for Sports, a Christian minister and a Muslim minister, furthers the sense of community authority given to the aims of the event.

There are a number of Pettigrew's processes that can be seen within the cup. The cultural events are acknowledged as an excellent opportunity for participants to learn about the outgroup, in addition to the learning that takes place in a mainly cognitive capacity through the morning seminars. Participant behaviour change is recognised by Cup organisers as a challenge of monitoring and evaluating their event, given all participants spend just one week of the year at the EAC. Anecdotal evidence from some coaches interviewed suggests some behavioural change, and the creation of some affective ties, but problems' monitoring this on a larger scale mean evidence is far from conclusive. Further research such as

participant surveys would be necessary in order to also understand whether ingroup reappraisal has taken place.

A key aim of the cup is to provide a context for the creation of friendships, which Pettigrew argued is the fifth necessary process of the contact hypothesis. Mixed seminar groups provide the context for this to happen, particularly through seminars such the one facilitated by Right To Play (RTP), where groups participate actively in games designed to bring people together to teach communication and leadership skills. Meal times and evening seminars are another context for this to happen, where groups and individuals share the same space. Anecdotal evidence of friendship creation was found through activities such as singing and dancing between teams on the buses to sports venues, positive interactions observed during meal times within the compound such as participants joining other groups for games, and the strong relationships between referees, housed and trained together, who had free time in the evenings of the training week, held prior to the cup (Dilliway, Oxford, 2012).

3.2 Contact at VAP and MYSA

The programs of VAP and MYSA can be linked to the analytical frameworks of the contact hypothesis. Within both organisations, participants enter activities with expectations of being treated with equality. Both organisations frame their work in such a way that all participants receive equal treatment within games and activities. However, outside of the event they may not be equal: there may be differences of education and family background. MYSA and VAP have both attempted to help participants improve their education and standard of living through scholarships, libraries, and food donations after conflict.

The use of sports has provided anecdotal evidence of intergroup cooperation, as young people learn to work together in order to maximise their chances of achieving superordinate team goals such as winning sports matches and competitions, or successfully completing programs in violence prevention or trauma recovery. Here the statement of VAP program officer Otieno can be

matched to this essential condition: “Football is about passing the ball, working together to score the goal – it’s the same in life – that is the teaching. Our tribe is Kenya, just one.” Otieno understands the ability of being able to teach teamwork required in a football match, and how this is required in the rest of life also.

Programs take place under the supervision of the organisation, represented in the form of a staff member, volunteer coach or peer educator, who is able to impose relevant social sanctions such as suspension and exclusion from the program. MYSA dedicates a significant amount of resources into training its staff and volunteers, and at the time of this research is looking into accreditation for this training. Coaches are given clear instruction as to organisational rules and practices, and take responsibility for their group. MYSA see the role of the coach as being vital in their programs, and plans to train all 1400 of them in violence prevention.

There are a number of Pettigrew’s processes that can be connected to these projects. Staff members from MYSA pointed towards the learning about other tribes that occurs within mixed football teams, enabling a personal understanding of their team-mate which go beyond tribal stereotypes based on fear and prejudice. This context also provides a strong opportunity for friendships to develop, through regular contact in a playing season, likely to be twice per week for most teams. This allows for a reappraisal of identity towards ones own tribal group to occur, as participants regularly spend time with both their tribe/family, and then members of outgroups through the sports team. The presence of all these factors shows the ‘why’ and ‘how’ such change is occurring through contact, as Pettigrew argued is necessary in his reformulation of the hypothesis.

3.3 Applicability

This section set out to apply the case studies to the theory of contact hypothesis. In doing so, there are a number of conclusions that can be made:

All groups expected equality within the program in terms of treatment by authorities in relation to rules and norms of behaviour. However, all groups were not equal outside of the program, nor was any importance given to this idea. The super ordinate goals within these programs typically provided the intergroup cooperation needed in order to win a competitive game against an opposition. In addition, learning experiences within seminars and other teaching events created goals for teams to work towards. This intergroup cooperation did not prevent participants from Kenyan SDP organisations becoming involved in conflict, although MYSA staff members stated it is hard to know how many did so, and the circumstances of this participation. Relationships were rebuilt soon after the violence through the creation of sports tournaments to convene young people. All activities within the case studies were provided by a recognised authority, which delegated supervision and responsibility to trained leaders, coaches and peer educators.

The cases involved show how and why positive contact might occur through the programs. Learning about others happened quite clearly in both cases, whether through deliberate activities such as cultural events, or through continued, direct contact with people from other tribes. Monitoring behaviour change is difficult at an annual event such as the EAC, but organisers believe there is anecdotal evidence to suggest this is the case. It is intended through programs in Nairobi that aim to create friendships and prevent violence. The establishment of affective ties between participants is certainly an aim of every program, although this is harder to monitor in the case of the annual EAC against organisations such as VAP or MYSA, in which there is continued inter-group contact. In-group reappraisal is intended through direct leadership and programs such as 'violence prevention' and 'moving forwards'.

This section discussed the sub-question 'To what degree are sports programs an effective means of creating positive contact in order to reduce prejudice?' This section reveals a strong correlation between sports programs and the essential conditions of the contact hypothesis. This results in a positive answer to the sub-

question: sports may indeed be an effective means of creating positive contact, through being able to meet the essential conditions and processes prescribed by the hypothesis. These programs have also helped to answer the how and why questions as to the process involved. However, there are still questions as to the applicability of this theory. As the theoretical chapter introduced, a number of writers have taken issue with parts of the hypothesis.

Most of the writers focused on the challenge of creating positive, meaningful, and direct contact between members of different groups. The analysis of the case studies surveyed suggests this occurs to a greater or lesser extent in each case. There are good examples from the EAC, MYSA and VAP that could be incorporated into the contact hypothesis, and more still that could be done to make contact more meaningful. It is also interesting to note Hewstone and Swart's argument that 'indirect contact' is of positive consequence. The dual factors of observing a friend from one's own group who has an out-group friend, and 'imagining contact' are both likely to occur through each of the case studies surveyed. In the case of the East Africa Cup, the point was made that each participant is working one week in Moshi, the rest of the year in the community, intended to "inspire and catalyse life skills programs in their home communities" (Olsen, 2012). Successful efforts at doing so may spread news of this contact to others in the form of indirect contact.

There was little evidence observed or detailed to this researcher by program leaders of negative contact occurring within programs. Nevertheless, Barlow et al's suggestion that positive contact is important is supported by this research. Forbes criticism of the failure of the hypothesis to promote meaningful relationship over casual contacts is worth discussing. The city of Nairobi is tribally very mixed; therefore the violence that has taken place there could support his assertion that high levels of contact can be associated with high levels of prejudice and discrimination.

The contact hypothesis has been attached to SDP programs and found to support the work of these organisations in creating contact to reduce prejudice and

create friendships between participants. The next chapter will take this evidence and analyse it from the framework of conflict transformation, to discuss what contribution these programs may have in building peace in their region.

Chapter Four – Conflict Transformation

The previous chapter found the case studies employed to be a suitable match for the conditions and processes necessary in order to make positive contact between participants, intended to reduced prejudice. This chapter takes this finding forward, using the framework of conflict transformation to explore the potential of sports programs for building peace. It discusses the sub-question 'How can contact through sports programs contribute to building peace?'

This framework holds that important elements of building peace are:

First, a focus on rebuilding relationships; Second, the need for truth, mercy and justice to create peace; Third, the continual need for peacebuilding throughout the conflict cycle; and fourth, the utilisation of cultural resources for peacemaking.

The first two indicators are closely linked and will be analysed as such. Lederach's conflict transformation emphasises the rebuilding of relationships. This is in contrast to much of traditional conflict resolution, which aims to deal with factors that cause the immediate escalation through processes such as negotiation or settlement. Lederach argues that it is more important to utilise a deeper process where the relationship is the focus, and therefore efforts must focus on the bigger end goal of restoring and rebuilding relationships, necessarily a longer process.

The contact hypothesis can also be seen to do this, through its processes of generating affective ties, and providing opportunities for friendships. Anecdotal evidence of this was suggested from staff at the EAC, MYSA and VAP. Further research such as participant and coach surveys would be necessary to explore this more fully. Certainly the EAC aims attach well to this point. However, in order to rebuild relationships, it is likely that a process of reconciliation must take place, a process not included within the contact hypothesis.

This is linked to the second indicator, the need for truth, mercy and justice, alongside peace. The search for truth necessitates a journey into the past. This reveals a schism between the theories of contact hypothesis and conflict transformation: The contact hypothesis does not suggest any need to deal with the past, other than referring to the individual need to change from the past: behaviour, emotions and reappraisal of ones own group. Neither the conditions nor processes suggest a need for reconciling the shared past with 'others'. In contrast to this, conflict transformation underscores the need to deal with the past in order to re-start friendships and relationships. The idea that peace will be found where there is also justice and mercy is not found within the contact hypothesis. Lederach's conflict transformation takes a broader view, understanding that peace between peoples is dependent upon the provision of equality, or justice.

Truth, mercy, justice and peace are dealt with at multiple levels within the EAC, in both direct and indirect means. The opening ceremony sets out the aim of the tournament to create peace. The seminar 'transforming masculinities' touched on matters of mercy and justice, and 'religious dialogue' discussed issues close to truth and mercy. The 'conflict resolution' seminar by Right To Play considered peace and justice, through an active sports-based program. As far as this researcher is aware, there were not direct seminars or foci on reconciliation through discussing the past, perhaps due to the age or lack of conflict experience of the participants. Similarly, MYSA and VAP programs do not focus on justice and equality between participants.

The VAP program 'moving forwards' was a deliberate attempt to deal with the trauma of the past, but much of its other work focuses on the present. Once conflict has ended, VAP and MYSA initiated sports tournaments to bring people together. However, as sports programs they did not overtly deal with the causes or actions of that conflict, something that a conflict resolution scholar such as Lederach would hold to be important in building peace post-conflict.

Nevertheless, the potential of MYSA programs to rebuild relationships is attested to by staff members' comments about football teams re-grouping into their pre-conflict teams, after the 2007-8 violence. Not only did the players re-join their cross-tribal teams, but also family members had the opportunity to re-connect and put aside tribal differences through watching and supporting teams. Staff member Bethwell Mwaura found it remarkable that older brothers and parents of team members could be cheering and encouraging teammates from other tribes so soon after the conflict (Personal Communication: 2012).

Building peace throughout the conflict cycle is an important belief of Lederach's model. The contact hypothesis does not suggest at which stage positive contact is most likely to occur, with conditions and processes seemingly not bound by time or context, but instead universalised. At the East Africa Cup, most participants were experiencing peacebuilding and peace education before the existence of any direct conflict in their lives. However, there are ongoing conflicts in the region (such as in the Democratic Republic of Congo) between tribes and nations represented at the cup, so it could be seen as an intervention pre-conflict and during conflict, in order to achieve friendships and stop these young people being drawn in to violent groups such as armies or militias.

Programs within MYSA attempt to build peace pre and post-conflict, but lack the security strength to run programs in the midst of an already escalated conflict, as in 2008 when they had to cancel their season because of violence affecting their programs and participants. They aimed to use the violence prevention program as a pre-conflict tool ahead of the 2013 elections, along with VAP. Certain programs at VAP have involved an active post-conflict focus, but they also shared the security problems MYSA faced in 2008, arranging ad-hoc tournaments in their region once the most violent period had passed. For both MYSA and VAP, it is the action of larger actors such as the government, army and tribal leaders that play the biggest part in concluding violence.

Lederach's model stresses the importance of utilising cultural resources. In comparison, the contact hypothesis has what this researcher has already called a

'universal' model. This model suggests conditions and processes to utilise in any context, not deeming locality or culture to be of importance. This element can be seen in action at the EAC, through the 'cultural seminars' where teams represent traditions and customs from across East African tribes and nations to each other, through the medium of drama, song and other creative means. This underlines the importance organisers place in the culture of each participant, and is an important part of building peace and friendships among their participants. It also reinforces what the contact hypothesis calls the need to learn about others and reappraise ones own group. Senior organiser Olsen was particularly enthused about this part of the event, praising partners MYSA for organising it.

Each case study organises its main sports events around football, with other sports such as volleyball and sitting volleyball also popular at the EAC. The popularity of these sports ensures participants will attend. The use of these sports as East African cultural tools may be questioned. As stated in the introduction to this paper, sports such as football were used in 19th Century Britain to organise its population for the industrial revolution, and later to 'civilise the colonies'. As Tomlinson and Sugden ask (2003): To what extent does football remain a postcolonial tool, which takes the best African footballers to Europe and dominates African personal life through support for the big teams in Europe? Both the 'moving forwards' trauma recovery and 'violence prevention' program were external programs, focusing on the universal tool of football, rather than any local cultural resources. To what extent might these be hindering the use of other cultural tools? Further research might investigate this aspect to ascertain whether there are additional African cultural resources not widely known and employed.

Nevertheless, it is true that football is the most popular sport in the region, both in terms of playing and following teams, particularly in Kenya. Therefore, football could be argued to be a resource that is culturally appropriate to use to bring people together. Chapter One introduced Lea-Howarth's statement that in Sierra Leone, football was one of the few shared cultural reference points. Research into whether this is also the case in East Africa should be considered.

4.1 Applicability

This chapter has applied the model of conflict transformation to the contact hypothesis, and analysed sports programs in East Africa to ask what contribution they may make in building peace in the region. In conclusion, contact through sports programs may contribute to building peace through the presence of a number of elements. Both frameworks agree that it is essential to create the right conditions for friendship to occur, however, there are contrasting beliefs on the process involved.

This chapter found there are elements of the theory of conflict transformation and contact hypothesis that are complementary to one another, and elements where the broader focus of conflict transformation has ideas that may be added to the contact hypothesis, in order to make it more applicable to the sports programs.

The building of relationships is a key aim of both frameworks, with the creation of 'affective ties' and space for friendships suggested as key processes for the contact hypothesis. However, it does not attempt to deal with the past, whereas conflict transformation understands there is a sincere need to do so, in order to heal the wounds of what has passed between and is blocking contact between people, before relationships can be restarted. Each of the case studies within East Africa hold a key aim to build and re-build relationships.

Conflict transformation holds that peace is interdependent with the presence of truth, mercy and justice, which necessarily involves a journey into the past. The condition of equal status can be perceived as being close to the requirement for justice of conflict transformation, and scholars have argued over whether there must be equality between groups solely within the contact situation, or whether contact must be between groups who are roughly equal in socio-economic terms. Lederach's theory would certainly take the broader path and argue that in order to create peace, inequalities must be heard and addressed for groups to feel they are being treated with justice. This would be a prerequisite for positive contact.

The universality of the contact hypothesis is in contrast to conflict transformation, and therefore the final two indicators, building peace across the conflict cycle, and utilising cultural resources, are distinctive elements of Lederach's framework. The contact hypothesis does not stipulate at which point in the cycle positive contact is most likely, nor does it highlight the importance of using local methods for building peace.

Conclusion

The first chapter introduced literature from SDP and conflict resolution, addressing the sub-question 'What does current literature tell us about the potential of sports programs to fulfil conflict resolution objectives?' Current writing within SDP is split between the perspectives that sports potential, as a tool for peace is currently undervalued, and the opponent belief that given the immaturity of the sector, and difficulties creating effective monitoring and evaluation strategies, its contribution should not be overstated. In addition to this, sports programs are held to be small players in a wider context controlled by governmental and other power figures. The contact hypothesis was introduced as a tool used by peace practitioners for over half a century. It hypothesises that given certain essential conditions, and the presence of certain processes, positive contact between differing groups can be made which will help to reduce stereotypes and prejudices. John Paul Lederach's conflict transformation was introduced as a broader framework, to be used as a second layer of analysis of the sports and contact thesis. It underscores the need for a deeper process of transformation in order to rebuild relationships.

Chapter two introduced the case studies, discussing the sub question 'How are sports programs attempting to build peace in the region? The East Africa Cup (EAC) is an annual tournament based in Moshi, Tanzania, attracting 1500-2000 participants per year from Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, brought together for the explicit aim of meeting others and building friendships. Case studies from Kenya are the year-round Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA), and Vijana Amani Pamoja (VAP), translated as Youth Together in Peace, MYSA has 25,000 participants per year, now in its 27th year. It aims to build peace through its football tournaments, football for hope centre, and violence prevention program. VAP formed in the wake of the electoral violence of 2007/8, and ran the trauma recovery program 'moving forwards.'

The third chapter analysed these case studies by applying the essential conditions and processes of the contact hypothesis to their work. It discussed the sub-question 'To what degree are sports programs an effective means of creating positive contact in order to reduce prejudice?' Finding a strong correlation between the sports programs work and the essential conditions and processes of the hypothesis, this evidence points towards the successful ability of sports to meet the conditions needed to create positive contact between groups.

This analysis was taken forward in the fourth chapter, where the framework of conflict transformation was applied to take this finding further. Discussion centred around the sub-question 'How can contact through sports programs contribute to building peace?' It found that it may do so through the presence of a number of elements. Both frameworks agree that it is essential to create the right conditions for friendship to occur, however, there are contrasting beliefs on the process involved. The conflict transformation framework was found to be broader than the contact hypothesis, with regard issues such as dealing with the past, working for justice, utilising local cultural resources and understanding the time element of when certain actions are needed within the conflict cycle.

This paper finds that conflict transformation can be applied complementarily to the work of the contact hypothesis, thereby creating a greater chance of positive contact. This has the ability to strengthen both the theory of conflict resolution, and the practice of SDP programs. The contact hypothesis can benefit from conflict transformation's understanding of the importance of dealing with the past, utilising cultural resources of peacemaking, and when in the conflict cycle positive contact may best occur. Conflict transformation theory and practice can benefit from being used in conjunction with the contact hypothesis through the latter's more practical focus on the questions of 'how' and 'what' to do to build peace.

Sports programs can contribute to building peace through the positive contact that sports is particularly good at creating. However, this paper agrees with analysis by Lea-Howarth that such programs are beholden to those in power

such as political, governmental, military and tribal leaders, who are the pivotal powerbrokers in deciding the escalation and de-escalation of a conflict. The case studies have shown these organisations to be powerless to intervene during conflict, but are employing significant resources both pre and post-conflict, to ensure the existence of more peace in the region. This research indicates sports programs are likely to make a sizeable contribution toward building peace in the lives of their participants, should the dual analytical focus of this thesis be proved correct: First, that sports is a suitable tool for creating positive contact. Second, that positive contact will contribute to building peace.

This thesis contributes to existing literature in a number of areas. First, it seeks to enlarge the academic consciousness of SDP programs both with regards the content and style of programs, and to the work of organisations within East Africa, specifically the work of the East Africa Cup and VAP. MYSA is already well known within the sector. Second, it adds to Woodhouse's assertion that sports' potential to contribute to cultures of peace and the practice of conflict resolution is greater than realised. Nevertheless, it adds to Wilson and Levermore's caution on the sustainability of these programs, and provides further evidence of the difficulties of monitoring and evaluation.

There is further research required in different areas of this thesis. The first analytical level relied on the idea that positive contact can create reduced prejudice and stereotypes. The use of both quantitative and qualitative analysis could be applied to monitor whether this is the case. This could take place through surveys of participants at the East Africa Cup, to find out whether there has been attitude change towards others, ingroup reappraisal, behaviour change, and whether any friendships made at the tournament are sustained, and how.

More research can be committed to the relationship of the contact hypothesis with conflict transformation, to discuss how these may be used complementarily. The use of contact to suggest the answers to the what, how and why questions can be helpful in providing practical ways of outworking the broader aims of the conflict transformation theory. On the other side, the broader aims of conflict

transformation and the inclusion of cultural and timing factors will significantly develop the contact hypothesis, which is hampered by its universalisation. Sports has significant potential to be used well in conjunction with these two theories, therefore further research which applies the two theories together with sports programs is timely. As noted by several authors, research is certainly needed into which types of conditions and processes result in negative contact, in order to enlighten groups bringing people together of how and what to avoid, in addition to the known essential conditions and processes.

Each of the case studies surveyed have intentionally run programs to stop violence and heal trauma of the recent past. Staff at VAP mentioned their desire to evaluate the successes of their trauma recovery program in the wake of the 2007/8 violence. This work would be beneficial for both the fields of SDP and conflict resolution. Research could now be carried out into whether violence prevention programs in Kenya run by MYSA and VAP have contributed towards maintaining the peace after the 2013 presidential elections. Similar work could be done with participants from the East Africa Cup in their localities.

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