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Sport, Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution: A Contextual Analysis and Modelling of the 'Sport, Development and Peace' Sector

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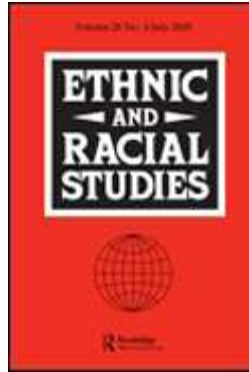
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Sport, Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution: A Contextual Analysis and Modelling of the 'Sport, Development and Peace' Sector

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For Peer Review Only

Abstract

In recent years, a wide variety of organizations (notably the UN and nongovernmental ones) have used sport as an interventionist tool to nurture peacemaking across divided communities. This paper examines and theorizes these peacemaking initiatives across the expanding 'sport, development and peace' (SDP) sector. I begin by locating SDP projects within their historical contexts, and as significant elements within the emerging 'global civil society'. I then set out three ideal-type models of SDP project; namely, the 'technical', 'dialogical', and 'critical'. Each model is examined through a set of common social heuristics, such as its core objectives and paradigmatic methods. The models may be employed to analyze other peacemaking and development fields. The first two models are most influential among existing SDP projects; the potential benefits of the 'critical' model are also outlined.

Keywords: Sport, Development and Peace; War and Conflict; Peacemaking; Conflict Resolution; Global Civil Society.

Introduction

Modern sport has had a highly ambiguous relationship to ethnic and national conflicts. Sport has served to intensify or dramatize some ethno-national enmities, for example in Central America's 'soccer war', or in the Balkans or Northern Ireland.¹ Many analysts have associated sport with populist manifestations of militarism, jingoism, and violent nationalism (Brohm 1987; Mangan 1985). On the other hand, sport governing bodies such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) insist that sporting events and movements function to promote peace, tolerance and internationalism among participants and viewers (Guttmann 2002: 28).

This latter approach has received significant support in recent years through the rise of the 'sport, development and peace' (SDP) sector. The SDP sector deploys sport as a socio-cultural tool to reduce social tensions and promote reconciliation and reconstruction, notably in post-conflict contexts (cf. Sekulić et al. 2006). Additionally, the SDP sector has endeavoured to counteract racism, intolerance and prejudice; to promote health education and gender equality; and, to tackle crime and social exclusion. Largely driven by Global North agencies, much SDP work is 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. The United Nations dedicated 2005 as its International Year of Sport and Physical Education, with peace and development among the axial principles (UN General Assembly 2006).

Social scientific research into the SDP sector has thus far focused largely on individual, contemporary projects within single geographical settings. Among the most useful studies are Armstrong's (2004, 2007) anthropological research in Liberia, Darnell's (2008) study of a Canadian development agency, Gasser & Levinsen's (2004) discussion of one nongovernmental

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2
3 organization in Bosnia, and Schulenkorf's (2011) evaluation of a project in Sri Lanka.² Given
4 this field's relative infancy, researchers have yet to move seriously beyond these case-studies to
5 produce more analytical and generalized work.
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11 This paper aims to address this research gap, by locating the SDP movement within its
12 transnational context, and by analyzing comparatively the sector's key sociological tendencies.

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14 The discussion contributes to the broad research field of conflict resolution, which hitherto has
15 largely ignored the role of sport and other cultural practices within peacemaking processes. The
16 filling of that research lacuna provides a further departure-point for this paper.³
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24 The paper is divided into two main parts. First, I situate the SDP sector in historical and
25 political terms. The SDP sector reflects the historical interface between sport and the global
26 society, and the highly asymmetrical power relationships between Global North and South. I
27 also locate the SDP sector in political terms, as an increasingly important component of 'global
28 civil society'. The second, most substantial part of the paper springs from this dual
29 contextualization, to provide three ideal-type models of the SDP sector. The models encapsulate
30 the broad sociological tendencies of the large peacemaking strand within the SDP sector.
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41 Given this dual focus, it should be emphasized that the paper is, by necessity, primarily analytical
42 in approach. However, to illuminate the models, I draw regularly upon three types of primary
43 research that I have undertaken within the SDP sector: fieldwork and interviews with SDP
44 officials in the Balkans, Germany, the Middle East, South Asia and Switzerland; consultancy
45 work on SDP projects in the Middle East, South Asia and Europe; and, informal research
46 conducted at international SDP conferences and symposia.
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56 Finally, I would argue that the analysis of peacemaking SDP projects – which are located in
57 contexts of ethnic, racial and nationalist tension and violence – is valuable in itself, as this
58 research endeavour enables stronger understanding of what is an increasingly significant aspect
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3 of global civil society. The models advanced in this paper may be utilized to assist analysis of
4
5 other fields associated with peacemaking, conflict resolution and development (cf. Ross 2000).
6
7 Before discussing the three models, however, I turn to examine the historical and political
8
9 contexts for their emergence.
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11

12 13 **Sport and the Global Society**

14 15 16 a) Historical Context

17
18 Sport has functioned as a highly important socio-cultural and political-ideological tool in shaping
19
20 Global North-South relations, particularly in circumstances defined by immense power
21
22 inequalities. Three historical stages of this sport-related contact are identified here, in order to
23
24 contextualize the SDP sector's emergence. These stages are not hermetically sealed; thus, trends
25
26 identified within each stage may spill over into other periods.
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31
32 i) Sport/Global Society 1.0: Sport, Colonization and 'Civilization' – during this phase, from
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34 approximately the late 18th to the mid-20th centuries, sport was a potent element
35
36 within wider *colonial projects*, involving the European colonization of land and the
37
38 extermination and control of indigenous peoples across non-European territories.
39
40 The Games Revolution in British public schools and the universities, from the mid-
41
42 19th century onwards, ensured that sports were quickly codified and spread widely
43
44 across the colonies (Holt 1989; Mangan 1985). Alongside their social, political and
45
46 ideological functions in sustaining imperial rule, British sports were 'civilizing'
47
48 instruments of cultural genocide, as the 'human movement' cultures of colonized
49
50 peoples were purposively eradicated or systematically co-opted into colonial sporting
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52 models (Bale & Sang 1996). Alternatively, association football underwent strong
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54 diffusion through trade, industrial, and educational routes, rather than within the
55
56 colonies (Lanfranchi et al. 2004). Football was seized upon by Anglophone elites
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3 (notably in South America), and its urban spread was accelerated through a seeming
4 superiority to 'backward' traditional pastimes (cf. Mason 1995; Ok 2007; Stokes
5 1996). Later, the US sport of baseball was spread through 'neo-colonial' spheres of
6 American influence, notably Central America and the post-war Far East (Guttman
7 1994; Guttman & Thompson 2001).

- 16 ii) Sport/Global Society 2.0: Sport, Nationalism, Post-Colonialism and Development –
17 during this phase, from the 1940s to the 1990s, sport was a highly contested field in
18 colonial and post-colonial contexts. In Africa, sport was a focus of struggle and
19 resistance for colonized populations (Baker & Mangan 1987; cf. Korr & Close 2008).
20 In Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), the black population fought to establish control over
21 its football system (Stuart 1996). The international boycott on sporting relations with
22 South Africa – driven initially by independent African states – was central to the anti-
23 apartheid movement (Booth 1998). In the Caribbean, cricket served to dramatize
24 struggles of liberation, notably through victories over England (Beckles and Stoddart
25 1995; James 1963). Following independence, the new elites in many 'Third World'
26 nations were integrated into the global governance of major sports. Indicatively,
27 membership of football's global governing body (FIFA) grew from 54 to 149 in the
28 period 1945-1980 (Goldblatt 2003: 494-5). Sport governing bodies prioritized the
29 global *development of sport*, which mirrored the modernization policies favoured by
30 international bodies like the IMF and World Bank. Developing nations received
31 some funding for sport capital projects and athlete training; in *realpolitik* terms, this
32 support cemented voting blocks within sport governing bodies.
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56 iii) Sport/Global Society 3.0: Sport, Development and Peace – during this phase, from the
57 mid-1990s onwards, the colonial, post-colonial, and development of sport themes
58 have remained prominent. The *sport for development* ethos and the SDP sector have
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3 fully emerged. Early signs of this process were evidenced by partnerships between
4 charities and sport institutions, or by the 'Olympic Truce', established in 1992 and
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6 backed by pre-Olympic UN resolutions since 1993.⁴ Closer partnerships have been
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9
10 forged between key forces within the sport system and wider development sector.
11

12
13 Here, I argue that the SDP sector – as the third historical phase of the Sport/Global Society
14 interface – has been through two particular periods. The first period (which I term
15 Sport/Global Society 3.1) was marked by the SDP movement's sudden expansion, up to and
16 including the UN's commitment to sport in 2005. This first period also featured the
17
18 establishment of many short-term SDP projects with relatively little focus on sustainability,
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20 monitoring and evaluation of work, international coordination, or knowledge transfer (cf.
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Armstrong 2007; Gasser & Levinsen 2004; Lea-Howarth 2006).

The second period (Sport/Global Society 3.2) has featured greater differentiation, reflexivity,
networking and coordination across the SDP sector. Thus, SDP agencies have tended to have
more definitive objectives, such as peacemaking within specific communities; greater monitoring
of project progress and sustainability; more knowledge of and engagement with local, national
and international networks; and, stronger guidance and assistance from experienced
development agencies.⁵ Various transnational SDP institutions – such as the Sport and
Development platform in Switzerland, Peace and Sport in Monaco, Right to Play in Toronto,
and streetfootballworld in Berlin – have become global hubs for knowledge transfer throughout
the SDP sector.⁶ SDP agencies are also adept at engaging with public and private donors,
notably national governments, intergovernmental organizations, transnational corporations and
sport federations. In order to make sense of the SDP sector's diversity, it is important to
consider the political context in which it operates.

b) Political Context

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2
3 I locate the SDP sector within the framework of ‘global civil society’, which has important
4 institutional, normative and political characteristics (Anheier et al. 2007; Chandler 2005; Kaldor
5 2003; Keane 2003). First, global civil society represents the globalized variant of ‘civil society’.
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10 Second, global civil society is commonly associated with the generalized promotion of ‘the
11 human good’, primarily in the Global South. Global civil society agencies – particularly
12 intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations – fill development and welfare gaps,
13 especially where local civil societies are small or underdeveloped. Third, following Kaldor
14 (2003), global civil society should be understood as being a complex social field, featuring
15 struggles, partnerships and interdependencies between interested individuals, groups and
16 institutions which are seeking to define and shape its constitution, identity and practices.
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28 The four, most prominent forces within global civil society are depicted in Figure 1.
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FIGURE 1

Each of the four categories has direct relevance to the SDP sector.

- i) Reflecting neo-liberal and market influences, there is the ‘corporate social responsibility’ side of the private sector, notably among transnational corporations, as illustrated by the SDP work of Coca-Cola, Nike and other corporations.
- ii) There are a host of national and international governmental institutions, including nation-states (notably international development, education and sport departments within governments); intergovernmental organizations, such as the UN and the EU; and, the IMF, World Bank, and various UN agencies (UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNHCR). Many of these sponsor or run SDP programmes, for example, UNICEF has a sport for development office, while UNESCO and Canadian Heritage run SDP initiatives.⁷ Also included here are sport federations (in effect, national and international governing bodies) which run or sponsor SDP projects.

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- iii) Traditional ‘third sector’ agencies – nongovernmental and community-based organizations – provide the most numerous and diverse contributions to the SDP sector. These include sport-specific agencies (such as Right to Play, streetfootballworld), and general nongovernmental organizations with sport-related activities (such as SOS Kinderdorf, Christian Aid, Sarvodaya in Sri Lanka, Amnesty International).
- iv) New social movements and radical nongovernmental organizations constitute the most radical elements within global civil society. Many of these movements and organizations advocate social justice and criticize corporate and state abuses of human rights. Some of these institutions have protested against partnerships between sport federations and corrupt or oppressive elites, and human rights abuses in sport merchandise factories (e.g. Clean Clothes Campaign).

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Two further points arise on global civil society, underlining the complexity of institutional forms and relationships across the SDP sector. First, interrelationships between the different categories can be relatively complex: for example, institutions from the neo-liberal or governance sections often hire nongovernmental organizations to implement SDP projects, while many SDP project workers have prior links to new social movements. Second, SDP agencies and projects harbour major scalar differences. For example, as the 3.2 stage of the Sport/Global Society interface took shape, some sport-focused nongovernmental organizations developed transnational scales of operation and funding, and took on the role of assisting small-scale community organizations to implement SDP projects.

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The Contemporary SDP Sector: Three Models of Peacemaking Agency

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I turn now to outline and explore the three ideal-type models of SDP project. I have restricted my focus to peacemaking projects for several reasons. First, as the SDP sector has become

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3 increasingly large, complex and variegated, this focus on peacemaking helps to provide analytical
4 depth rather than excessive breadth. Second, peacemaking is arguably the most substantial SDP
5 theme, in terms of political prominence (especially with the UN) and worldwide scale of projects.
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10 Third, for these reasons, much of my prior SDP research has examined peacemaking initiatives.
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13 The three ideal-type models discussed here are the Technical, Dialogical, and Critical. The
14 models are Weberian ideal types, encapsulating particular characteristics of SDP projects within
15 idealized, homologous forms.⁸ Inevitably, variations arise between any phenomenon's ideal-
16 typical construction and its actual manifestation. However, these differences enhance, rather
17 than vitiate, the sociological insights to be gleaned, not least by enabling more 'subtle sociological
18 distinctions' to be drawn between abstractions and empirical findings, or between the ideal types
19 themselves (Weber 1978: 23-4).⁹
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30 In order to set out and examine the three SDP models, I refer to a set of common social
31 heuristics. These heuristics fall into four general categories, relating to:
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36 i) The *defining institutional features* of the SDP project: its core objectives, key themes,
37 managerial frameworks, and roles.
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41 ii) The *properties of SDP work* within the project: the user groups targeted, the
42 paradigmatic methods, and the socio-cultural tools utilized.
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47 iii) The *types of social relations* within the SDP project: the play contact methods, cross-
48 community social relations, ties to donor groups, and types of relationship to
49 other agencies within global civil society.
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55 iv) The *monitoring and evaluation* methods of the SDP project.
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58 The main features of the three ideal-type models, with reference to these social heuristics, are
59 outlined in Figure 2.
60

FIGURE 2

In elaborating the models, I consider their respective positions vis-à-vis both the sport-global society interface and global civil society. I also draw upon specific empirical cases from my primary research. Although ideal types are never fully manifested in everyday life, it is possible to identify specific aspects of each model within actual SDP projects. For reasons of brevity, I am unable to provide more empirical detail to flesh out what is, primarily, a theoretical discussion of the SDP sector.

a) Technical SDP Model

The 'technical' SDP model is underpinned by a 'realist', positivistic, instrumental philosophy, which assumes that specific societies encounter 'real', objectively-identifiable social problems. In conflict situations, external agencies are understood as best placed to offer scientific, impartial analysis of problems, and to identify and implement problem-resolving strategies. The divided parties are understood as immersed in the problem, thereby lacking the training and detachment required to identify causes and solutions. The role of technical SDP agencies is centred on utilitarian *intervention*, with a likely commitment to the incremental resolution of social problems.

Social relationships within the 'technical' model reflect commitments to hierarchy, directive pedagogy, established sport, and instrumentality. The SDP sector overall is understood as highly *hierarchical*, and structured in a scalar, pyramidal way: knowledge, expertise and instructions flow from international institutions at the apex, through local community agencies, down to different user groups. These hierarchies enable a *directive pedagogical* method of communication to be implemented between different tiers of management, as SDP experts direct lower groups in a largely one-way circuit of knowledge transfer.

The technical SDP model features interventionist programmes with *specified social units*, differentiated by age, gender and residence, and within particular time-space contexts. *Scheduled*

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3 *clinics* are favoured over set time-periods. The cultural tools within this model tend to be
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5 *established sports*, whose *competitive* aspects are retained, although SDP officials closely *structure* the
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7 types of social interaction that occur.
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11 The technical model features particular global civil society relationships. Acknowledging
12
13 hierarchies, SDP agencies accept *regulation* by donors which seek to influence project objectives
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15 and methods of evaluation. Technical agencies favour *instrumental* relationships with other global
16
17 civil society institutions, often nongovernmental organizations, if such ties are demonstrably
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19 beneficial.
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23 The technical model sets specific, measurable goals to be achieved within delimited periods.
24
25 Project efficacy is evaluated through a realist, positivist *measurement of objective outcomes*. SDP
26
27 agencies monitor and evaluate projects through *positivist* techniques, such as the quantitative
28
29 measurement of intervention outcomes.
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31

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33 Within the SDP sector, the technical model's instrumental aspects were particularly evident
34
35 during the late 1990s and early 2000s among nongovernmental organizations or sports
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37 federations that had limited contextual knowledge or sensitivity. As one critical
38
39 nongovernmental organization official put it to me, these technical projects tended to, 'Jet into
40
41 some faraway place, armed with their training manuals and strange equipment, to teach "war
42
43 children" how to play proper games'. In addition to running rather formulaic coaching clinics,
44
45 some technical nongovernmental organizations have preferred to select participants by pre-
46
47 determined criteria (e.g. specific percentile balances in age or gender), rather than allowing for
48
49 distinctive local factors (e.g. specific urban/rural divides, or complex ethno-religious and gender
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51 identities) to be fully accommodated.
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57 The technical model's public relations aspects are evidenced in three ways. First, the largest
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59 technical agencies have elite social capital, and often secure patronage from international
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1
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3 celebrities who attract media coverage and corporate donors. For example, one such agency
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5 hosts an annual awards ceremony that features world-leading sport celebrities. These celebrities
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7 are often recruited as agency ambassadors, and flown in for media-orientated visits to SDP
8
9 projects, including peacemaking initiatives. Second, transnational corporations often view SDP
10
11 involvement in instrumental, market-profile terms. Thus, for example, Nike's corporate social
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13 responsibility is a 'driver of growth', 'part of a healthy business model' that 'creates competitive
14
15 advantage'.¹⁰ Third, some sport federations view SDP work as symbiotic to the transnational
16
17 development of their sport, particularly across new 'markets'. These federations prefer to finance
18
19 SDP projects which practice their sport, teach playing skills, and retain the sport's full
20
21 competitive elements (which in turn enables the federation to advertise the sport's intrinsic
22
23 peace-building 'spirit'). Thus, some North American sports federations have parachuted
24
25 equipment into the Middle East in order to assist SDP projects and to gain positive international
26
27 media images. Compared to football, these sports are little known across the region and unlikely
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29 to be effective interventionist tools.
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36 Elsewhere, some international nongovernmental organizations are wary that their prospective
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38 grassroots 'partners' may be more committed to profitability rather than social development. As
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40 one official explained to me, 'We would not admit as a partner a pure sports academy like the
41
42 many now being created in Africa and elsewhere, where they would pretend to do something
43
44 positive in the social aspect whereas in reality they would be turning more meat into the talent
45
46 machine. This is something that we would never support.'
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50
51 Hierarchical relationships are evident among donors, corporations, nongovernmental
52
53 organizations and sport federations. Some transnational SDP networks are headed by
54
55 international nongovernmental organizations or sport federations based in the Global North.
56
57 These institutions direct local and national agencies, and despatch instructors to teach from
58
59 global SDP manuals. Some corporations or sport federations help to finance SDP work that is
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3 conducted by nongovernmental organizations. In return, these corporations and federations are
4
5 active in setting SDP objectives, usually with a core focus on meeting fundamental human needs
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7 or responding to Millennium Development Goals (e.g. children's education, promoting public
8
9 health, gender equality). In such circumstances, donors and project officials meet regularly to
10
11 discuss progress and outcomes. To facilitate quantitative measurement and evaluation, some
12
13 SDP projects carefully log the key demographic characteristics of participants, and recruit IT
14
15 specialists to create advanced software packages for data analysis. There are mixed views on the
16
17 value of this positivistic impact-measurement. Some officials with extensive backgrounds in the
18
19 development sector informed me that such data-gathering can be too crude, too oriented
20
21 towards pleasing donors and outside audiences, and unable to account for additional, possibly
22
23 crucial factors, such as the activities of local politicians and other outside agencies, in
24
25 contributing to the peacemaking environment. Nevertheless, most officials support the broad
26
27 move towards greater evaluation. As one SDP official in the Middle East stated, 'It had to
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29 happen. Too many projects in the past were started in the big excitement around sport for
30
31 development but they just had no thought about sustainability. We needed to know what works
32
33 and how to sustain it, and we are moving that way now.' Evaluation exercises help to rebut
34
35 criticisms from major corporations and sports federations, that SDP activities are essentially PR
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37 stunts and unproductive.
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46 Regarding donors, technical projects are most obviously associated with corporations or pro-
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48 market governmental organizations, which have limited experience in specific zones and
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50 preferences for short-term demonstrable 'results'. Projects tend to be implemented by
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52 nongovernmental organizations with proven SDP expertise, good social capital among donors,
53
54 and a willingness to compete for contracts across development 'marketplaces'.
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58 Finally, we may consider the technical model vis-à-vis the sport/global society interface and the
59
60 global civil society. The tendency of the technical model to favour externally-imposed solutions

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2
3 was most evident during the 3.1 phase of the sport/global society interface ('sport for
4 development'), but also has some continuities with the assumptions of Western superiority that
5
6 were apparent during the 1.0 phase (featuring 'colonial projects'). More progressively, the
7
8 technical model's focus on positivistic measurement does require the SDP sector to examine
9
10 critically the efficacy of its interventions.
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14 15 16 b) Dialogical SDP Model 17

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19 The 'dialogical' SDP model is rooted in an interpretative, communicative philosophy. It
20
21 understands conflicts as socially constructed, strained relationships between different
22
23 communities that are marked by lack of social contact, trust, and effective mediation. This
24
25 model posits that external institutions like SDP agencies work to facilitate meaningful,
26
27 sustainable contact between divided peoples, and to act as independent (but decisive) mediators
28
29 when misunderstandings, disagreements or conflicts arise.
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34 Dialogical approaches seek to facilitate the *positive re-foundation of social relations* between
35
36 communities. SDP agencies offer *guiding mediation* to build *new meanings* between the divided
37
38 parties, practicing a *dialogical pedagogy* that engages and teaches user groups. In hermeneutic
39
40 terms, this model is committed to understanding and confronting the stories and 'foundational
41
42 myths' of inter-communal conflict (cf. Nandy 2002). Substantial consultation occurs between
43
44 different stakeholders, including all user groups, but the SDP agency retains *umpire and leadership*
45
46 roles when consensus is elusive. The model is sensitive to the possibility that cross-community
47
48 social contact may not be integrative, but instead may allow majority communities to dominate
49
50 (cf. Vincent 2008).
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55 The dialogical SDP model points towards the participation of *specified community groups*, particularly
56
57 identified social strata. Participation is more open-ended than the technical model, allowing user
58
59 groups to drop in and out of SDP projects. The paradigmatic method is the *training the trainers*
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2
3 technique, wherein the SDP agency trains local volunteers to become SDP teachers and
4
5 practitioners, and they then return to their host communities to train more volunteers and to
6
7 implement programmes. The dialogical model is willing to *modify existing sports* to accommodate
8
9 the SDP programme's inclusive goals. *Integrated*, cross-community social relationships are
10
11 pursued, to promote *cooperative* relations across divided groups. Sports involving mixed teams
12
13 help to build inclusive social capital across the communities, by forging relationships founded
14
15 upon informal, practical cooperation (cf. Pickering 2006).
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20 External social relations – between the SDP agency and outside stakeholders – confirm the
21
22 dialogical approach. SDP officials communicate regularly, through *correspondent* relationships,
23
24 with donors, who have variable influence on project objectives and methods. For example, in
25
26 the case of some 'training the trainers' projects in the Middle East, the implementation process is
27
28 largely controlled by SDP agency officials, but the donors do exert influence on the choice of
29
30 sports, and tend to bring clinics to a lengthy halt when paying unscheduled visits.
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34
35 SDP agencies favour *strategic* links with institutions across global civil society, notably
36
37 development nongovernmental and intergovernmental organizations. These connections extend
38
39 beyond immediate needs, but develop instead mutually beneficial cooperation or longer-term
40
41 partnerships. On monitoring and evaluation, the dialogical model favours *multiple methods* for
42
43 data-gathering, particularly qualitative *participatory* techniques that actively engage user groups.
44
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47
48 Illustrations of the dialogical model are not difficult to locate. Large and small agencies employ
49
50 the 'training the trainers' method, especially to teach peacemaking techniques in the Middle East
51
52 and Balkans. These projects allow the 'trained trainers' substantial autonomy in choosing how to
53
54 implement these methods. As one SDP official in the Middle East explained, 'We train about
55
56 forty people in this project, and if they go home and train more people, we can reach over a
57
58 thousand people very quickly. But they know best how to implement the project at home, they
59
60 know the local people, what is needed, the sports that will work'. The dialogical approach is also

1
2
3 found in some partnerships between international networking nongovernmental organizations
4 and local agencies, wherein the latter strongly influence project strategies and practices. Some
5 networking nongovernmental organizations have sport federations as donors, but freely employ
6 alternative sports depending on context.
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12
13 The dialogical ethos is explicit in many peacemaking projects in the Middle East, Balkans and
14 south Asia, which use sport to draw participants into meaningful and cooperative contact with
15 the Other, thereby changing cross-community perceptions. The interventionist tools tend to be
16 the most popular sports that are adapted to promote social inclusion, for example with goals or
17 points 'counting double' if scored by girls. Many projects ensure that team sports are fully mixed
18 across community divides. At some projects in the Middle East, for example, mixed-teams are
19 viewed by agency officials as encouraging participants from different communities to work
20 towards common goals, to judge the 'Other' according to personal abilities rather than sectarian
21 identity, and to talk off-the-field while awaiting their turn to participate. However, the
22 authoritative position of the agency remains prevalent, for example as officials organize the
23 structure of games, the distribution of teams, and act as mediators or umpires in order to settle
24 disputes.
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42 The dialogical principles of SDP projects are often mirrored in extended relationships between
43 implementing agencies and regional organizations. Local social capital is often vital for
44 establishing longer ties. In Sri Lanka, intergovernmental organizations have linked with local
45 nongovernmental organizations and education departments to implement SDP initiatives over
46 several years. Among other SDP agencies, mixed methods are implemented for monitoring and
47 evaluation, including the quantitative (such as user group demographic data) and the heavily
48 qualitative (such as story-telling techniques, video-recording of participant interviews).
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59 The dialogical model has significant continuities with the ethos of the Sport/Global Society 2.0
60 phase. The model recognizes the socio-cultural creativity and politico-cultural distinctiveness of

1
2
3 societies, although Global North institutions do ultimately set the project's agenda. In regard to
4
5 global civil society, the dialogical approach is more evident among institutions that have on-the-
6
7 ground experience, commitments to medium-term peacemaking goals, and the conviction that
8
9 resilient communities need local political consensus and effective development. Illustrations
10
11 here include intergovernmental organizations (operating as donors), and Global North
12
13 nongovernmental organizations which partner with grassroots organizations to implement
14
15 programmes.
16
17

18 19 20 c) Critical SDP Model 21

22
23 The critical model features a highly reflexive, critical approach towards SDP work. The model
24
25 pursues transformations in relationships between divided communities and in how SDP work is
26
27 conducted. The underlying philosophy is that effective peacemaking emerges from long-term
28
29 learning experiences among self-directed learners. Local communities are understood as best
30
31 equipped to identify their needs, clarify the nature and sources of conflicts, and choose
32
33 appropriate strategies and responses. Local project 'ownership' is consciously promoted through
34
35 full user-group participation in formulating and implementing programmes. The grassroots
36
37 approach ensures that SDP officials comprehend local variations in conflict dynamics (Bax 2000;
38
39 O'Loughlin & Tuathail 2009).
40
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44
45 Critical SDP agencies pursue deep *inter-communal transformation*, contributing a *facilitating* role that
46
47 builds everyday communication, trust and common interest between divided communities. The
48
49 model features *horizontal, fluid* readings of different institutional roles within the SDP sector. An
50
51 *andragogical* technique of communication and education exists between user groups and SDP
52
53 officials. Andragogy enables self-directed learners to assume decision-making responsibilities,
54
55 and has strongest impact when 'learners' learn through experience, thereby acknowledging
56
57 mistakes or problems along the way (Knowles 1984). Longer-term, the andragogical, critical
58
59 model seeks to forge thriving, fully inclusive, *new communities*.
60

1
2
3 The critical SDP model engages with *diverse community groups*; not just young people, but also
4
5 parents, families, friends, village elders and so forth, who all contribute to project successes.
6
7
8 Projects benefit sport's immersion within *other cultural practices* that engender inter-communal
9
10 contact. Critical SDP projects create *new games* with distinctive community-building properties,
11
12 which lack the cultural baggage of established sports, and so may be approached equally by all
13
14 participants. Paradigmatic methods include *multi-day camps* wherein participants from different
15
16 communities congregate and integrate in neutral spaces over several days; afterwards,
17
18 participants return home and report their experiences to family and friends. *Multi-day social*
19
20 *exchanges* are staged, wherein participants and their surrounding communities warmly host guests.
21
22
23 Critical SDP agencies favour *diffuse* and *self-directing* social contacts across divided communities.
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25
26 Thus, SDP project participants engage with many 'other' social groups. The model looks
27
28 beyond sporting contact, to evolve *communitarian* social relations between divided peoples.
29
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31
32 Critical projects feature distinctive relationships with donor groups and broader global civil
33
34 society. Donors need to be agreeable to the critical model's holistic strategy and long-term
35
36 aspirations. Once persuaded, donors are more likely to grant substantial *autonomy* to the SDP
37
38 agency over project objectives and methods. Critical SDP agencies view their work as
39
40 *complementary* to other peacemaking initiatives inside particular regions. Thus, critical SDP
41
42 agencies build a spectrum of partnerships across the global civil society, and seek to influence the
43
44 peacemaking strategies of divergent institutions and agencies.
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48
49 Finally, critical agencies have two broad approaches to monitoring and evaluation that are
50
51 *participatory, complementary and critically reflexive*. First, the critical model engages diverse,
52
53 participatory methods that seek close user involvement. However, critical models go further
54
55 than the dialogical approach, by recognizing the limited reach of monitoring and evaluation
56
57 work, as sport-related projects are only one element of wider peacemaking processes. Second, in
58
59 line with andragogical techniques and commitments to enhanced professional practice, critical
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1
2
3 models recognize that monitoring and evaluation should be directed reflexively back onto the
4
5 SDP agency *per se*.
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8
9 The critical model has been reflected in several SDP initiatives. Some nongovernmental
10
11 organizations, particularly smaller-scale ones, view their role as facilitating local peacemaking, in
12
13 part by enabling user groups to clarify their needs, and to instil strong understandings of local
14
15 project ownership. Although terms such as andragogy and reflexivity are not explicitly stated,
16
17 several nongovernmental organizations have embodied these values by recognizing the critical
18
19 contribution of user groups in shaping agency strategies and methods. For example, in Sri Lanka
20
21 and West Africa, some grassroots nongovernmental organizations have used sport as a tool for
22
23 peacemaking work, at the *request* of the local community, following extensive consultations.
24
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26

27
28 Projects in Sri Lanka are particularly committed to cross-community methods and multi-day
29
30 camps, which feature scores of children from different ethno-linguistic groups, and are hosted in
31
32 neutral locations. The camps put on integrated educational activities, including arts and crafts,
33
34 dance, drama and music, and the playing of new games (to maximise participation) that feature
35
36 ethnically-mixed teams. Post-camp, pupil exchange-visits are organized with strong support and
37
38 hospitality from parents, village elders, and wider communities; some villages stage elaborate
39
40 festivals to mark these visits. Elsewhere, exchange-visit methods are also employed in the
41
42 Middle East between Jewish and Palestinian families, while some nongovernmental organizations
43
44 in the Balkans purposively avoid playing competitive sports, but implement innovative games
45
46 that enhance personal skills, team-building and fun.
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51
52 Some smaller international nongovernmental organizations have reported that their work is
53
54 complementary to the wider peacemaking work within specific regions. As one official from a
55
56 small European agency put it, 'You have to look at the overall peace architectures, and in this
57
58 you have to play a certain role. There are a lot of actors and you can't play all the roles, it makes
59
60 no sense... You have to discuss your role, otherwise you don't contribute.' Various

1
2
3 nongovernmental organization officials have also commented on the difficulty of persuading
4
5 most potential donors that the efficacy of projects is hard to measure reliably. Funding is more
6
7 secure when direct personal relations are cemented between individual donors and SDP officials.
8
9 Finally, the critical, reflexive approach is evidenced through dialogue on the contentious aspects
10
11 of programmes. For example, in the Middle East, several officials reported that they responded
12
13 to local values by adjusting some project activities to ensure full participation of women. In turn,
14
15 they made significant impacts on how local people viewed women's public status. Self-critical
16
17 reflexivity is also evidenced in the continual, processual adaptation of projects in response to
18
19 official and participant feedback. For example, many officials reported sports were dropped or
20
21 sessions re-planned in response to participant requests or local needs.
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27 Overall, the critical approach is associated with the most progressive, latter aspects of the
28
29 Sport/Global Society nexus (2.0, 3.0), particularly in promoting the self-actualizing autonomy
30
31 and creative capabilities of user groups. In regard to global civil society, as noted earlier,
32
33 agencies using the critical SDP model are more likely to position themselves carefully among the
34
35 diversity of other institutions operating within this field. For this reason, as well as the
36
37 commitment to engaging fully with local user groups, critical SDP agencies are also more likely
38
39 to engage with new social movements or radical nongovernmental organizations, which highlight
40
41 social justice issues to address in project implementation and evaluation.
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46 **Concluding Comments**

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49 The expanding SDP sector provides a new focus for scholarly inquiry into sport's relationship to
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51 conflict and peace. SDP agencies embody the relatively recent movement that utilizes sport to
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53 reduce ethno-religious and ethno-nationalist conflicts, and to build sustainable, peaceful
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55 relations. Thus, the SDP sector is an increasingly significant object of study for researchers with
56
57 interests in inter-ethnic relations and conflict resolution.
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3 This discussion has provided a comparative, contextual analysis that models the SDP sector.
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5 SDP projects need to be understood within their historical context (via sport's role in making the
6
7 global society) and their political setting (global civil society). The three ideal-type SDP models
8
9 discussed here have continuities with these historical and political contexts: the technical model
10
11 overlaps partly with externalist, colonial strategies for problem-solving, and finds favour among
12
13 pragmatic transnational corporations and other pro-market organizations; the dialogical model
14
15 overlaps with the early post-colonial strategy of 'independent' modernization, and fits with more
16
17 embedded intergovernmental and networking nongovernmental organizations; and, the critical
18
19 model links to the self-governing, self-empowering strategies of the advanced 'development
20
21 through sport' method, and is particularly evident among small-scale, innovative
22
23 nongovernmental and community-based organizations.
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29
30 The models have strong analytical and heuristic utility in providing coherent sociological insights
31
32 into the principal features of different SDP projects, peacemaking or otherwise. These models
33
34 may be transferred beyond SDP work, to analyse other peacemaking and development sectors
35
36 within global civil society, and to improve understanding of inter-ethnic relations and conflict
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38 resolution.
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42 Most SDP projects feature different mixtures of these ideal-type models (especially the first two).

43
44 Many SDP projects have prominent technical aspects, for example problem-solving objectives,
45
46 specific social units as user groups, strong interventionist approaches, instrumental relationships
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48 with the wider global civil society, and positivistic applications of monitoring and evaluation.
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50
51 SDP projects also harbour key dialogical aspects, particularly 'training the trainers' methods, the
52
53 use of modified sports, integrated and cooperative relationships with user groups, and diverse
54
55 monitoring and evaluation techniques. The critical approach is less apparent, but some evident
56
57 features include the facilitator role, multi-day camps, exchange visits, and diffuse play contact
58
59 methods.
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1
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3 Within the everyday reality of the SDP sector, somewhat unusual partnerships are formed
4
5 between different kinds of institution and agency. These relationships are often underpinned by
6
7 complex forms of power brokerage. One innovative alliance features a nongovernmental
8
9 organization that has a strong history of dynamic grassroots activity, and which has received
10
11 long-term funding, to implement and oversee SDP projects, from a sports federation that has
12
13 been criticized in the past for excessive commercialism and alleged corruption. Yet officials
14
15 from the nongovernmental organization rebut suggestions that this collaboration wounds their
16
17 developmental legitimacy; rather, they insist that they have retained their core values, have drawn
18
19 the federation into the SDP sector, and have gained access to a new pool of potential donors and
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21 partners.
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27 Nevertheless, conflicts do arise within some SDP partnerships. Several officials have reported
28
29 that a common conflict occurs when some project donors (such as government departments or
30
31 sport federations) and SDP nongovernmental organizations are selecting participants for
32
33 'training the trainers' programmes. The nongovernmental organizations favour participants who
34
35 will be best at building SDP projects upon returning to the home community. Conversely,
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37 project donors often select participants according to other criteria – such as political patronage,
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39 career development or public relations – which would jeopardize the success of the SDP
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41 initiative.
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46 For reasons of brevity, I have not been able to explore in greater detail various broader issues,
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48 such as the sources of the different models, or the universal goals associated with SDP
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50 interventions. Nevertheless, I would argue that the conception of the global civil society
51
52 presented here – as a field of struggle between diverse social formations – has potential value for
53
54 answering these political questions. In terms of political relations and economic value,
55
56 transnational corporations, intergovernmental organizations, and the most pragmatic
57
58 nongovernmental organizations have strongest influence within the SDP field. That influence is
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1
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3 reflected in the hitherto greater focus of SDP work on politically 'safer' objectives, such as
4 meeting fundamental human needs or engaging with the Millennium Development Goals, rather
5 than in pursuing more challenging goals centred on social justice.
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10 The question thus arises as to how the SDP field might be more innovative and develop further,
11 by embracing the critical model more wholeheartedly and putting greater focus on social justice.
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14 Such a transition would produce a new 'sport for development' stage which might be termed,
15 Sport/Global Society 3.3. Four key developments would need to occur, to facilitate that
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18 transition. First, agencies running peacemaking SDP projects must engage more consistently
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21 with new social movements and relatively radical nongovernmental and community-based
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23

24 organizations, particularly Global South institutions based in conflict or post-conflict zones.
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26

27 This engagement would help SDP projects to acquire more critical, reflexive understandings of
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30 community needs and opportunities for agency action. It would encourage the SDP sector to
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33 scrutinize the crucial normative issues and sociological processes that underlie the problems
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36 identified by user groups. Second, peacemaking SDP agencies should forge sustained
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39 relationships of trust with key donor institutions, particularly intergovernmental organizations, in
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41

42 order to undertake long-term work without the distraction of short-term targets or 'result'
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45 deadlines. Third, the potential of andragogical work remains largely untapped. Peacemaking
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48 SDP agencies might put a greater premium on critical self-transformation as a key objective for
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51 future projects. Finally, most importantly, the role of communities in defining their needs, and
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54 setting goals for different projects, requires more substantial consideration by SDP agencies.
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61 One long-term possibility for the SDP field would involve a concerted transition towards a
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64 Sport/Global Society 3.3 stage, which gives a prominent role to key elements of the critical
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67 model. This transition might make SDP projects a little more costly, due to the time required for
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70 extensive preparatory dialogue with user groups. However, this approach would equip SDP
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73 agencies with more robust practical and normative strategies for building resilient, peaceful
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3 communities within contexts of ethnic, racial or nationalist strife. It would register too a
4
5 progressive transition in the historical sport-global society interface, and enable the peacemaking
6
7 SDP sector to mark out a progressive, justice-based path that other agencies within global civil
8
9 society might follow.
10
11

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Figure 1: Types of SDP Institution within Global Civil Society

<p>Transnational Corporations, Corporate Social Responsibility</p> <p>Neo-Liberal</p> <p>e.g. Nike, Coca-Cola</p>	<p>Governmental and Intergovernmental Organizations</p> <p>Governance / Developmentalist</p> <p>e.g. UN, UNESCO, UNICEF</p>
<p>Nongovernmental Organizations / Community-Based Organizations</p> <p>Programme Implementation</p> <p>e.g. Right to Play; Amnesty International</p>	<p>New Social Movements and Radical Nongovernmental Organizations</p> <p>Social Justice</p> <p>e.g. Clean Clothes Campaign</p>

Review Only

Figure 2: Three SDP Models within Global Civil Society

	Technical	Dialogical	Critical
Core Objectives	Problem Solving	Re-found Social Relations	Inter-Communal Transformation
Key Themes	Directive Pedagogy / Measured Outcomes	Dialogical Pedagogy / New Meanings	Andragogy / New Communities
Managerial Framework	Hierarchical	Umpire / Leadership	Horizontal / Fluid
Agency Role	Intervention	Guided Mediation	Facilitator
User Groups	Specified Social Units	Specified Community Groups	Diverse Community Groups
Paradigmatic Methods	Scheduled Clinics	Training the Trainers	Multi-Day Camps, Exchanges
Socio-Cultural Tools	Established Sport	Modified Sport	New Games / Other Cultural Practices
Play Contact Methods	Structured	Integrated	Diffuse / Self-Directing
Client Social Relations	Competitive	Cooperative	Communitarian
Donor Relations	Regulated	Correspondent	Autonomous
Sector Relations	Instrumental	Strategic	Complementary
Monitoring and Evaluation	Positivist	Multi-Method/Participatory	Participatory, Complementary, Critically Reflexive

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¹ Following a football match in 1969, Honduras and El Salvador fought a '100 hour' war which killed 4,000 people and displaced around 300,000 Salvadorans (Kapuscinski 1992). The Yugoslavian civil war was presaged by rioting at a football match between Serbian and Croatian teams (*The Observer*, 18 January 2004). In Northern Ireland, football has featured tensions and violence between clubs from Unionist-Protestant and Irish-Catholic communities (Cronin 1999).

² See in addition Calloway (2004), Coalter (2007), Höglund and Sunberg (2008), Keim (2003), Lea-Howarth (2006), Sugden (2008), Sugden & Harvie (1995), Whitfield (2006), and Willis (2000).

³ For example, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* has yet to examine the SDP sector; the conflict-resolution textbook by Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall (2005: 14) has minimal reference to sport.

⁴ See <http://www.un.org/events/olympictruce/>.

⁵ These aspects of SDP work are key topics at international SDP conferences – see for example, the annual 'Sport in Post-Disaster Intervention' (<http://www.icsspe.org/index.php?view=view&lang=de&m=16&n=32&o=145>) and 'Peace and Sport' conventions (<http://www.peace-sport.org/gb/forum2009.htm>).

⁶ See, respectively, <http://www.sportanddev.org/>; <http://www.peace-sport.org>; <http://www.righttoplay.com>; and, <http://www.streetfootballworld.org/>.

⁷ See, respectively, <http://www.unicef.org/sports/>; http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php-URL_ID=9536&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html; and, <http://www.pch.gc.ca/pgm/ai-ia/si-is/ssdp-sdp/index-eng.cfm>.

⁸ For Weber (1949: 90), an ideal-type is 'formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct.'

⁹ The models share some similarities with the three cognitive interests of social science forwarded by Habermas (1971: 308).

¹⁰ See <http://www.nikebiz.com/responsibility/>.