

**AN EXPLORATION AND EVALUATION OF MECHANISMS ON THE
ROLE OF SPORT IN POST-CONFLICT RACIAL RECONCILIATION
AND INTEGRATION: THE POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN
CONTEXT**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor Philosophiae, in the Department of Sport, Recreation and Exercise Science (SRES), Faculty of Community, and Health Science (CHS), University of the Western Cape (UWC).



Interdisciplinary Centre for Sport Science and Development (ICSSD)

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November 2015

DECLARATION

I declare that “*An exploration and evaluation of mechanisms on the role of sport in post-conflict racial reconciliation and integration: The post-apartheid South African context*” is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Solomon Asihel

November 2015

Signed.....



Date.....

KEY WORDS

Apartheid

Conflict

Race

Identity

Integration

Reconciliation

Social mission

Transformation

Grassroots

Co-existence



ABSTRACT

Sport has both uniting and dividing features, often manifesting contradictory outcomes in terms of conflict or co-operation. Sport is a social construct and its role and function depends largely on what society makes of it, and how it is consumed by society. If sport's potential is to unfold, the dividing features should be guarded against and the desired positive effects must be furthered.

The aim of this study is twofold, on the one hand, the study focuses on evaluating the post-apartheid South Africa's experience, of reconciliation through Sport Intervention Programs (SIPs), and on the other hand, the study explores mechanisms through which sport can serve as a vehicle to integrate racialized South African youth identities with the aim of promoting, reconciliation and integration for change. The study identified 12 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are facilitating grassroots sport initiatives that use sport as a platform to combat social issues in previously marginalised communities of the Western Cape Province, South Africa.

Purposive sampling was used to identify 12 focus group discussions, consisting of 10 participants in each group, ranging from 14-20 years, totalling 100 youth as well as another group of 13 respondents for semi-structured interviews, ranging from 25-68 years old, which include sport managers, coaches/officials, role models, government and UN officials, who contributed to the SIPs and their organizations in different capacities. Both the discussion groups and face-to-face interviews were conducted on a voluntary basis. Thematic content analysis was carried-out to analyse the data.

This study explored existing theories, literature, and good intervention practices, and has established the relative interlinkages between sport and peace-building, as pivotal to the ongoing scholarly debates in the field of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP). From the findings, reconciliation and integration through SIPs may require a unique method in the holistic approach for transformation and social change in post-1994. From the findings in this study, the SIPs' effort and approaches highlighted a number of positive inroads. The majority of the discussion groups and face-to-face interviewees felt the desire to have a united and non-racial South Africa. Within the discussion group, the notion of the 'Rainbow Nation' emerged as a 'counter discourse', and, a reaction to the apartheid discourse 'racial segregation', both discourses found to have impacts on the youth identities. The youth

participants also referred as 'Born Frees' are still deeply marked by their racialized past, but they also showed a drive to make a different present, and a new future.

From the findings, the SIPs foci of learning by doing, such as team cohesion on the field, and peace education off the field were found instrumental in building relationship. Networking, non-violent conflict resolution, and collaboration for shared goals, which reduced, negative perceptions among the South African racialized youth, at personal and relational level. However, the structural and cultural dimensions require multiple changes at all societal levels. The interconnection of the hierarchies of change in relation to the program in-put, out-puts and outcomes, on how the attitudes and behaviours of the individual youth are expected to change by the SIPs, and how these personal changes are sought to change the structural, and cultural practices, within the programme design, monitoring and evaluation of the SIPs were found unclear, and under-developed.

The reflexive learning within the current research process postulate that, first, conflict resolution, racial integration and reconciliation within the SIPs endeavours is characterized by a complex set of factors and dynamic forces on the ground such as race relations and social change. As such, a systems approach is necessary to approach this field in a comprehensive manner. The present research study shows that a model is required that needs to integrate the various elements in a comprehensive fashion to promote reconciliation, conflict resolution, peace and development.

Secondly, the SIPs may serve as a platform and provide contextual mechanism for conflict resolution, and this study discovered that the 'theory of change approach' is an effective tool to unpack the change process between the SIPs' activities and its ultimate goal. Thirdly the genuine effort of SIPs and its NGOs in the lives of the future leaders is well articulated; however, they seem to confront a problem way bigger than their capacity, which involves power and massive resources. The fieldwork experience from the present study, commends the SIPs' culture of networking, and collaboration can only be enhanced when it is framed by the 'scaling-up' strategy developed by Lederach et al. for wider social impact, and, sustainability.

In light of the findings, while the above three imperatives considered as an original contribution to the existing knowledge in the field of Sport for Development and Peace

(SDP), it also concluded by providing possible recommendations that may guide sport practitioners to effectively design, implement, monitor and evaluate programmes and the SIPs' in post-apartheid South Africa, in Africa and beyond.

Key Words: *Conflict, Race, Identity, Integration, Reconciliation, Social mission, conflict transformation, Grassroots, Co-existence*



ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC:	African National Congress
COSATU:	Congress of South African Trade Union
DCAS:	Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport
FIFA:	Federation International Football Association
GNU:	Government of National Unity
IOC:	International Olympic Committee
MDG:	Millennium Development Goal
M & E:	Monitoring and Evaluation
NF:	National Federation
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
NSC:	National Sports Council
NSRA:	National Sport and Recreation Amendment Act
RDP:	Reconstruction and Development Plan
SACP:	South African Communist Party
SANROC:	South African Non-racial Olympic Committee
SASA:	South African Sport Association
SACOS:	South African Council on Sport
SASCOC:	South African Sport Confederation and Olympic Committee
SDP:	Sport for Development and Peace

SIPs: Sport Intervention Programs

TOC: Theory of Change

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization



DEDICATION

This PhD dissertation is dedicated to my beloved daughter Divine S. G. Asihel who turned four years during completion of this dissertation. Thank you Divine, for being a pillar of strength, mysteriously. You enhanced the trust I have had in GOD, and hard work, so that I could achieve much with little. Thank you again for nourishing me with unconditional love, for the trust you have in me, for the lessons you taught me, for the position and balance you maintained in your life at your age. Thank you for your prayers when we eat and sleep, and unwavering perseverance that you had shown during my personal difficulties. By dedicating this hard work to you, I meant to inspire you, to do much better in your life. I dearly love you, and I promise, you will never be alone.



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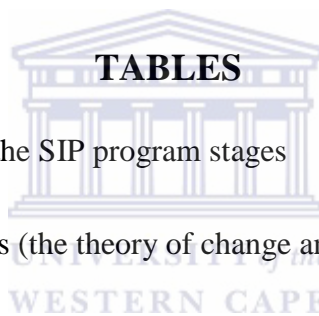


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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

“Be it team competition or individual, sport has long displayed an inspiring ability to overcome national, political, and cultural differences. Sport, in short, is an instrument of understanding among people. It is a vehicle for education about the world at large. It can be especially powerful in instilling in children and young people universal values such as and tolerance’ (IOC, 1999).

Sport like any societal institution in a given society has both uniting and dividing features; often manifesting contradictory outcomes in terms of conflict or co-operation (see Hoglund & Sundberg, 2008; Sudgen, 2005). Contemporary sport has a contradictory relationship to racial/ethnic conflicts including at national and international level (Giulianotti, 2011). For these reasons, sport may have positive or negative and/or double-standard outcomes (Keim, 2003), specifically during societal conflict (Sudgen, 2006; Sudgen and Harvie, 1995).

Scholars from different academic thoughts, investigated sport extensively such as in contexts of health and general well-being, culture, religion, politics, violent conflict, reconciliation and peace in different countries around the world. Many of them assert that the dynamics, norms and procedures of organized sport were always a reflection of the challenges that exist in a particular country (Sudgen, 2006; 2008; and Sudgen and Harvie, 1995). Furthermore, traditional sport practices are a reflection of the religious, political and other structures of a country (Sudgen & Harvie, 1995) and help reproduce prejudice, violence in attachment to religious beliefs (Trew, Scully, and Ogle, 1997), they endorse racism and nationalism (Horne, 1996; Rees, 1996); they promote hooliganism and vandalism (Bairner, 1999); generate global conflict including the so-called ‘soccer war’ between El Salvador and Honduras 1969, which

took 4,000 lives and displaced 300,000 Salvadorians within the ‘100 hours war’ (Hoglund & Sundberg, 2008,); the soccer competitions which displayed the violence conflict between teams from the Unionist-Protestant and Irish-Catholic communities in the Northern Ireland (Cronin, 2011); the outbreak of the civil war in the 1990s in Yugoslavia , which started by a football team in a game, that turned into ethnic violence and genocide (Foer, 2005).

The above pitfalls are informed by scholarly research on physical, psychological, social, environmental and economic factors at different levels in society (micro, meso and macro). Sport sociologists and social scientists assert that the violence in sport is strongly related to groups in society rather than with the nature of sport in particular (Dzathor, 2003). Sport is a social construct; not necessarily good or bad. The use and role of sport depends most importantly on what someone makes out of it and how it is utilized (Sudgen, 2010). As such sports are an integral parts of social formation, and relevant to many cultures (Clarke, 1993). Sport as a medium to promote peace and inter-ethnic solidarity is possibly one effective way to promote a culture of peace in regions that have suffered from their conflict past (UN, 2003, 2005, Lyras, 2003; 2007; Lyras and Kotziamani, 2008, Keim, 2009).

Historically, the use of sport to promote and advance reconciliation, integration and peace endeavours is not a new concept, it can be traced from the origin of sport documented dated back to the 9th century BC in ancient Greece when the Olympic Truce (Ekecheiria) was observed in times of violent wars between Peloponnesian city states during the celebration of Olympic Games. During this Truce period, athletes, artists and spectators and families were fully granted safety to travel to the Olympic Games and return to their places of origin (Olympic.org, 2009).

Sport as device to promote peace is encapsulated in the Olympic movement and Olympic Truce, dedicated to use sport as a platform in order to enhance inter-cultural communication,

conflict resolution, reconciliation and peace. This approach received massive support in recent years in sectors such as Sport, Development and Peace (SDP). The International Olympic Committee (IOC) has been consistent with the notion that sporting events promote tolerance, internationalism and peace among athletes and spectators (Guttman, 2002). The (SDP) sector endorses well organized sport as socio-cultural resource that can advance reconciliation, and contribute to the re-construction programs in post-conflict contexts (Asihel, 2009). These principles were supported by the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as well as in programs by UNICEF and the UNESCO. Lately sport has been also proclaimed as an important enabler for sustainable development, peace, education and social inclusion in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (ibid 2015 para 37).

Well designed, organized, monitored and implemented sport programs provide occasions for nonviolent communication and understanding across the divides of differences (Kidd and MacDonnell, 2007). The SDP sector strived to combat, intolerance, racism and prejudice, and to advance gender equity, health and education as well as to tackle crime and exclusion. This development been largely driven by agencies from the global North although much of the SDP work is conducted in the global South or regions ravaged by warfare, social breakdown and natural disasters. Key institutions within the SDP sector include None Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Nation States, Inter-Governmental Organizations, Sport Federations, Transitional Corporations specifically through Corporate Social Responsibilities Programs (CSR), and Grassroots Community-based Organizations (CBOs).

The year 2005 was dedicated as International Year for Sport and Physical Education by the United Nations (UN) and peace and development were focus areas among the UN doctrines (UN General Assembly, 2006).

It is evident that there has been growing interest for the relations between sport exercise and the field of social missions¹ through sport, which is the potential of sport to solve societal problems in a challenging socio-cultural context (Ryba, 2015). The social missions assumed in the context of sport, recreation and sporting activities are different in their application and include for example, using sport as a platform for HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention, physical activity to empower disadvantaged women and girls (Frisby, Reid, Miller and Hoerber, 2005), sport to enhance reconciliation and peace (Keim, 2012, Hoglund & Sundberg, 2008), sport intervention to build the capacity of a given community (Pheasant, 2011), and sport interventions to combat crime in devastated communities after conflict (Keim, 2014; 2009, Cameron and MacDougall, 2000).

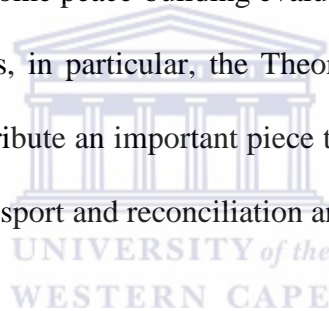
The International Platform on Sport for Development and Peace offers social missions programs with special foci that can be employed and integrated into sport such as 1) Child development and education, 2) peace-building, 3) disease response, 4) disability, 5) health, 6) economic development, and 7) gender. Classifications are wide when attempting to accomplish such demanding tasks in the sport programs. The above-mentioned sport platform has lists more than 200 agencies who are working in the field internationally.

More locally, examining the South African context, the ANC led government made efforts to transform the post-apartheid South African sport sector as well as to advance national reconciliation through national sport programs, by linking the sports to development programmes as identified and specified goal of their Reconstruction and Development

¹**‘Social Missions’** can be defined as peoples’ idea, act, and process that initiate and promote social change leading to betterment for individuals, groups, communities, countries, and world regions. Competitive sport and exercise activities create contexts for social missions exemplified (‘such as in this study’) by facilitating intercultural exchange and social justice, health and well-being, positive youth development, and peace (Schinke et al., 2015). For the purpose of this study, **‘sport for social mission’** and **‘pro-reconciliation sport initiatives’** are used interchangeably, they include sport programs that are designed to combat social issues which includes crime, alcohol and drug abuse, HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancy, unemployment, race, gender, disability, poverty and so on in communities/townships shattered by conflict.

Programme (RDP) in 1994. In post-apartheid South Africa, there has been a substantial amount of research conducted which deals with reconciliation and specifically the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). However, there are only few studies on the role of sport in the process of reconciliation.

This study focuses on the South African context taking international lessons of experience into consideration. It explored and evaluated mechanisms on the role of 12 South African NGO lead grassroots sport initiatives to unfold the role of their programs in the post-apartheid reconciliation process. This study has explored reconciliation mechanisms from multi-discipline existing literature that can be incorporated to the SIPs. It further look at good practices around the globe some peace-building evaluation mechanisms that can be used to evaluate and monitor the SIPs, in particular, the Theory of Change and Program Logic Model and has attempted to contribute an important piece to the existing body of knowledge, and to the inter-linkages between sport and reconciliation and peace-building.



1.2 Rationale of the study

“Sport has the power to change the world, the power to inspire, the power to unite people in a way that little else, and it speaks to people in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where there was only despair. It is an instrument for peace, even more powerful than government. It breaks down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all kinds of discrimination” (Nelson Mandela cited in Moon, 2014).

The system of white supremacy in South Africa was pragmatic and included the field of sport and recreation specifically before 1994. During the apartheid² era, like any other institution,

²Apartheid was a system of social stratification codified in law that divided South Africa’s society with racial characteristics.

the sport and recreation sector was subjected to institutionalized, non-institutionalized as well as legislated racial practices. The majority of the South African population, 'Africans, Indians, Coloureds,'³ were denied access to competitive and recreational sports events and facilities and not allowed to represent their countries at competitive levels (including school levels).). In the purposefully segregated and marginalized communities there was little or no investment in schools, infrastructures, equipment, talent identification, and development (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2011).

South Africa during the apartheid era was exposed to sanctions by the international sporting bodies. As a result, the country and its elite athletes were isolated from international sports competitions. This was due to the measurement taken by the apartheid government to deliberately excluded South Africa's non-white people from participating in international sport. Apartheid sport meant that no 'mixed sport' was allowed under the guidance of the official organisations which are accorded international recognition and bore r the responsibility for selecting representative teams for international competitions.

During apartheid, competition in sport was limited to the white population, and white athletes had the privileged to represent the country. The international sport bodies were aware of the situation in South Africa, which approved outright understanding of the discriminatory and racist, organisation of sport in South Africa which included all levels of administration and selection of sport participants but also spectators. However, the practice of discrimination in domestic sport was attributed to white sport bodies locally. Furthermore, the majority of African/black, Coloured and Indian population were forced purposefully to accept racial segregation including all levels of sport and recreation. During sport events and/or

³ Apartheid racial categories in South Africa

competition, sport stadiums facilities and arenas were divided. There were separate entrances; non-whites had seating enclosures and separate toilet facilities including worst and minimal use of facilities. There were also sport arenas, where non-whites were totally banned from both attending and gathering. Apartheid sport was thus separated through racial positioning. All sport codes particularly Rugby, Cricket and Soccer, had separate controlling bodies based on race. As such, such distinct governing bodies had a negative impact on the development of sporting communities as they were divisive, in relation to the sporting quality between the white and other racial groups.

Perceptions of non-white and/or blacks' inferiority were heightened because blacks in general had poorer sport resources (coaching, equipment, sporting gear, facilities and so on) and less economic power (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008).

Apartheid sport was 'sectarian'⁴, traditionally and culturally sport has been used as a means of identifying own racial identities in sport. by affiliating certain sports, with either political and/or tradition in communities shattered by conflict. There were other differences in many popular sports, such as swimming and cycling amongst others. However, sport served in the struggle for freedom, in the context of cultural and political power (Nauright, 1996).

During Apartheid, sport was used as a site of confrontation against inequality, racism and sexism (Hargreaves, 1997; Roberts, 1993). It was a dynamic part of civil society in the abolishment of the apartheid regime (Keim, 2009). During international boycotts against apartheid, sport has sensitized the world's opinion against apartheid; it was a powerful tool in mobilizing millions of South Africans and the international community to call for action.

⁴ 'Sectarianism' in the context of South Africa would refer to changing set of ideas and practice, including, crucially acts of violence, which serves to construct and reproduce the difference between, and unequal status of the White, African and Colored. For example, Rugby is perceived as White sport, Soccer as Black, and Cricket as Colored sport.

Sport provided an opportunity for millions of people around the world, to demonstrate and support the freedom movement.

Irrespective of these racial practices, various sport organization within South Africa and beyond persistently fought against discrimination; racism, sexism, structural inequality and all forms of unjust practices in sport (see chapter Four). These organizations include, the Committee for International Recognition established in 1955, the South African Sports Association (SASA) in 1958; the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) in 1963, the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) in 1973, and, the National Sport Council (NSC).

As early as the 1950's black sport organizations were pointing out to the international community that the racial exclusivity of white sport organizations in South Africa have violated the principle of equality as enshrined in the Olympic Charter (Keim, 2009; Reddy,1988). Consequently, in 1964, South Africa was omitted from the Olympic Games in Tokyo. In 1968 it was allowed to take part in the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico. The decision of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) resulted in a boycott by many countries. The IOC reversed its decision to prevent the boycott and excluded South Africa from international completion in sport for the second time. Since then, South Africa was not allowed back to Olympic arena until the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona.

By the late 1980s, the African National Congress (ANC) comprehended the impact of sport boycotts on Apartheid (Nauright, 1996). As a result, leaders of the ANC started to understand the potential of sport in which change through negotiations, reconciliation, and peace could be achieved in South Africa.

South Africa has recently completed two decades as a democracy having experienced many centuries of colonial exploitation during the Apartheid era (1948-1994⁵). The demise of apartheid meant the end of marginalized and segregated sport in the new South Africa. The transition to democracy in South Africa began in 1991. The first non-racial government was established in 1994 with Nelson Mandela as President and a cabinet that included members from all the main political parties. Institutional transformation began in earnest following the 1999 national and provincial elections, and subsequently local elections in 2000. From the South African example it is evident that violence and protracted conflicts take place when social and structural changes are not made, specifically after violent conflict.

Like in the apartheid era, any institution or government that deny autonomy, identity, societal recognition or precondition to exercise human rights and development creates social problems as well as violent conflict. When basic needs are not satisfied, structural violence is imminent in a given society. Besides the effort by the ANC to meet necessary human needs, social issues such as unemployment, crime, poverty, violent protests against poor service delivery, in general the legacy of apartheid has become a challenge in the land scape of the rainbow nation.

Many of the violent protests in post-apartheid South Africa triggered by poor service delivery in different municipalities across the country caused xenophobic attacks against black African's including the looting of foreign owned shops in 2008 and 2015. .

The current debate on xenophobic attacks surfaced around the violent protests, which came in the wake of unfulfilled political promises during election periods. Jeong (2000) asserts that *“peace has to be obtained by changing social structures that are responsible for death,*

⁵While many authors identify 1991 as the end of Apartheid, it can be argued that the post-Apartheid era began with the democratically elected government in 1994 (Gibbons et al, 2008).

poverty and malnutrition” (p23). He distinguishes between negative peace (direct violence such as war) and positive peace (removal of direct structural violence).

The new democratic government of South Africa under the leadership of the ANC claims that the advent of democracy in 1994 ushered in significant changes to policies and legislations at all level of society that addressed all aspects of human rights and political, social and economic issues striving for South Africa to become a just, equitable, and free society that meets the needs “better life for all’ of all South Africans.

In the sport sector, the National Sport and Recreational Plan (2011) postulates that the ANC consolidated the work of SACOS⁶, SANROC and the NSC by restructuring a new free and democratic sports structure that addressed the past inequalities. The unifying process of South African sports bodies was achieved in the early nineties, particularly by the efforts to transform the sport sector purposefully through the national development programmes as a stated goal in the Reconciliation and Development Programme (RDP) after independence in 1994.

The white power of oppression in South Africa was pragmatic, including in the field of sport and recreation specifically before 1994. During apartheid⁷ era, like any other institutions, the sport and recreation sector was obscurity due to, institutionalized, non-institutionalized as well as legislated racial practices. Majority of the South African population ‘African, Indian, Coloured’⁸ were denied to access to competitive and recreational sports opportunities and represent their countries at all levels (school and community). There was scant investment in schools and communities such as infrastructures, equipment, talent identification, and

⁶ When referring to **SACOS** in the National Sport and Recreational Plan (2011), it includes the National Federations and Provincial Sport Councils currently affiliated to SACOS.

⁷Apartheid was a system of social stratification codified in law that divided South Africa’s society with racial characteristics.

⁸Apartheid racial categories in South Africa

development in purposefully segregated and marginalized communities (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2011). South Africa during apartheid era was exposed to sanction by the international sporting body. As a result, the country and its elite athletes were isolated from international sport's competition. This was due to the measurement taken by apartheid to deliberately excluded South Africa's non-white people from participating in international sport. Apartheid sport meant that no 'mixed sport' is allowed under the guidance of the official organisations which are accorded international recognition and bear the responsibility for selecting representative teams for international competitions.

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During sport events and or competition, sport stadiums facilities and arenas were divided in to separate entrances; non-whites had seating enclosures and separate toilet facilities. These are normally worst and minimal use of facilities; they were not separate and equal. There were also sport arenas, where non-whites totally banned from both attending and gatherings. Apartheid sport was separated through racial positioning. All sport codes particularly Rugby, Cricket and Soccer, had separate controlling bodies based on race. As such, such distinct governing bodies, had negative impact on the development of sporting communities, they

were divisive, in relation to the sporting quality between the white and other racial groups. Perceptions that non-white and/or blacks' inferiority were heightened because blacks in general have poorer sport resources (coaching, equipment, sporting gear, facilities and so on) and less economic power (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008).

Apartheid sport was 'sectarian'⁹, traditionally and culturally sport has been used as a means of identifying own racial identities in sport. For example, Democratic Alliance/DA/Coloured, National Party/White, ANC/African, by affiliating certain sports, with either political and/or tradition in communities shattered by conflict. There were other differences in many popular sports, such as swimming and cycling amongst others. However, sport also served in the struggle for freedom, in the context of cultural and political power (Nauright, 1996).

During Apartheid, sport was used as a site of confrontation against inequality, racism and sexism (Hargreaves, 1997; Roberts, 1993). It was a dynamic part of civil society in the abolishment of the apartheid regime (Keim, 2009). During international boycotts against apartheid, sport has sensitized world opinion against apartheid; it was a powerful tool in mobilizing millions of South Africans and the international community to call for action. Sport provided an opportunity for millions of people around the world, to demonstrate and support the freedom movement (ANC).

Irrespective of these racial practices, various sport organization persistently fought against discrimination; racism, sexism, structural inequality and all forms of unjust practices in sport (see chapter Four). These organizations include, the Committee for International Recognition established in 1955, the South African Sports Association (SASA) in 1958; the South African

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By the late 1980s, the African National Congress (ANC) comprehended the impact of sport boycotts on Apartheid (Nauright, 1996). As a result, leaders of the ANC start to understand the potential of sport in which change through negotiations, reconciliation, and peace could be achieved in South Africa.

South Africa has recently completed two decades as a democracy having experienced many centuries of colonial exploitation during the Apartheid era (1948-1994¹⁰). The demise of apartheid has meant the end of marginalized and segregated sport in the new South Africa. The transition to democracy in South Africa began in 1991. The first non-racial government was established in 1994, Nelson Mandela as leader and a cabinet that included members from all the main political parties. Institutional transformation began in earnest following the 1999 national and provincial elections, and subsequent local elections in 2000. It must be

¹⁰While many authors identify 1991 as the end of Apartheid, it can be argued that the post-Apartheid era began with the democratically elected government in 1994.

understood that violence and protracted conflicts take place when social and structural changes are not made, specifically after violent conflict.

Like in apartheid era, any institution or government that deny autonomy, identity, societal recognition or precondition to exercise human right and development creates social problems as well as violent conflict. When basic needs are not satisfied, structural violence is imminent in a given society. Besides the effort put by the ANC to meet necessary human needs, social issues such as unemployment, crime, poverty, violent protests against poor service delivery, in general the legacy of apartheid becoming a challenge in the land scape of the rainbow nation.

Many of the violent protests in post-apartheid triggered by poor service delivery in different municipalities across the country that caused xenophobic attacks against black African's including the looting of foreign owned shops (e.g., in 2008 and 2015) are case in point. The primary reasons for many violent protests include lack of electricity and toilets, the running water, in particular in formal settlement and disadvantaged townships.

The current debate on xenophobic attacks surfaced around the violent protests, which came in the wake of unfulfilled political promises during election periods when the new government is in place. Jeong (2000) asserts that

“Peace has to be obtained by changing social structures that are responsible for death, poverty and malnutrition” (p23).

Jeong distinguishes between negative peace (direct violence such as war) and positive peace (removal of direct structural violence). The ANC led new democratic government of South Africa claims the arrival of freedom and democracy in 1994 under the leadership of the ANC claims that the advent of democracy in 1994 accompanied with significant changes in

policies and legislations at all level of society to addressed all aspect of human rights, political, social issues of citizens south Africa in to into a just, equitable, and free society that meets the needs “better life for all’ of South Africans.

In the sport sector, the National Sport and Recreational Plan (2011) postulates that the ANC united the hard work of the SACOS¹¹, SANROC and the NSC by restructuring a new free and democratic sports structure that addressed the past inequalities. The unifying of South African sports bodies was achieved in the early nineties, particularly, the efforts to transform the sport sector purposefully through the national development programmes as stated goal in the Reconciliation and Development Programme (RDP) after independence in 1994.

1.2.1 Sport in the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP)

South Africa entered a period of national reconciliation following the first democratic election in April 1994. The new Government of National Unity (GNU) faced numerous challenges as a result of critical problems inherited from the Apartheid system. The most pressing and fundamental issue being the need for socio-economic reform and restructuring to tackle poverty and gross inequality in post-apartheid South Africa whilst political conditions encouraged radical reforms in order to overcome the legacy of instability and violence.

The post-apartheid South Africa’s new democracy, political leadership has had a particularly importance role in demonstrating a clear change from apartheid-era governance system and practice, and creating a new relationship between citizens and the state. National institutions, leaders and public officials have been also important drivers of reconciliation, and there have

¹¹ When referring to **SACOS** in the National Sport and Recreational Plan (2011), it includes the National Federations and Provincial Sport Councils currently affiliated to SACOS.

been significant expectations that government should continue to frame and lead the reconciliation process.

The Reconciliation and Development Program (RDP) was published shortly before the elections as substantial 147 pages called 'Policy Framework' by the African National Congress (ANC, 1994). It was prepared by members of the Tripartite Alliance between the ANC, the Council of the South African Trade Union (COSATU), and the South African Communist Party (SAPC). The RDP went through six draft versions in the course of about 12 months of consultation. Subsequently, it was translated into a sixty pages White Paper, approved and accepted by all parties and represented in Parliament and Cabinet in September 1994 as an absolute priority for the country (SA Government, 1994). The RDP is an umbrella-plan that aims to bring about all-rounded socio-economic improvement, to focus the effort of different levels and departments of government on this task, and to make the process thoroughly participatory by mobilizing the resources of civil society to support it.

In 1994, in his first 100 days in office, President Mandela described the RDP as nothing less than an '*all-encompassing process of transforming society in its totality*'. In the short period since the election the RDP captured the public imagination and came to assume great symbolic significance as it has been endorsed by literally by all sections of society, including organized labor, business, political leaders across the spectrum, social, cultural and community organizations.

There are six basic, interrelated principles underling the RDP:

- 1) **Integration and sustainability:** recognition of links, for example, creating jobs, promotion of peace, building and providing houses and providing necessary assistance for South Africans to have control of their lives. Further, it tackles deep-

rooted societal problems that demand long term efforts and hard work. The RDP postulates not a quick fix but sustained solutions.

- 2) **A people-driven process:** vigorous/active participation, involvement and individual and group empowerment are integral and characteristics of development. The immediate needs are the focus area of the RDP. Furthermore, the RDP is committed to grassroots bottom-up development processes owned by communities, including community representative organizations, for example, community grassroots sport (ANC, 1994).
- 3) **Peace and security for all:** after the demise of apartheid, this is a precondition for any reconstruction programs, which requires the establishment of a judicial system and security forces that represent the wider population with representation from all racial groups and fair procedures.
- 4) **Nation-building:** this focuses mainly on the notion of greater community social cohesion, which involves the closing of the gap of South Africa's 1st and 3rd world's needs. *'We must not confine growth strategies to the former, while doing patchwork and piecemeal development in the later'* (ANC, 1994).
- 5) **Reconstruction and development:** the RDP takes a broad view of economics development. It *'integrates growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution into a unified program'* (ibid). The key is an infrastructure program providing access to electricity, water, transport, health, etc... This will *'meet basic needs and open-up previously suppressed economic and human potential.... In turn this will lead to increased output in all sector of the economy'* (ibid).
- 5) **Democratization:** the RDP requires fundamental changes in the way policy is made and implemented by the state and civil society, including extensive participation by

the people affected. *‘Minority control and privilege in every aspect of our society are the main obstructions to developing an integrated program’* (ibid).

One of the main priorities of the RDP program is to meet the basic needs of previously marginalized people for job, land, housing, water, electricity, telecommunications, transport, a clean and healthy environment nutrition, health care and social welfare (ANC, 1994 p7). Furthermore, the RDP embarked on the development of human resources that were identified as well as on a structural changes to the systematic neglect of the black population’s potential through an inferior education system which curtailed career paths, affected worker motivation and held back productivity growth in the economy.

The above focus of the RDP Program with focus to redress social issues and inequalities during apartheid epitomizes the conflict resolution theories based on ‘satisfying human needs’ of Burton (1990). Lederach’s (1997) theory on reconciliation and peace building also identifies relationships as a central component. He argues on the most important need for peace builders, which is to find ways to understand reconciliation and peace as a change process based on relationship building, and asserts on the need to reorient the peace-building framework toward a development support infrastructure that enhances our capacity to adopt and respond to relational needs rather than being defined and driven by events and agreements. The RDP program gave special emphasis to black women and young people, who bore the brunt of the previous system’s shortfalls. The arts, culture, sport and recreation were also encouraged as integral part of social and economic life in the RDP.

The ANC lead government has explicitly linked sport to development and reconciliation, as a stated goal in the RDP (ANC 1994). There are a number of governments, local and international Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) which lead pro-reconciliation sport initiatives to build capacity on community level. Many of these efforts have sought to

empower civil society in order to bring together communities divided during apartheid and promote reconciliation for social change. In general, such initiatives entail the rebuilding of relationships and/or creation of positive interaction between groups and communities Hoglund and Sundberg (2008).

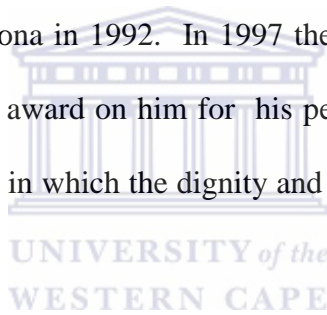
Given the history of South Africa, in order to address sport inequalities, and achieve demographic representations, policy instruments such as ‘sport unity’, application of ‘quotas’ and ‘affirmative action’ have been introduced, which have become central debates in both academic and public spheres (see Chapter four).

After the demise of Apartheid, South Africa joined the international sport, it successfully hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup, 1996 African Cup of Nations, in 1999 All African Games, the 2003 Cricket World Cup, and the 2009 Confederations Cup as well as the FIFA/ Football World Cup in 2010. The 1995 World Cup final between South Africa and New Zealand and the 2007 Rugby final between South Africa and England won by South Africa, were viewed as celebrations of a new South Africa after Apartheid, promoting reconciliation and signalling peace building, depicting the Rainbow Nation.

Chappel (2003) argues that the 1995 Rugby World Cup won by South Africa was a symbol of a nation united through sport “*a single community in which collective interest transcended social differences*”. However, after Apartheid, South Africa needed to embark on structural changes including in the area of sport as integral part of transformation and reconciliation, ingredients in building sustainable peace in the country. Addressing past social and structural problems that fuelled conflict in the first place is a major task in the process of transformation. Indeed, it is noted that both reconciliation and peace-building involve systemic change that helps create and sustain a new social reality.

1.2.2 Post-apartheid Sport and Transformation

Major transformation movements are globally in progress in many countries that undergo repression, exclusion and, structural inequalities. The Transformation Charter for South African Sport (2011) clearly put that the concept of transformation and empowerment and the motivations for, and against the need thereof are often emotionally oversimplified, not clear and therefore misunderstood. Nevertheless, post-apartheid South Africa firmly embarked on the journey of transformation through the demanding process of establishing new sport structures, a new culture as well as new value sets. The major and irreversible transformation movement was triggered when Nelson Mandela stepped back into the world in 1990 (Transformation Charter for South African Sport, 2011 p6) and back into the sporting world .at the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992. In 1997 the International Committee for Fair Play bestowed the 1997Fair Play award on him for his personal involvement for peace and sport, and his social engagements in which the dignity and worth of each and every person is respected (Muller, 1997).



Transforming sport structures in the county involves change, and change is multi-faceted, it means many things to many South Africans. The process of sport transformation requires high level strategic thinking and strategic planning initiatives to insure that they are aligned to the critical social issues related to the achievement of high focused, clearly defined and measurable transformation goals and objectives thereby promoting the reconciliation process in the country.

Like any other areas, an integral part of minimizing violent conflict in sport, is transforming sport structures and dynamics that govern social and political relations, as well as access to power and resources. These sorts of systemic changes typically involve policy or institutional adjustments, as well as the creation of new sport structures to meet basic political and

socioeconomic needs. These social structural reforms aim to ameliorate some of the conflict's underlying causes and conditions to restructure the system of social relationships that has been broken down by apartheid sport practices.

This study is multi-disciplinary enquiry in nature. The essence of a transformation strategy in sport has to be multi-dimensional and focused on changing demographic profiles on and off the field of play. It is believed that by broadening its base of involvement in rural and urban communities, sport will be positioning to influence the existing apartheid image and perceptions about sport on a wider basis within the broader South African society.

The Transformation Charter for South African Sport (2011) states that an appropriate transformation will involve a change in directions at all levels of society 'micro, meso and macro', school and community being central within sport organizations, *"a change not only of how it works and how it is structured but how people think, interact participate and perform by the will of everyone knowing that it is a journey requiring commitment, intention and full participation"* (p11). It worthy to acknowledge that sport cannot transform itself until it transforms its thinking¹².

Effective transformation has to make a fundamental shift in the way sport organizations are structured and managed, the way in which sport deals with constituent members, the style of leaders and how leaders conduct themselves, how the sport game is contextually marketed and promoted, how sport image and reputation are managed and sustained (such as the 1995 rugby competition won by the Springboks and how it unified the Rainbow Nation) and, how all components and structures collectively act and think and become the intellectual

¹²Thinking within the organization is defined as the mental activity of every member of the organization – all the idea generation, learning and skills development, exchange of information, development of strategic directions, communication, research, process improvement and quantum leaps that make up the total intellectual activity of the organization (Transformation Charter for South African Sport, 201, p11-12).

challenges, as deemed by the concept of transformation a foundation laid in the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

The Transformation Charter for South African Sport (2012), provides four distinct parts of the constitution, which set the rationale for transformation and parameters of sport in South Africa:

- 1) The Preamble to the Constitution: The Constitution recognizes there was past injustice such as systematic exclusion of blacks from participating in sport and it aims to improve the quality of life of all citizens
- 2) The Founding Values to the Constitution: human dignity, advancement of human rights and freedom; non-racialism and non-sexism; supremacy of the Constitution as the law of the Republic and democratic governance to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness
- 3) The Equality Clause of the Bill of Rights: Paragraph 9 of the Bill of Rights sets out, equality before the law, equal protection or advance persons, or categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination. I maintains that the state may not unfairly discriminate direct or indirect against anyone on grounds of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture language and birth
- 4) The Human Dignity Clause of the Bill of Rights: No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on the above mentioned grounds. National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination (p15).

Among the key issues for transformation, the Transformation Charter for South African Sport asserts on the logical outcome of investing more resources at grassroots level, which yield

stronger and more competitive national teams for the country. Through proper development programs by the National Federations (NF) and good supporting systems, the wealth of sporting talent must be capitalized up on with representative winning athletes and teams as a natural outcome. The Charter strictly states that transformation of teams should be a bottom-up called a ‘catch-up strategy’ in under-developed areas funded by the government so that more young people from disadvantaged areas are afforded the opportunity to unlock their potential as stated task of the government to ensure that all athletes have equitable opportunity to excel in sport.

The Sport and Transformation Charter for South African Sport (2011) claims, from an ethical and moral prospective, that the transformation road embarked on by South Africa represents an exercise in restorative justice and reconciliation as the process involves the restoration of destroyed trust and the removal of conditions undermining relationships of trust, be it of a socio economic, political or structural nature. In this way we have to move away from a definition of reconciliation, which focuses mainly on truth seeking, forgiveness and justice in the relationship between perpetrators and victims. Instead, we adhere to a definition of reconciliation which in cooperates the structuring of a larger set of relations in societies shattered by violent conflict (Brouneus cited in Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008 p206).

1.2.3 Reconciliation through sport

After the demise of Apartheid, the Constitution of South Africa states that “*the pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society*” (Act, NO. 34 of 1995).The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established by the Government of South Africa, as a mechanism to confront racial segregation as well as the personal and

societal trauma forced upon the country by its Apartheid past including in the field of sport.

The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (Act, NO. 34 of 1995) states:

“The pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society; and since the Constitution states that there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu¹³ but not for victimization”.

The positive influence of sport in society has been researched to some extent (Vanden Auweele, Malcolm, Meulders, 2003). The following four processes in which reconciliation can be promoted was identified by Høglund and Sundberg (2008):

1. The utilization of symbols and symbolic acts of reconciliation: symbols can promote reconciliation by representing multiculturalism and unity in spite of diversity (Gibson, 2004). The hosting of high profile international events (e.g., 2010 FIFA Soccer Cup) can be important moments for symbolic acts, especially if such hosting is combined with success in the competition (e.g., the 1995 Rugby World Cup won by Springbok).
2. The application of sport policies to create fair representations: the application of policy instruments such as the ‘sport unity’; application of ‘quotas’ both formal and informal, ‘affirmative action’ etc.
3. The breaking-down of stereotypes and negative attitudes through communal sport initiatives: reconciliation initiatives can aim to promote social cohesion both between communities (inter-community reconciliation) and within communities (intra-community reconciliation)

¹³ Ubuntu is part of an African world view, a philosophy of a shared humanity in which Africans define themselves through their relations with others.

4. Individual development: reconciliation can be seen as being promoted if people in conflict torn areas are able to empower themselves

Traditionally, political reconciliation, most often, takes place at the top level, such reconciliation efforts entail the acknowledgement of past suffering and can be achieved through events such as public ceremonies of forgiveness, truth commissions, or judiciary processes (Long and Brecke, 2003). An important step in a national reconciliation process is to move away from conflict identities to a more inclusive and bridging national identity (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008). Such processes can be set in motion by the introduction of new national symbols. In South Africa and many other countries undergoing transition to a more peaceful future, most of them, they introduce new notes and coins, new flag and national anthem. They also transform key institutions of society to become more representative of the nation, in order for more people to identify with them. Sport is a sector in which such processes may also take place, either on purpose or coincident (ibid).

In South Africa, there has been an impressive amount of research on reconciliation, with particular focus on TRC and on grassroots initiatives (Gibson, 2004). However, there are only few studies on the role of sport in the process of reconciliation.

This study explored mechanisms and evaluated 12 NGOs community grassroots initiatives that use sport as a platform to educate racialized South African youth and evaluated the impact and role of their programs in the process of reconciliation and integration in post-apartheid South Africa.

1.3 Statement of the problem

“Making the nation through sports in South Africa is not as straightforward as in many other ‘nations’, as imagined national community in South Africa means many things to many people, and there is still no image of one South Africa with which all South Africans can identify, despite the noble effort of President Mandela” (Nauright cited in Miller, 2001).

South Africa’s peaceful transformation from racial segregation to non-racialism has been described as a miracle. In South Africa, images of athletes from different races playing together on sport fields enhance the illusion of a “new” nation that is based on principles of social justice, inclusiveness and equality. However, many South Africans would concede that the way people think of themselves and others has not necessary changed, although the above mentioned ideals have been legislated and apartheid laws have been eradicated (Miller, 2001:1). ‘The South African Reconciliation Barometer’¹⁴ survey in 2010 illustrates that only 21% of South Africans affirm that they ‘often’ or ‘always’ socialise with individuals of other race groups, a further 18% of respondents affirm that they socialize ‘sometimes’, while 60% affirm they ‘rarely’ or ‘never’ socialize with other race groups (Everertt, Lekalake and Rais (2010).

The efforts to create a unified and integrated South Africa through sports have not been very successful, interpersonal relationships as well as individual behaviour and public perceptions within the sport context are still influenced by racial prejudice and stereotypes in South Africa. Debates and stereotypes specifically about ‘who is good enough’ and ‘who belongs’ and how best to transform previously segregated sports in general have surfaced in most sport codes. Divisions between the races particularly reference to ‘white’ and ‘blacks’ or ‘us’ and

¹⁴The South Africa Reconciliation Barometer is a national representative public opinion survey conducted by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) since 2003 (Everett et al., 20010)

‘them’ are apparently intensifying. Furthermore, there is substantial evidence that in access to employment, housing, social protection, health, education increased the potential for exclusion and integration in post-apartheid South Africa. As a result, violent protests (such as attacks on foreigners and looting foreign owned shops in 2008 and 2015) against poor service delivery have become a way of life in the rainbow nation. It is assumed that the above mentioned societal problems and perceptions may undermine the reconciliation process in the country, and the efforts by the sport intervention programs to educate and empower the racialized youth identities may need an assessment to enhance their programs in a way to contribute to redress existing societal problems.

There are substantial numbers of grassroots sport initiatives lead by government, local and international NGOs and civic society which sought to build capacity, foster inclusion, to integrate and reconcile previously marginalized and disadvantaged individuals and group at school and community level. However, there have been only few studies which attempted to explore existing mechanisms on reconciliation through sport and the lack thereof. There is also a lack of empirical research on the impact of sport initiative programs in previously marginalized as well as disadvantaged communities in post-apartheid South Africa.

Sudgen (2010) explains that ‘critical pragmatism’¹⁵ links realistic achievements of intervention, and focuses on action that can explicitly be carried-out. He further claims that:

“Mobilization of radical and critical sociological imagination in determining strategies for progressive and pragmatic engagement with social problems with a view to influencing local policies and interventions that could improve the conditions of society’s most vulnerable group” (p267)

¹⁵‘Critical Pragmatism’ places emphasis on theoretical development and refinement through critical, practical, empirical engagement, rather than fixing on abstract and unmovable theoretical principles. This view recognizes that the construction of society is not passively structural, but is an embodied process of individual and collective action.

This study assumed that the pro-reconciliation sport initiatives in post-apartheid South Africa are experiencing some communal major challenges:

- Mixed and/or ‘multi-cultural’ sport teams and programs starting at the grassroots/community level are a rarity in post-conflict South Africa
- There is a lack of substantial methods of evaluation (monitoring and evaluation of sport programs (M&E and/or program evaluation), program design, detailed goals, and strategies which incorporate peace education programs in most of the pro-reconciliation grassroots sport initiatives after the demise of apartheid
- There is a lack of coordination among stakeholders, public institutions, civil society and other structures with regard to development measures in the field of sport for reconciliation in post-apartheid
- There is no clear national policy framework which incorporates grassroots sport, recreation and physical activities into community development policies and peace-building initiatives in post-conflict in South Africa

The above challenges leave sport-for-peace practitioners, civil society actors/NGO, and policy and decision makers without the means to advocate for a particular approach based on evidence of sports’ effectiveness in promoting reconciliation. Further, reconciliation mechanisms underlying sports for reconciliation processes, critical evaluation of the sport initiatives in the Western Cape, but also in South Africa are relatively unexplored. Therefore this study has attempted to redress the gap and substantiate the accuracy of claims on pro-reconciliation sport initiatives and their societal impact in post-apartheid South Africa’s racial reconciliation process.

1.4 Aim of the research

The aim of this study is to explore mechanisms through which sport can serve as a vehicle to promote reconciliation and integration as well as to evaluate South Africa's experience of reconciliation through Sport Intervention Programs (SIPs) since the fall of Apartheid.

1.5 Research questions and objectives

The following research questions will be explored:

1. What are the different mechanisms through which grassroots Sport Intervention Programs (SIPs) aimed to combat racial conflict can serve as a vehicle to promote reconciliation and integration in post-apartheid South Africa?
 - 1.1 How do perceived racialized identities and narratives of whiteness, colouredness, and blackness impact on SIPs' participants in post-apartheid South Africa?
 - 1.2 What are the bridging and dividing characteristics of the SPIs in post-apartheid South Africa?
 - 1.3 What factors determine the success of pro-reconciliation sport initiative programs aimed at promoting reconciliation and integration in post-apartheid South Africa?
 - 1.4 How can a collaborative approach of different stakeholders be achieved to establish a strategy to maximize the potential of sport to promote reconciliation and peace in Post-Apartheid South Africa?

1.6 Research objectives

1. To explore different mechanisms through which the SIPs can serve as a vehicle to promote racial reconciliation and integration after the demise of apartheid in in South Africa.

2. To analyze South Africa's SIPs and its impact on its youth or 'Born Frees'¹⁶ at different societal level (micro, meso and macro)
3. To document the strength and weaknesses (bridging and dividing characteristics) of sports in the context of racial reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa.
4. To explore a strategy and establish for a collaborative approach of different stakeholders and to maximize sports' potential as a vehicle to promote racial reconciliation, integration and desirable social change in contemporary South Africa.
5. To explore mechanisms in attempt to the inter-linkages between sport, reconciliation and peacebuilding.

1.7 Significance of the study

Among others, this study has revealed so far as part of its introduction that politics in sport may be a major problem, when dealing with sport intervention programs in conflict and post-conflict situation in South Africa, particularly for sport practitioners with the objectives to contribute towards the attainment of desirable social change. Many ordinary sport fans in South Africa and the world remain hesitant to acknowledge any presence of politics in sport despite symbols like national flag, national colours or the national anthem which is serving as specific example of a broader phenomenon. Many prefer to think of sport as a '*diversion*', a place for escape from *real world* issues. This view ignores critical sport as a '*cultural institution*', one that is inextricably linked with larger economic, political, and social structure. Wenner (1989) claim, "*the symbolic relationship between politics and sport has yielded both recurring sport themes in politics and recurring political themes in sport*" (p160).

¹⁶'Born free' in this study refers the generation of all the young South Africans who were born post-1994.

Political theorist Mouffe (200) argues that there is an important distinction between the terms ‘*political*’ and ‘*politics*’. By using “political” she reflects on avoidable conflicts that are inherent in human relations. On the other hand “politics” in her view encompasses the practices, discourses, and institutions in and through which we seek to address those conflicts and establish order. Politics therefore is the means by which we come to terms with conflict and construct collective identities.

Another term that helps us to understand the relationship between sport and politics is ideology. Ideology may be defined in various ways, but it is generally referred to a “*system of ideas*” of a given class or people (Eagleton, 1993, p63). In other words, ideology incorporates the dominant ideas, values, rituals, and history of groups (e.g., the more homogeneous population, the more acceptances of a shared ideology). Populous and diverse countries like South Africa have numerous groups and, thus, numerous ideologies that coexist. For this reason, many political conflicts are the result of competing ideologies, but not all ideologies operate in the same way. Some ideologies form a dominant ideology to exercise greater control. This kind of control may be exercised through formal political institutions, such as government, and cultural institutions (e.g., sport and art). Therefore, sport is indeed a prominent institution through which ideology is communicated and politics are enacted (e.g., the sport boycotts against apartheid rule (see Chapter Three).

From the above examples, sport has become a social and a political tool in society. Social and political institutions set the context for individual and group behaviour and are meant to provide the resources individuals need to survive. How people act and live is shaped in large part by the social structures in which they find themselves, and social justice ensures that these structures and institutions do satisfy basic human needs.

During Apartheid, social institutions including sport were characterized by racial divisions that triggered exploitation, political exclusion, marginalization and unequal access to resources. These structural forces often created a system of ‘winners and losers’ in which the majority of black people became trapped in a particular social paradigm. Structural violence often results in the form of power inequality, and the denial of basic human rights. Be it in sport or other areas, when basic human needs are unmet, groups suffer from inadequate access to resources and exclusion from institutional patterns of decision-making. Unjust structural forces and divisions also contribute to discrimination, lack of education, and inadequate employment opportunities. As a prime example, the sport boycott during Apartheid was meant as taking a stand against all forms of inequalities, exclusion, marginalization, and discrimination in sport and other areas of life.

After liberation, the legacy of apartheid is still lingering, this encompasses issues such as racial inequalities, high unemployment, grinding poverty, crime, gender, and general neglect of poor working class, but also previously disadvantaged communities. This study assumes that structural changes are the key components for transformation as deemed by the Transformation Charter (2011). The daily occurrence of the violent protests in post-apartheid South Africa, such as the recent protests against poor service delivery and xenophobic attacks on foreigners may be attributed to unmet human needs. Therefore, this study proposes that pro-reconciliation sport programs in society ought to aspire, and contribute to the needs of citizens by building capacity and ‘*individual empowerment*’ in order to deal with serious social problems, to ultimately avoid conflict, and promote coexistence.

Addressing past injustice to the post-apartheid sport before it provokes conflict often requires far-reaching changes in the existing structures as an institution of society. For example, if a research study discovers that a major societal problem such as unemployment or drugs and alcohol abuse or teenage pregnancy could be prevented by the provision of access to sport facilities to the youth in society, and if such structural change for such provision are made, this may ensure that members of society had sufficient opportunities for individual development and social bonding which can alleviate the structural conditions that contribute to these social problems and ultimately promote reconciliation and integration through sport intervention programs.

The research findings and recommendation of this study will allow sports' practitioners, planners, private donors, international and local NGOs, policy and decision makers to gain a better understanding of factors that influence sport-for-peace programs in promoting reconciliation, its use or lack thereof, and the extent to which information obtained from this study can be utilized to maximize grassroots sports' potential in the promotion of reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa and, that the gaps discovered can be addressed. This study therefore is not only an important baseline for civil society and government in South Africa but also provides a much needed guidepost for other post-conflict countries on the continent and beyond.

1.8 Glossary of Terms

Sports: for the purpose of this study, sport may be defined an activity that requires a significant level of physical involvement in which participants engage in either structured or unstructured environments such as recreational sport that provide relaxation, personal satisfaction, physical health, emotional growth and development.

Grassroots sport: grassroots sport is very similar to mass participation. In this study grassroots sport focuses on the sport event programs in advantaged and disadvantaged communities. However, more focus in this study is on predominately marginalized and disadvantaged Townships.

Logic model: is an analytical method and/or management planning tool to breakdown a program into logical components such as overall goal, objectives, key activities, outputs, outcomes, indicators, impact and sources of evidence, to facilitate evaluation.

Disadvantaged communities: communities are regarded as disadvantaged if they have been subjected to the historical application of practices, policies or programs that only meet the needs of certain groups in specific areas. These communities have very little access to resources and services resulting in a perpetuation of the gap between the privileged and underprivileged.

Equity: in this study refers to fairness and impartiality towards all concerned, based on the principles of evenhanded dealing. It implies giving as much advantage, consideration, or latitude to participate in decision making over societal issues including in sport and recreation. At the core of equity is the issue of justice, rules and regulations to ensure freedom from bias or discrimination in society in a way to promote reconciliation.

Marginalized groups: for the purpose of this study marginalized groups meant to being treated separately from the rest of the society, forced to occupy the fringes and edges, along with material deprivation, often excluded from sport services, programs, and policies (decision making) during and post-apartheid. For example: a) individuals with disabilities 2) women c) elderly people particularly, people and the youth who live in rural areas without sport

infrastructures to participate in sport and recreation.

Modified sport: in this study, modified sport is to be understood as sport and recreational activities\ with a certain purpose such as sport programs for reconciliation, crime prevention, HIV/AIDS etc.... To achieve this, the dimensions of the playing field such as sport education within, before or after games, equipment, rules and conditions of play are modified to expose especially young people to a sport. The focus of modified sport is on fun and enjoyment as well as educating rather than rules and competition.

Nation building: nation building in the context of this study is to fostering a South African identity, national unity and promoting a common sense of belonging (e.g., rainbow nation).

Social cohesion: is a term used in social policy, sociology and political science to describe the bonds or “glue” that brings people together in society, particularly in the context of cultural diversity. It is what holds the society together.



Sport for Development and Peace: is a field which evolved from a growing recognition that well designed sport-based initiatives that incorporate the best values of sport as a powerful, practical, and cost-effective tool to achieve development and peace objectives. Sport is viewed both as valuable in itself and as a means to achieving broader aims for development and peace.

Talent Identification and Development: involves the screening of children and adolescents using selected tests of physical, physiological and skill attributes in order to identify those with potential for success in a designated sport. Talent development follows the talent identification and/or talent selection process and involves the provision of an adequate infrastructure, which enables the athlete to develop to his/her full potential. This includes the provision of appropriate coaching, training and competition programs as well as access to

facilities, equipment, and sport science/medicine and life skill support (Sport and Recreation Draft Paper, September 2010).

Transformation: implies a basic change of character with little or no resemblance to the past configuration or structure. For the purpose of this study, transformation in the sport context implies that the national teams and their structures are representative of South African demographics. However, it is not only about figures. It is about the “soul of the nation” – the transformation mind, not as blacks and whites, men and women, with and without disability. Transformation cuts across age, gender, disability and geographical spread (Sport and Recreation Draft Paper, September 2010).

Monitoring: is the periodic oversight of the implementation of an activity, which seeks to establish the extent to which input deliveries, work schedules, other required actions and targeted outputs are proceeding according to plan, so that timely action can be taken to correct deficiencies detected. "Monitoring" is also useful for the systematic checking on a condition or set of conditions, such as following the situation of children participating in sport.

Evaluation: is a process, which attempts to determine as systematically and objectively as possible the relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, and sustainability of activities in the light of specified objectives. It is a learning and action-oriented management tool and organizational process for improving current activities and future planning, programming and decision-making (UNICEF, 1991).

1.9 Overview of the Thesis

Chapter One presents an overview of the background and rationale for this study and also outlines the research problem. Chapter Two is devoted to multi-disciplinary academic

theories of enquiry namely, theories of reconciliation, social capital, and holistic approaches to peace-building proposing a systems approach in combating social issues. Chapter Three devotes to the theory of social change as a framework for successful SIPs for program design, implementation and evaluation. Chapter Four provides a comprehensive literature review from the existing body of knowledge in the quest of contemporary academic research. Chapter Five reflects on the qualitative method, research procedures such as data collection and method of analysis. While Chapter Six presents the findings in this study, Chapter Seven concludes by discussing the central findings in relation to the research questions and provides the conclusion and recommendation including direction for future research.



Chapter Two: Theories of Enquiry

2.1 Introduction

Social research allows social scientists to gain knowledge on social phenomena from various angles and perspectives. By looking at social phenomena from different angles, and using differing methodologies, social scientists are therefore expected to provide possible logical-empirical justifications for their reasoning, and embrace different epistemological stands, which are basically different ways on the science of knowing. In this way contemporary social research, particularly in sport for peace and development become diverse, complex, challenging, and more interesting.

Using multidimensional theories and perspectives is an attempt to form a more comprehensive understanding, and perhaps an attempt to reduce limitations, in order to reach a better and relatively comprehensive but also inclusive conclusion. Anchoring this research on multi-theories of enquiry and conceptual frameworks is an attempt to create an intermediate approach that connect all aspects of the research processes.

2.2 Adopting Systems Approach in the SIPs

There is an ongoing debate on the role of sport in redressing complex social issues (non-sport objectives), and the need for successful SIPs, and systems capable of meeting stakeholders', and communities in uncertain and dynamic situations after conflict (Sudgen, 2010, Coalter, 2007, Keim, 2009).

The overall aim of proposing a systems approach is to enhance the capacity of the SIPs program design, implementation, decision-making, monitoring and evaluation as well as the management process. A system-based approach can be adopted to manage multi-dimensional and, inter-related contextual research, theories and good practices to resolve complex social

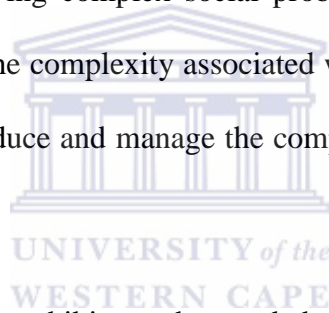
issues at different societal levels. From the proposed systems approach, a framework can be developed for representing and capturing knowledge in order to offer a richer picture of intervention programs.

A system is defined by its components, that is, by its constituent parts, and by their relationships. The socio-political and multi-disciplinary nature of intervention program design may not lend itself easily to a pure scientific and critical way of thinking. The systems movement which began during 1940s is a set of attempts to explore the consequences of holistic rather than reductionist thinking. Positioning the SIPs imperative within the systems approach could mean to combat broader and complicated and, inter-related social issues within the system. System Thinking (Checkland, 1999) is introduced as a holistic paradigm to understand the situation by seeing the big picture and the connectivity between elements in the situation (see for example Diagram 2.1). It is a method of learning the way towards effective action by looking at relations between and among research, theories and practices as elements of a system rather than separate parts. The UML approach to enterprise modelling (Marshall, 1999) and the Soft Systems Methodology (Checkland & Scholes, 1990) are few examples of systems approaches. For instance, the implementation of a process-based approach is a core requirement of International Standards for Quality Management Systems (ISO 9001, 2000) and Total Quality Management. As such, it is essential to achieve a unified, simple and intuitive understanding of a process in order to implement the systems approach.

Because of their hierarchical nature, complex social issues can frequently be described in terms of a relatively simple set of symbols. This allows the SIP practitioners to describe the system and their complexity at different societal levels. Such multi-level frameworks provide a coherent path-way that allows for the transfer of information or knowledge between the levels by the SIP. For instance, within a complex system sport interventions for social

mission are evident. Social issues are interdependent and connected. The range of social issues that trigger violent conflict should be addressed respectively.

Generally, addressing non-sport objectives (social problems), through the endeavours of sport contains many components and layers of subsystems with multiple, non-linear relations or interconnections that are difficult to recognise, manage and predict (Maxwell et al., 2002). In addition, dealing with complex system such as conflict involves people, organisations, cultural, political and economic issues and certain agents capable of affecting whole or a part of a system. Characterisation of these systems and their components is generally incomplete, often vague, and damaged with significant uncertainties (Hall et al., 2004). An organisation's success such as the SIPs in solving complex social problems through design will depend largely on its ability to manage the complexity associated with these problems. This requires a methodology and process to reduce and manage the complexity associated with the system itself.



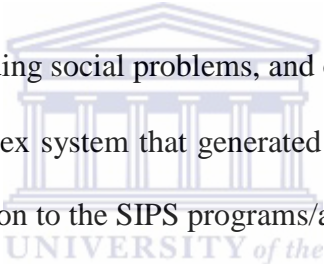
SIPs working in complex systems exhibit non-human behaviours which are properties of the whole system. These properties seem more complicated than the behaviour of the individual in sport. An effective and efficient sport intervention program design could not usually be achieved without a proper understanding of the relationship between the whole system and its parts as well as the emergent properties of the system.

The vast range of stakeholders involved in Sport intervention program design (e.g. communities, local and international NGOs, donors, governmental agencies and regulating bodies) and their changing requirements from the complex system, escalate the complexity of the situations. For example, some SIPs are funded by government, NGOs, and private sectors at the same time, and every funder comes with a different objectives. Such issues add to the complexity within the SIPs. Furthermore, the objectives change in response to the actions and

funding taken and each attempt for a solution changes the problem situation. In other words, the problem definition evolves as new possible solutions are considered or implemented.

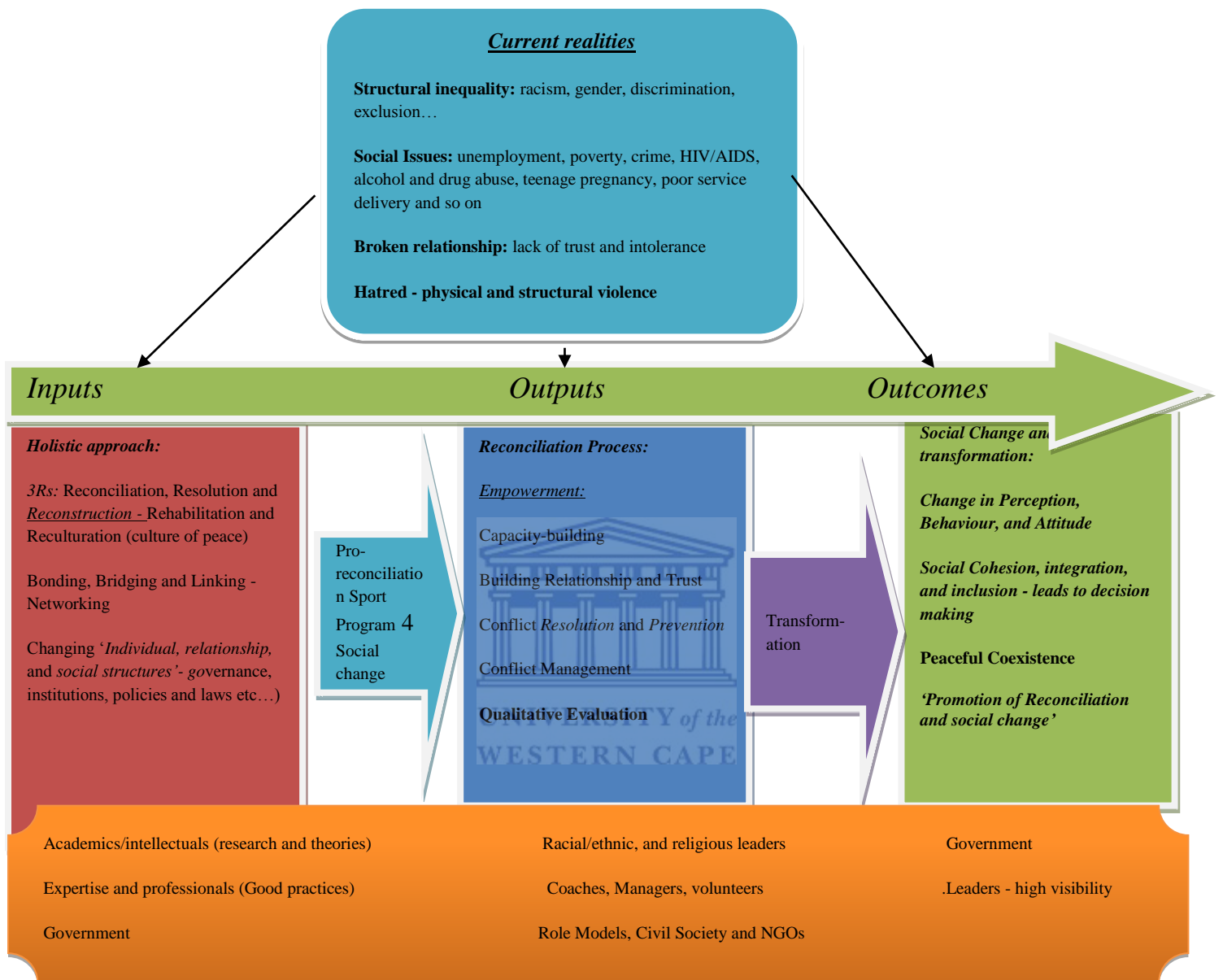
Systems approach can equip the SIP design team well with a range of capabilities (such as research, theories and practice) in solving social issues and monitoring and evaluating successful intervention programs.

An integrated framework can be presented based on process decomposition and argumentation to help intervention practitioners to combat complex social issues, distorted and societal-ill structures, and problems. The following approaches can be an integral part or approach within the design of the SIPs:

- 
- Identifying and understanding social problems, and or situation
 - Deconstructing the complex system that generated the problem in to its sub-systems and sub-processes in relation to the SIPS programs/activities
 - Identifying clear objectives and criteria including the process
 - Addressing societal issues based on evidence (such as research, theory and good practice) through discourses
 - Decision on effective action (activities) and resolution
 - Continually reviewing, monitoring and evaluating the above steps, and the SIP program

A systemic view of the sporting activities in the program design and process recognises the need for handling uncertainty, which is being addressed through a new use of evidence and multi-dimensional theories that complement or lend one another. Diagram 2.1 below shows the approaches used in the research study.

Diagram 2.1: Proposed systems approach, SIP for social change



2.3 Reconciliation Theories

Lederach (1997) explains building broken relationship as central in the process of reconciliation, which requires a connection of multi-disciplinary processes that move communities/society to restoring peace in the context of conflict. From his theory and definition, the following coordinated efforts among practitioners and stockholders may determine the success of the SIPs for social change:

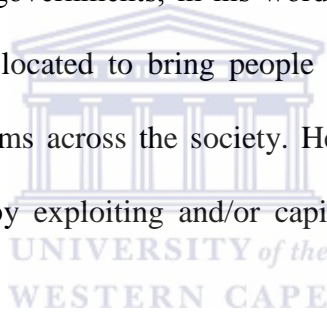
1. Collaboration among sport practitioners, prominent political and community leaders, religious leaders, international and local NGOs, Community Based Organizations (CBO), sport role models, celebrities etc.
2. Willingness of the program target/beneficiaries to participate (in the context of this study, the youth from different racial backgrounds as well as their segregated communities);
3. Planning, organizing, implementing and monitoring mechanisms of the SIPs including the intensity and frequency of the levels of interaction and communication among racialized youth, both at individual and group level (individual, group, inter-community and intra-community),
4. The understanding that racial reconciliation is a complex, but also ongoing process, which can be achieved with a number of tools within the sport program (such as creating a friendly atmosphere, integrating and facilitating peace education, non-violent conflict resolution skills, engaging in community volunteering etc.).

Lederach's (1997) theory of reconciliation illustrates a comprehensive approach of the combination four concepts namely truth, mercy, justice, and peace. These definitions suggest a reconciliation process which is dynamic, adaptable, and practical, weaving back and forth between these interdependent elements (Oduro, 2007). He also explains the interdependency of his four concepts building broken relationship at all levels of society as central and integral components. Thus, individual development through sport intervention programs after conflict can contribute directly or indirectly to these concepts. Empowered individuals are those who can work as peace practitioners as well as peace agents.

The reconciliation theories postulate that the reconciliation process involves far more from peace building (Lederach, 1997), as such, the magnitude of reconciliation requires all institutions to function within the process to contribute to the reconciliation process itself

(Galtung, 1998). Sport is an area where these processes can take place: rebuilding relationships for societal change such as change in attitude, behaviour, culture, promotion of respect, fair tolerance and fair play on and off the field amongst others are outcomes from social relationships which exemplify the potential of sport as a platform for reconciliation and peace in society (Keim, 2014).

Lederach (2005) theorizes a ‘web approach’ and/or ‘web-making’; a concept to explain interventions which explicitly involve around relationship building, and he focuses on program intervention that emphasizes and concentrates on strategic networking, specifically for NGOs. In his theory, he sees the NGOs as intervention actors who work between the grassroots communities and the governments, in his word “middle-level’ actors. As middle level actors they are preferably located to bring people in conflict together for dialogue, thoughts and intervention programs across the society. He believes they are able to spin a relationship that is sustainable by exploiting and/or capitalizing significant social spaces. Lederach (2005) asserts:

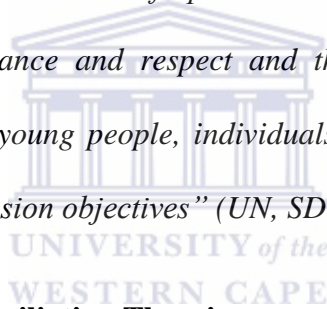


“.....the objective is to make a net and/or web that is able to accept setbacks and structural impairments to one part of the net without destroying the rest of the net. Interdependent connections with confined independence are combined by interdependent connections ... (p.83).

The NGOs as intermediate actors within the sport intervention programs can build and use hubs by inter-relating cross-relational relationship of reconciliation and peace at all levels. First, the NGOs in communities provide community service. Many NGOs in South Africa are implementing a wide variety of sport for social mission initiatives. Generally NGOs provide both tangible (funding/finance, sport attires, apparatus, food, and training) and more intangible (counselling) resources and services for sport intervention programs in previously

segregated and disadvantaged South African communities. Secondly, advocacy is central to many NGO activities. NGOs also lobby on policies that are unjust, to contribute and facilitate public dialogues on policies (Cappe, 1999). In the broader sense, advocacy has many forms such as public education on social problems, lobbying to improve human conditions of particular, groups and communities by considering unjust and/or against communities good. The vast number of NGOs using sport demonstrates that Sport can be used as vehicle for development and peace as outlined in the UN Declaration of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the recently published Sustainable Development Goals:

...We recognize the growing contribution of sport to the realization of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives” (UN, SDG ,para 37).



2.3.1 The Classification of Reconciliation Theories

Oduro (2007) reviewed reconciliation theories from different angles (academic literature and practice). In his review he classified reconciliation processes as follows:

1. *Process-oriented*: this type of reconciliation is voluntary and adheres to a certain set of procedures, involves a multi-dimensional-process, seeks to bring individuals, group and communities from the position of hostile paradoxes of conflicts to a collaboration position.

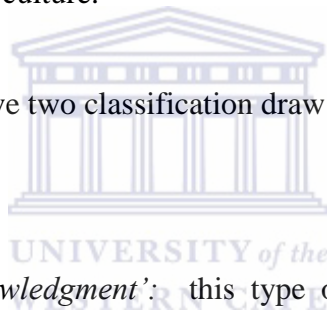
Bloomfield (2006) endorses process-oriented classification, he postulates that a major task in this process, among others, includes building broken relationships that promote peaceful

coexistence. Boraine (2000) exemplifies that reconciliation begins with the micro (individual) level in communities.

2. *Outcome-oriented*: this stream of reconciliation is based specifically on attitude and behavioural change, which are ingredients in the economic life of individuals and in community restoration that results in harmonious friendship, communication, and cooperation.

In this context, the level of tolerance and understanding are the results of reduced conflict paradoxes and social development. Self-governing social responsibility extends democracy, which leads to improved political culture.

Oduro (2007) claims that the above two classification draw six fundamentals of reconciliation as follows:

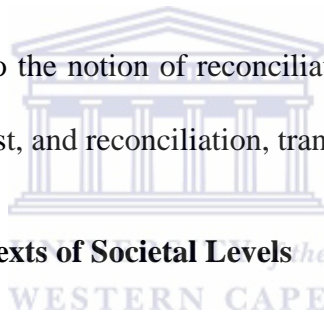


1. Reconciliation by '*acknowledgment*': this type of reconciliation is dependent on components such as guilt confession, apology, and victim's forgiveness respectively.
2. Reconciliation by '*truth*': this type can only be achieved when the public disclosure of truth of the past becomes accepted to share truth of the society and leads to a closure of the past and cycle of denials.
3. Reconciliation by '*coexistence*': this process mainly depends on rebuilding a broken relationship and trust as a result of conflict. The outcome of rebuilding relationship will allow individuals, groups and communities to coexist by collaborating, and respecting one another.
4. Reconciliation by '*justice*': this process is dependent on restorative and/or retributive justice. Individuals and groups who have been abused and victimized and their

sufferings are recognized and acknowledged. The justice system brings together individuals and groups in conflict as part of society.

5. Reconciliation by '*democratic governance*': this process takes place at national/ societal level where the rule of law and human rights are stimulated and respected. In this process, previously oppressed and marginalized individuals, groups and communities are integrated.
6. Reconciliation by '*transformation and change*': this type of process involves the lives of individuals and communities' improved attitude towards each other as well as employment and a better and/or higher living standard are achieved.

In this study emphasis is given to the notion of reconciliation by coexistence, reconciliation by rebuilding relationship and trust, and reconciliation, transformation and change.



2.3.1 Reconciliation in the Contexts of Societal Levels

Based on the above processes, the reconciliation after conflict should focus on three societal levels (micro, meso and macro) including cultures that cut across the racial and ethnic divide as follows:

1. 'Individual/inter-personal level': The emphasis of reconciliation is at micro level, and the focus is on conflict between individuals. An outcome orientated process that focuses on building reconciliation is recommended (Oduro, 1997).
2. 'Community/Society level': This level can be described as the intermediary level, it extends beyond individuals and deals with conflict between groups and communities. On this level, reconciliation between different racial, ethnic or religious groups living in a community is the particular centre of this process, which is facilitated through

individual reconciliation efforts. The success of this community-based reconciliation rests heavily on individuals.

3. 'National/Political level': this process is at the macro level of society, and gives less emphasis to individual and more to the elite groups at national level such as groupings or different political parties. The formation of democratic societal systems, inclusion in decision making, and the right of association play within this process. Reconciliation is a complex and multi-dimensional task, with no timeframe, which requires effort from structures and members of a given society. There is a need for a holistic approach to redress broken relationship to achieve desirable social change after conflict.

2.4 The Holistic Approach in Peace-building

Contemporary research investigations addressing the use of sport for conflict resolution and peace-building such as (Sarrina, 2009); Lea-Howarth, 2006), have made use of peace theories including the 3Rs (Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Resolution) Galtung's (1998); web-approach, and Lederach (2005), and the use of rituals to reconcile individual and groups in conflict (Schirch, 2005).

Galtung (1998) theorized that peace-building requires the '3 Rs' approach, namely: "resolution" of issues and animosities, "reconstruction" of people and places and "reconciliation" of relationships. He warns that after violent conflict, the three key issues should be addressed. He goes on arguing that all of the three components must be addressed decisively, and at the same time (Galtung, 1998).

Resolution" refers to issues and hostilities and their short- terms solutions.. It was developed to deal with international war and is focused on short-term solutions to conflict at the level of

states or leaders (Miall, 2001, Lederach, 2002). **Reconstruction**” refers to addressing problems and immediate issues and refers to reconstructing the physical, economic, political, ecological, cultural and social infra-structures including restoration and integration of people affected by conflict, while “**Reconciliation**” is a long and complex process which focuses on building broken relationship, trust and social networks through positive relationship and interaction .

Lederach (2002) critiques the so called ‘statist diplomacy’ that failed to demonstrate the capacity to resolve protracted social conflicts. He posits that sustainable resolution requires building relationships at grassroots level. He further argues for the distinction between ‘subjective issues’ (e.g., fear and hatred) and ‘substantive interests and issues’ (e.g., power sharing and disarmament). There are many sport intervention programs, particularly using team sport that aim to combat fear, hatred, in general and promote addressing social issues through building positive relationships (Keim, 2003; Lea-Houth, 2006).

Tidwell (1998) outlines the challenges in conflict resolution with regards to governments: He provides three further aspects of conflict resolution through building relationships to consider. Firstly, governments, not constituents, still have the greatest overall power to make war and peace (e.g., the Football 4 Peace trip to Israel, which was cancelled in 2006). Secondly, governments and elites may prefer to remain in a state of conflict, which typically unifies the nation and justifies the state’s existence.. Thirdly, enmity and conflict may represent a natural urge to seek enemies in order to define ourselves (as individuals, or states).

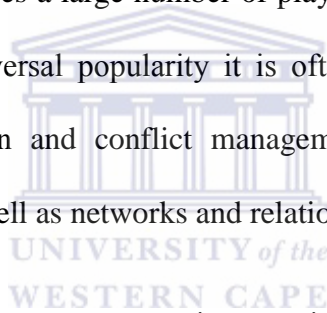
Wrangham and Peterson (1996) argue that the ‘nature versus nurture’ debate represents a false dichotomy. Human-beings may be born violent naturally, but they can be taught to embrace or reject violent conflict like in any sphere in life (ibid 1996). Thu, they highlight

the importance of programmes which promote positive relationships, but forcing us to accept that if governments really do desire war to order society, then there is little hope for peacebuilding.

Galtung (1998) highlights that intervention programs that aim to build peace have certain requirements:

“Culturally appropriate and inclusive peace building programs are required if the programs want to attract more people to engage actively rather than operate with somebody’s decisions” (p86).

Sport, in particular soccer, involves a large number of players, coaches, officials, supporters, and spectators. Through its universal popularity it is often seen as “cultural area” where reconciliation, conflict resolution and conflict management, and societal transformation messages are communicated as well as networks and relationships are established.



From the above perspectives, the current sport intervention and/or sport for social mission programs may be considered as a new innovation in the area of reconciliation and peacebuilding, which seems to deserve attention of both scholars and peace practitioners in the field of peace and conflict, in general in political science.

Miall (2001) suggests that intervention programs should incorporate non-biased peace education to inform societies. Asefa, (1995) postulates that truth and justice may not be sufficient, and outlines the importance of creating a friendly environment and its contribution to the process of reconciliation so that suspicion and retaliation are not aggravated and continue as reconciliation also refers to the process of psychological and emotional wounds.

Social capital is also recognized as an integral part of the reconciliation process in such, relationships should also extend to networks (Putnam, 2000). Networks in relationship may prevent conflicts and create favourable conditions as a platform to dialogue on substantive social issues and their solutions (Asihel, 2009).

Social networks are capable of restoring relationships in post-conflict. Sport may be an ideal vehicle to develop social networks that cut across cultures (Keim, 2009; 2006; Cwik, 2007; Lederach, 2002). In South Africa, the Kicking for Peace sport intervention program founded in August 2006 by the Western Cape Network for Community Peace and Development is one prime example among others.

Reconstruction as mentioned above *aims* at rebuilding people and places which includes the, economic, physical, cultural and social infrastructures accompanied by the rehabilitation programs for individual and groups affected by violent conflict. Galtung (1998) explains that there is no limit in the process of reconstruction and outlines the following intertwining factors namely: (1) **Rebuilding**, (2) **Restructuration**, (3) **Rehabilitation**, and (4) **Reculturation**.

Rebuilding (e.g. infrastructure, buildings, networks, institutions, and ecosystem) corresponds to the recreation of pre-war entities which are seen as desirable to keep, whereas **restructuration** corresponds to the modification or elimination of pre-war structures which have been determined to undermine the search for positive peace and the creation of new entities that will contribute to building positive peace. **Rehabilitation** is another subsection of reconstruction in which sports can play a valuable role. Western methods of rehabilitation have been critiqued by Mimica and Stubbs (1996) for focussing too much on diagnosing and treating Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). They point out that PTSD may be inapplicable to non-western cultures, or to populations who have experienced a collective

trauma rather than an individual trauma. Furthermore, Western Aid Agencies focus PTSD diagnosis/treatment on women and children whilst relatively excluding men. They think an inclusive approach to rehabilitation which includes skills retraining and ‘psycho-social projects to build peace and trust in terms of relationships across ethnic lines’ would be preferable (Mimica and Stubbs, 1996 p.288).

Sports-based psycho-social projects include those aimed at emotionally scarred as well as disabled victims of war. One such example is the report on the Sierra Leone Single Leg Amputee Sports Club (SLASC). The club comprises of three teams with a total of ninety members, and provides rehabilitation and social reintegration for its members.

Reculturation is the transformation of a culture of violence into a culture of peace. One way in which reculturation can be pursued is by training people at all levels of society (micro, meso and macro) in subjects such as human rights and conflict resolution (Galtung, 1998).

In this way popular sports, such as football, might be useful as a ‘hook’ to encourage participants to attend training, which they may not see the value of, or may consider a low priority compared to obtaining items such as food, shelter and employment. For example, international NGOs in Liberia used a network of football clubs to deliver training on the ‘Rights of the Child’ in an attempt to change the perception that it was acceptable to abuse children in certain ways e.g., labour exploitation, physical abuse. According to Lea-Howarth J. (2006), in Sierra Leone, enmity was drawn across tribal lines. The NGOs tasked with reconstruction sought to foster a sense of regional and national identity, at the expense of tribal identity, by the establishment of a football league. Regional teams were composed of a mix of different tribes, and therefore could not serve as symbols of tribal identity. Without further long-term research it is not clear what effect the football leagues are having on perceptions of tribal identity in the region. It does, however, demonstrate that the NGOs

attempting reculturation had an intuitive belief that the power of sport can assist in shaping identities.

Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) programs can provide rehabilitation and healing through psychosocial programs. One example of this comes from Sri Lanka, where cricket, the country's most popular game, is used to rehabilitate hundreds of children victims of the internal conflict through the program Cricket for Change. Furthermore, football's governing body FIFA, has played a central role in rebuilding sport facilities in regions affected by conflict and violence. For instance, FIFA promised funds to rebuild a football pitch in Gaza which had been bombed. In Afghanistan, the national stadium, site of executions, was repaired and reopened also with the support of this organization (Lea-Howarth 2006, p.16). In restructuration, sport-for-peace programs can potentially facilitate the building of relationships thus facilitating social inclusion (Kuvalsund, 2005). In reculturation, SDP programs can serve as 'hooks' by getting people involved in sport activities and by establishing sporting clubs and leagues based on accepted cultural regulations, and in doing so, strengthening civil society as well as democratic processes. In several African countries, such as Sierra Leone, football tournaments have been established featuring teams made up of players from different ethnic groups playing together with the purpose of reducing inter-tribal conflict by fostering a sense of national identity as opposed to tribal rivalry (Lea-Howarth 2006, p.17).

Galtung (1998) asserts that peace-building entails a pursuit of the '3Rs'. In his view building positive social networks is central to many of the processes underpinning each of the '3Rs' (especially that of reconciliation), as are the parties' emotions and attitudes. The peace-building approach requires an array of tools to transform situations that have developed into violent conflict, or have the potential to do so. Positive change should be made at the

relational-community level as well as the structural-constitutional level. Sport is an area, which can be applied in a variety of settings for a variety of purposes for community development and social change.

2.5 The Theory of Social Capital

Putnam (2000) asserts that:

“Transcending social capital comprises the existing political, social, and professional diverse identities to interrelate with people, unlike to oneself, in bridging social capital. Thus, good avenues for social capital creation are provided by team sport”.

Social capital both in theory and concept has attracted various scholars’ attention in research in the past and present. The attractiveness of social capital is most likely due to the joint understanding as social component that captures the core of various sociological concepts (e.g., social inclusion, social cohesion, support, integration, including societal values and norms) which, serves in broader and holistic terms and is understood in many disciplines including in sport sociology.

Social capital is an investment in the process of societal relationships; nevertheless, it expects returns (Putnum, 1995; Ericson, 1995). This general definition epitomizes various associations by scholars who have contributed immensely to the origin and discussion on social capital (e.g., Putnam, 1993, 1995).

Coalter (2007) asserts that the diffuse and contested nature of social capital, is central to the social regeneration social inclusion agenda” (p. 159). He goes on to explain that the diffuse nature of social capital is historically entrenched in political science and sociology in relation to social inclusion.

Bourdieu (1986) classified social capital into three main forms: a) ‘economic capital’ closely linked with money; b) the theorised ‘cultural capital’ a capital that can be transformed into economic capital under certain circumstances such as educational merit and qualifications and c) ‘social capital’ which is ...linked to *the position of a double network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition*” (p.249).

The above components of social capital are connected on the base of social relations. For an example, a sport person without any income/money may have cultural capital. Harker, 1984) explains that language, music, life style, sense of belonging etc... are the manifestations of cultural capital.. (Coalter, 2007) claims that the above classification of social capital by Bourdieu is instrumental. His view is that other forms of capital are accessed by social capital (e.g., social status).

In the sport context, Bourdieu refers to golf clubs as an example of how individuals network to conduct business, a social practice that is not available to all members of a community given the exclusive nature of many golf clubs (Field, 2003; Wynne, 1999).

The underlying theoretical work of Coleman (1998) is similar to that of Bourdieu, but he took he defines social capital in a different way. He provides two components and/or approaches to societal actions on social capital. The first component is, ‘economic *or rational action standpoint*’, where the motivating factor of individuals is governed by a set of social norms, rules, and obligations (Meikle-Yaw, 2006). These contrasting standards stand out in Coleman’s definition of social capital. For Coleman, social capital is not a single entity, but it” consists of some aspects of social structure and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether person or corporate actors –within the structure that produce outcomes that would not be otherwise be possible” (Coleman, 1998). In short, Coleman is interested in what social capital does rather than what it is.

The distinction between Bourdieu and Coleman may be understood, when one considers and compares other theories on social capital. In summary, for Bourdieu the purpose of social capital is to secure economic capital, and in the case of Coleman, it is about human capital through education, skill employment, and expertise to secure human capital. Coleman as cited in Coalter (2007) suggests that resources inherent in family and community relations as most significant for cognitive development of a child or the youth.

Putnam (2000) asserts: *“the core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value”* (p19). He first defines social capital as *“features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”* (p19). He later advanced connections among individuals via network and the reciprocity and trustworthiness that emanate from these forms.

Durlauf and Fafchamps (2004) provide three main ideas from the literature of social capital namely:

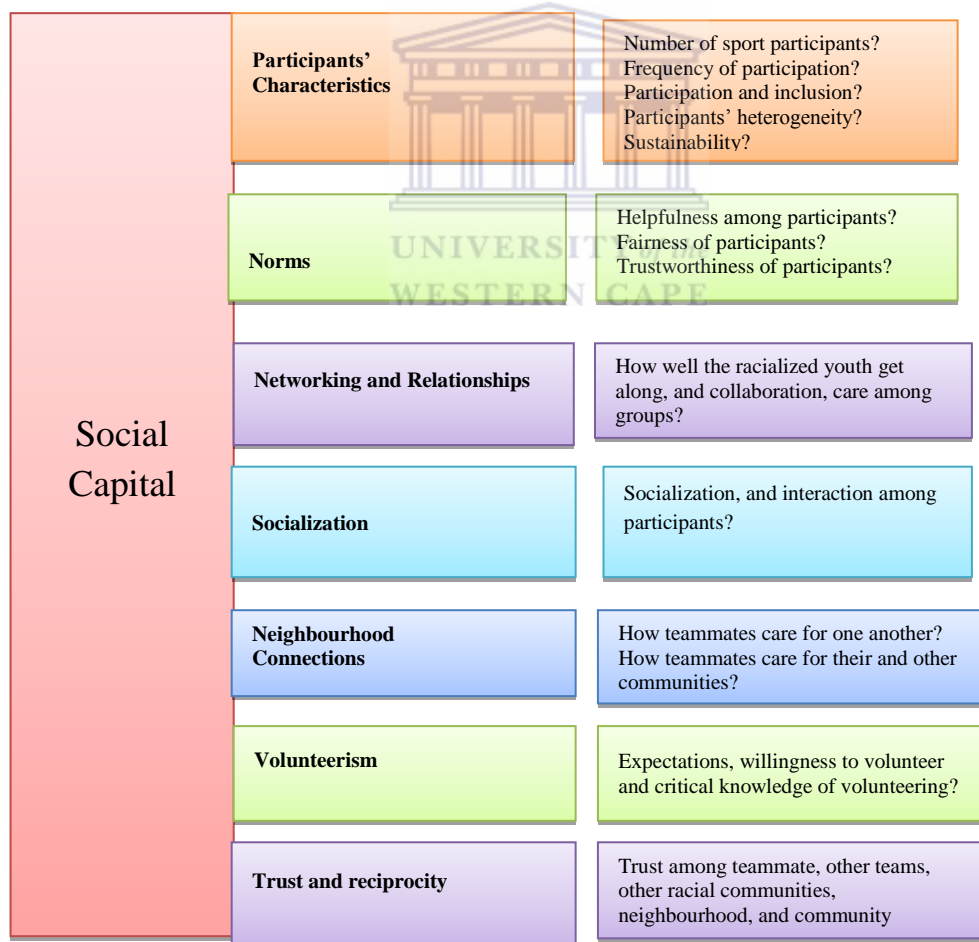
- a) Social capital generates positive externalities for members of a group;
- b) These externalities are achieved through shared trust, norms, and values and their consequent effects on expectations and behaviour;
- c) Collective values and shared trust and norms arise from informal forms of organizations based on social networks and associations. Social capital theory as a study area is often based on network-based processes, which produce valuable results through trust and norms.

The work of Putnam has enormously shaped modern definitions, applications of social capital, including its value. For Putnam, unlike Bourdieu and Coleman, the major purpose of social capital is equality and democracy in order to drive the economy. His theory of social

capital is anchored on all levels of political, social, trust and networks including grassroots organizations. Putnam (1993) asserts that active community involvement is a fundamental component of social capital (see Diagram 2.2, proposed social capital measures for SIPs).

Community participation creates reciprocity norms, networks and trust. Puntam’s social capital theory also recognizes volunteerism and he suggests that volunteerism associated with social capital is useful; both improve the efficiency of communities and development. Coalter (2007) maintains that Putnam’s theory of social capital is attractive to the governments and their policies.

Diagram 2.2: *Proposed Measures of Social Capital for Sport Intervention Programs*



Putnam uses a number of sports examples to illustrate the decline of social capital, for example by highlighting the decline in team sports and the rise of individual sports for fitness such as jogging. Furthermore, in his seminal work called 'Bowling alone' he discussed that any organized sport requires participation, with diverse groups of people and cultures, most importantly with acquaintances epitomizing sustained form of social capital which allows individual and groups to play recreational or occasional game (Coalter, 2007).

2.6 Theory of Change

The term theory of change is referred in many ways, often change can be generally used to denote to any form of process, which involves input, result chain, inputs to outputs, outcomes and impacts or the vast framework that signifies similar information in the process. The theory of change is different from other approaches and frameworks with regards to sport initiatives. Theory of change in the sport intervention programs:

- Illustrate how process and stipulated needs achieve intended goals (e.g., if the youth within the sport programs attend ten sessions (e.g., life skills). in individual and group sporting activities, they will conduct themselves in a certain manner on and off the field. This involves undertaking innovative methods which can be measured and tested within the process of the intervention programs.
- Changes when thinking about intervention from the perspectives of current programs of action to anticipated program's goals and objectives to be achieved.

A theory of change is a ladder that gets intervention programs from the start to an end, which is a complete and desirable guide. It is relevant for people involved within the program such as partners, staff, community organizations and NGO sponsors. More importantly, if it is good and complete, you have the best chance of making the change in the world you set out to make and of demonstrating your successes and your lessons along the way.

This short essay provides a conceptual framework for articulating and mapping programs' theories of change and/or the core, often implicit, assumptions about how change happens that guides practitioner's intervention design. It reviews a variety of theories of change for resolving racial or ethnic conflict in light of scholarly research and theory, particularly in the field of psychology.

According to Weiss (1972), the theory of change is related to on how different stakeholders illustrate their actions within the program and how their activities within achieve intended change. Program strategies and actions are central for theory of change and the desirable societal change as end product.

Theory of change intervention programs are designed to address past conflicts and work towards reconciliation. The intervention program may stipulate building relationship and trust across the divides (such as racial and ethnic) and can lead young and elderly diverse people to peacefully coexist in communities and promote the reconciliation program and processes. Building supportive relationships are integral and strong drivers for communities and structural changes.

Shapiro (2002) outlines the use of theory of change in the context of conflict resolution including how traditional and modern reconciliation and peace practices can be enhanced by the theory of change on the charting assumptions, which can be applied to the sport intervention programs aimed to resolve racialized conflict efforts by:

1. Reflective practice on sport intervention programs, informed and inclusive decisions taking into consideration needs and choices of sport intervention practitioners that reflects creative and alternative sport intervention approaches

2. Developing and fostering steady and stronger relations between practice and theory by distinguishing the fundamental theories that form and enhance existing practice.
3. Recognizing similar or complementary components of the sport intervention packages to be able to develop and improve cooperative and well-coordinated strategies and program interventions.
4. Categorizing conflicting expectations and theories used in examining the relative validity of differing methods or in distinguishing the circumstances of the most useful and feasible approaches.
5. Connecting the non-related narratives, and knowledge in this area (e.g., between both international and local sport interventions, and academic disciplines) to enhance communications with policymakers, funders, and stakeholders in general.
6. Confirming maximum and effective use of the existing sport intervention programs and in inspiring additional efforts in the future (p2).

On the other hand, theory of change to combat social issues through sport initiative programs may operate in the same way but focus on creating contextual methods that explore and analyse new innovation within the sport programs.

In general, theories of change are not adequately utilized and articulated and/or defined (Centre for Assessment and Policy Development, 2000). In sport intervention programs they may have never been used and it is not easy to assess their effectiveness.

However, in combination with Argyris and Schon's (1974) overlapping work on theories of practice, examining programs' theories of change provide a useful framework for differentiating program approaches, promoting the appropriate selection and support of diverse intervention, and advancing research that both refines theory and improves practice.

There are relatively few scholarly studies and literature to explain and describe differing methods and approaches. For example, Ross (2000) reviewed six theories of practices in relation to ethnic and racial conflict intervention literature and identified six theories of practice, more or less, linked in this study namely:

- a) 'Community relations' in the context of racialized youth identities,
- b) 'Ethical negotiation', racialized individuals, group, and communities' commitment to deeper negotiation for conflict resolution,
- c) The 'human-needs theory' (identity theory from psychoanalytical perspective) inter-cultural relation, and
- d) 'Conflict transformation' at societal levels (micro, meso, macro).

In his analysis, he made comparisons of the above practices of theories with the following dimensions that can be adopted in this study:

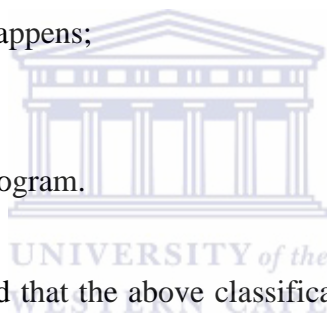
- a) The anticipated nature, and root causes of racialized and/or ethnic conflicts;
- b) The sport intervention programs' overall goal and objectives ;
- c) The impact of the intervention programs on participants;
- d) The methods and mechanisms within the sport intervention program (for achieving impacts);
- e) The transfer (ripple effect) of the sport intervention impact on the wider community conflict ; and
- f) The similarities across the theories used in literature and analysis.

Shapiro's (2002) in her field research used comparisons between change and theories of practice among fifteen programs that aim to address ethnic and racialized tensions in the USA. She found six theories of practice and change:

1. Prejudice Reduction;
2. Healing and Reconciliation;
3. Anti-Racism;
4. Diversity/ Multiculturalism;
5. Democracy Building; and,
6. Conflict Management.

The above theories of practice and change were compared in relation to the dimensions of:

- 1) Problem framing;
- 2) Goals and intended effects;
- 3) Theories of how change happens;
- 4) Intervention framing; and
- 5) Theoretical roots of the program.



In her analysis, Shapiro suggested that the above classifications are not contradictory, rather they bring together other theories and traditions that allow looking at the multi-dimensional features of the existing conflict, which may be included within the intervention programs. As such, these classifications should not be used to restrain or delineate intervention program, they may be used in a comparative analysis that stimulates advanced and further reflections.

Some scholars have come to the theory of change from logic model perspectives and theory-based evaluation and logic model perspectives, and some others from differing dimensions and perspectives of change. This may influence sport and other intervention programs on what important concept they see the program concentrating on.

Vogel Report (2012) claims theory of change should include and consider the discussion of the following components:

- Context: Sport intervention programs practitioners should consider political, social, and ecological circumstances and so should other community actors who can influence change
- Long-term impact: Participants within the SIPs should seek to sustain, support, and champion the ultimate goal and benefits
- Process/sequence of change: This should be anticipated to be able to create the circumstances for the desired long-term impact and change in communities
- Assumptions about how the changes might happen within the sport program, as a means of double-checking whether the sporting and educational activities and outputs are fitting for prompting the change in an anticipated course or direction
- Diagram and narrative summary which shows/captures the discussion outcomes.

Funnel and Rogers (2011) assert that theory of change provides a collective understanding and precision in support of the program cycle and can be useful in supporting different aspects of the project cycle and be appropriate with regard to the measure of the intervention.

2.7 Summary

Understanding the challenges and the wide variety of theories and linking them together to bring desirable societal change in this study's sport intervention programs for reconciliation is important. Theories produce knowledge that can be utilized in many areas of life. However, theories are not an end by themselves; instead they are a means to produce new knowledge and innovation. Thus, the different but interrelated theories in this study, have been examined, and they displayed similarities and differences. The similarities and differences within these theories lend one another to methods and approaches that cut-across academic disciplines.

Acknowledging these differences (and similarities) is useful in comparing various program approaches, but they should not take away from the larger shared beliefs about the need to change destructive forms of intergroup conflict.

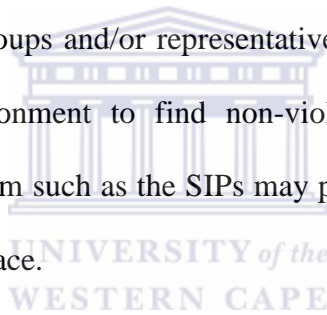


CHAPTER THREE: THEOROTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Strategically well organized, inter-community sport programs encourage healthy competition, promote friendship, empower individuals, and develop inter-group understanding, resulting in social development (Keim and de Coning, 2014; Sudgen, 2010; 2016; Keim, 2003).

The theories of social change are prevailing tool that enhance and improve successful intervention programs' design, monitoring and evaluation in post-conflict. The theory of change unpacks, social problems, approaches of redress, and anticipated results in a logical and profound ways. Hypothetically, the popular conflict resolution/mitigation strategy requires bringing antagonistic groups and/or representatives together to interact and discuss in a safe and conducive environment to find non-violent means to underlying social problems. An intervention program such as the SIPs may provide the environment necessary for such societal events to take place.



This chapter provides, an overview of the theory of social change framework, and explains its positive impact on the development of sport organizations and their intervention programs.

3.2 The theory of change

According to Moscardo (2007), social development is classified in to three inter-dependent constructs, namely '*social capital*', '*capacity building*' and '*social change*'.

1. '*Social capital*' refers to the building and rebuilding of networks, trust, and reciprocity among individuals, groups and people as well as communities.
2. '*Capacity building*' entails the prospect to enhance materials, talent and knowledge, and a particular skill that contribute to community and the environment.

3. '*Social change*' denotes the establishment of psychological relatedness and bondage among communities (e.g., the development of social identity and sense of belonging).

The above classifications of social development are inter-connected and can be considered by any intervention programs that aim to achieve social change.

Sport sociologists assert the viability of good theory of changes, and postulate three attributes, namely a) new skills, b) empathetic development, and c) mutual cooperation and relationships among participants. Other attributes include a) developing non-violent, and new conflict resolution education programs (e.g., peace education), and b) continuous/ongoing inter-communal meetings. All of the above attributes can be integrated to strengthen and enhance the current grassroots sport intervention programs at different societal levels (micro, meso, and macro).

Theories of change can be recognized as 'prospectively', which can be as part of planning an initiative or 'retrospectively' that is as part of an evaluation process. In the context of this study, in either case, the analysis demands both time and truthful reflection of the sport program leaders, managers as well as practitioners, this is perhaps because personal reports about theory of social change normally do not surface implicit assumptions.

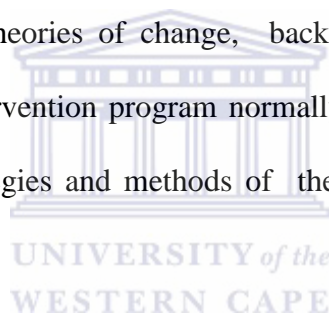
The social change theory provides guidance; in particular, sport practitioners can draw-out programs' theories of change in both clear and understood logic of an intervention design as follows:

1. The problem to be resolved/addressed including its structure;
2. Formulate the sport intervention objectives;
3. Discover processes from beginning to end in which change happens;

4. Justification for contextual method, strategies, and principles that guide the intervention program and
5. Sketching short, intermediate and long-term anticipated impacts of an intervention program.

The relation between categories can be clarified and represented on diagrams and written descriptions of the intervention practice and framework. When initiating mapping, sport programmers should focus additional questions, which is clarifying unclear meanings, relations, and inconsistencies, as well as explore the reasoning that leads program leaders to their conclusion about how change happens.

In addition, when articulating theories of change, backward mapping or identifying the anticipated outcomes of the intervention program normally lead sport professionals to their decisions about particular strategies and methods of the sport intervention at all societal levels .



The scope and specificity of a theory of change or the kinds of changes the sport initiative program does and does not account for vary considerably among programs because they are:

1) **Plausible** - empirical research and general knowledge may suggest that particular sport program activities depending on their objectives can lead to desired change or outcomes (e.g., participating in sport can build relationships).

2) **Doable** - many sport initiative that strategize on 'scaling up' approach have adequate and sustainable financial, political, institutional and human resources to carry-out/implement their programs;

3) *Testable* - the track of change are detailed enough, with measurable indicators and specific precondition, to trace progress in realistic and constructive way (Connell and Kubisch, 1998).

In South Africa, since 1994, the Democratic alliance (DA), at provincial level and the ANC, at national level have focused on problems associated with social issues such as racial conflict/racism, poverty, crime, HIV/AIDS, unemployment etc... specifically, in previously marginalized and disadvantaged communities. Their work has had a theoretical dimension that explored how race shapes the social, political, economic and cultural institutions of the post-apartheid South African society and how those dynamics produce significant ongoing racial disparities in the wellbeing of children, families and communities, which undermine the reconciliation process. Nevertheless, many of the sport intervention programs in South Africa aim to compact the above inter-related social issues, and aspire to promote reconciliation in attempt to bring a change in racialized segregated communities.

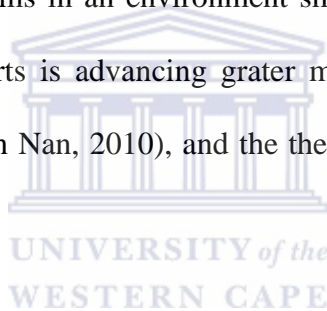
The efforts of both the DA and the ANC also has more practical breadth that describe how to apply racial equity 'lens' to social and economic development work. The principles behind these efforts can be attributed to adopting a more race-conscious approaching to the process of community building, social justice and reconciliation with the aim to:

1. Spreading knowledge and understanding of the root causes inequality, poverty, and the necessity and relevance of reconciliation between previously marginalized South African communities,
2. Broadening citizens' understanding of the racial disparity forces which sustain the racial difference and status-quo and boundaries to the success of desirable social change strategies,

3. Acknowledging and recognizing factors of how and why more emphasis on racial equity may advance the possibility of success in reconciling racialized communities shattered by conflicts as to encourage future social change efforts
4. Highlighting new methods and approaches that could supplement and strengthen current practices of the pro-reconciliation intervention activities(e.g., sport programs) that focus in building relationships to reduce the perception of racialized identities in communities shattered by racial conflict.

3.2.1 The theory of change Model and the Program Logic Model

Theory of social change (TOSC), as a concept can improve design, monitoring, and evaluation of intervention programs in an environment shattered by conflict. The theory of change, beyond evaluation experts is advancing grater momentum within the field of the study of conflict (Shapiro cited in Nan, 2010), and the theory of change originated from the theory-based program evaluation



The social change theory and program logic have been in use since the 1970s. The utility of program theory in program design and evaluation have extensively been explored by many scholars (e.g., Chen, 2005; Fullan, 2001; Weiss, 1995). Among others, the U.S Agency for International Development’s framework, the usefulness of program were among the ancient uses of the type of ocular displays evolved in the current program logic model (Church and Rogers (2006). Meta-cognition or thinking and re-thinking are present in contemporary leaderships as well as new managements because thinking affects action, and results in better understanding.

Theory of change play a pivotal role at all stages of the intervention programs (see table 1).First, after the completion of contextual conflict assessment, during the program planning/designing phase, the TOC guide practitioners o explain, what program activities in

the context of the conflict lead to change. Second, during the implementation phase, it guides in developing possible and meaningful indicators to monitor the implementation program including in adjusting programs in the context of conflict dynamic. Third, Theory of change guides the evaluation programs such as baseline assessments, mid-term formative evaluation, and summative evaluation.

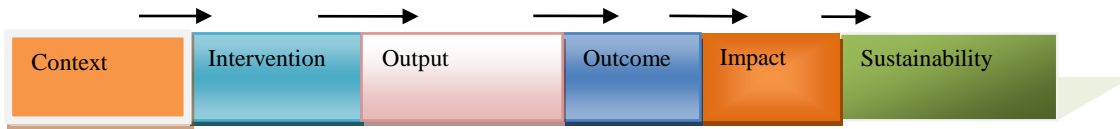
Table 1: Theory of change in sport intervention program stages

The stages of intervention programs	Theory of social change - significance
Program plan	Detailed sport intervention programs' activities which will result in anticipated changes
Program implementation	Relevant indicators that help monitor intervention program implementation. Guidance to interveners in regulating shifts in conflict context during program implementation.
Program evaluation	Evaluation on anticipated impacts and changes.

One of the popular method used to evaluate conflict resolution is theory-based evaluation, it utilizes the TOC to emphasize efforts on anticipated changes and the expected processes by which an intervention programs may lead to those changes. The program design, its implementation and the program evaluation will be more effectively related to expected changes, which are the rationales of the theory-based evaluation (Church and Rogers, 2006).

Monitoring and evaluation in relation to conflict programming involve knowing beforehand the anticipated changes to monitor and their development over the duration of the program life. The TOC guides monitoring, and evaluation focus, on outputs, outcomes, impacts, including the sustainability of a program. The TOC is used as a reasoning that relates the intervention to anticipated changes it is expected to effect. All the TOSC reasoning about anticipated result are represented by arrows in each of the interrelated boxes (see Diagram 3.1).

Figure 3.1: *Interconnected Program Phases through the Theory of social Change*



On the other hand, Logic Program Model of the theory for social change presents an idea in graphic methods, and offers an understanding of connections or relationships among factors that are necessary to implement program or efforts for change (Church and Rogers, 2006 p4). Logic model can describe a circumscribed sport programs or initiative in both what is planned *'the action'* and what result are expected *'the gaining'*. They offer a clear path-way map to the identified end. When program models are developed or in process, they give an opportunity to assess and review the strength and degree of inter-relatedness between activities (input) and outcomes. After critical reviews and development, models can show sport interveners and participants' learning about what works under what conditions.

Models complement system thinking as a tool and technique for achieving valid but also simplified representations of real-world and/or sport for reconciliation and peace complexities.

Sport and recreation program in any sector, whether in private, local or international, NGOs led or government, requires design, planning, monitoring and evaluation. Each of these functions solves problems, and in any social conflict context, evidence-based models are great aid. There are many pro-reconciliation sport initiatives, which are challenged with creating strategies or plan an evaluation for their programs. Logic model and modelling may be an effective option to resolve such a dilemma. Logic modelling can be used as both a tool and a process that resonate with learning and performance management (ibid). The aim of

this chapter is to unpack the relationships between actions (activities) and results (outcome/impact) in sport directed for reconciliation and peace programs.

3.2.2 Benefits in Utilizing Theory of Change and program Logic

In addition to the sport organizational effectiveness, and its program execution, intervention programs requires designing, planning, monitoring, and to put success measures in place within their programs. In these processes, the social change theory and logic program model assist to:

1. Formulate shared goals and understandings among partners (such as the local and international NGOs, civil society, CBOs, government structures etc...)
2. Offers opportunities for participatory learning
3. Provides clear knowledge about what works and why.
4. Classify relevant variable measures and allow more operative use of resources for evaluation
5. Documents and underscores clear results
6. Provide a trustworthy reporting, communicating and distribution of information framework
7. Lead to contextual, proactive and improved design, planning, and management

Church and Rogers (2006) assert that: *“When theory of change and logic models are used as standard methods, they inform the effectiveness of intervention organizations”* (p3).

In this study, the social change theory and program logic are assumed to strengthen and improve sport intervention programs aiming to combat social issues in communities. They provide strategic means to critically review intervention programs and improve thinking, which react pro-actively, for more advanced thinking that can yield anticipated change in communities. In sport programs for social mission, modelling can happen well before

resources are committed or before the final decision is made. This provides a mechanism to pre-test quality, and limit risk.

Program logic models can offer significantly support for creating and communicating shared language of understanding on some of the challenges such as resources, and sustainability of the sport for social mission programs. They can also be used to calibrate between the big picture (sport for reconciliation and sustainable peace) and its component parts (building trust and relationships). They can illustrate part (such as reconciliation promotion) within the holistic process of reconciliation. Notwithstanding that sport is not all out for reconciliation, but as a means it is a 'hook' and provides a platform for the process.

3.3 Conflict Resolution, Transformation, and the Theory of change

There are considerable debates among scholars in both practice and academic literature on imperatives of conflict resolution and conflict transformation, including on the role they play in the process of reconciliation, in particular, in racial conflict.

The Reflective Peacebuilding Toolkit developed by Lederach, Neufeldt and Culbertson (2007), provides a guiding framework as a learning approach in differentiating '*conflict transformation*', and the commonly and widely used term *conflict resolution*. In their view, while these terms have traditionally been used interchangeably, they offered a guiding metaphor.

Conflict Resolution focuses on the quest of finding a non-violent means to social issue (current problem). The main objective of resolution is to find an answer/response to a question/problem (i.e., to end the problem that is causing pain). The main focus of resolution is on instant or recent incidents of conflict and on the type or content of the conflict (ibid). Although it is important to resolve problems for the time-being, immediate solutions that do

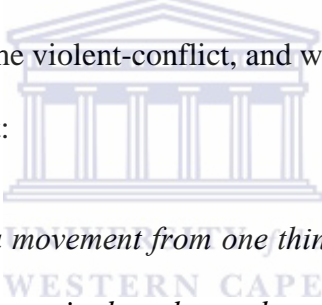
not take account of deep-seated underlying issues and forms may provide temporary relief, but miss important chances for pursuing fruitful and wider change. Therefore, a conflict resolution position becomes clear about what needs to be stopped (such as violence). However, Lederach et al. (2007) assert that:

“...conflict resolution framework does not always give clues about what should be built in its place” (p17).

On the other hand, ‘*conflict Transformation*’ focuses on change, and addresses two major questions:

- 1) What is the main problem, and need to stop and change? and,
- 2) What is the root-cause to the violent-conflict, and what is hoped to be built instead?

Lederach, et al. (2007) asserts that:



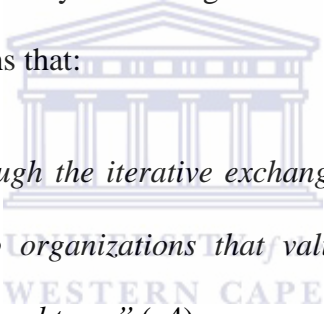
“Change always require a movement from one thing to another, peace builders must look not only at the starting point but also at the goal and the process of getting from one point to another” (p17).

Diffusion and de-escalation of conflict are the main focus areas of conflict resolution. It looks at presenting problems as a possible opportunity to transform relationships and the systems in which relationships are embedded. Conflict transformation on the other hand, focuses on relationship and relational context, by looking not only at the visible roots, but the deep rooted which has historic patterns and dynamics of the conflict, and endeavours to transform the relationship above ground.

In summary, conflict resolution and conflict transformation may not be seen as working in opposition, but they complement one another. While conflict resolution denotes a set of skills

within a wider framework, conflict transformation endeavours to ask major questions. The question sport practitioners must ask is t how sport intervention programs can utilize both conflict resolution and transformation guiding metaphors to positively contribute in the process of social change. Sport and recreation practitioners seek solutions by working with change in both the immediate and longer term, in particular, at relational level. The key for sport and recreation programs to promote conflict resolution and transformation centres around its continual focus on the question of change, and its approaches and strategies necessary in those processes.

While the logic model is often used among large numbers of NGOs and foundations, they are increasing interests among Community-based Organizations (CBOs) and the private sector. Church and Rogers (2006) explains that:



“...models enhance learning through the iterative exchange of information and experience, they offer important features to organizations that value evidence, diversity, dialogue, feedback, inquiry, great planning and team” (p4).

In addition, logic program models in sport intervention programs display social issues, sport activities for intervention, describing community and school district’s education improvement plan, create community leadership program or establish the best ways to resolve conflict.

The two types of models (theory of change and program logic) at times may appear differently during utility in a program. The major distinction between the two is the level of details and features. Program logic models include more features than theory of logic models. Theory of change models is conceptual and program logic models are operational (see Table 3.1)

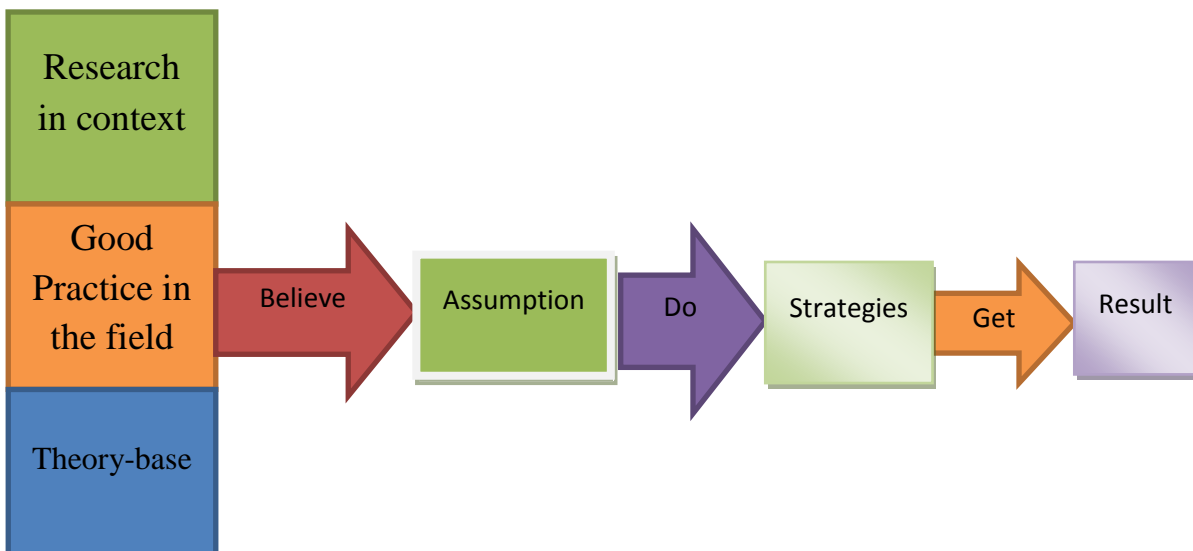
Table 3.1 Features of model types

Feature	Theory of change	Program logic model
Time frame	Indefinite	Limited time
Degree of details	Small/low	High
Fundamentals elements	Few (what you do and get)	Many
Main display	Graphic	Graphic and text
Focal point/focus	Broad	Specific

Adopted from Church and Rogers (2006)

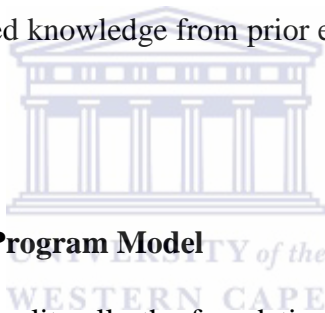
Most sport practitioners are not clear in unpacking program resources, activities and anticipated outcomes at different levels. The most significant opportunity to improve theory of social change in the field of sport for social mission lies in unpacking the knowledge and beliefs employed in assumption. This means, in practice, that any theory of program or social change effort should be grounded in knowledge. If results are connected to strategies that reflect research, practice, theory, and experience, there are far greater chances for success than with strategies that lack this grounding (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: **Research practice and theory an integral to SIPs**



As discussed earlier, a combination of little or no practice, research, and theory in theory of change and program models means, the effort of intervention that may be assumed to be highly modern is not likely to succeed. A combination of practice, research, and theory in both models within the intervention programs are attributed to success towards achieving anticipated objectives and outcomes.

The best theory of social change model deliberately pursues alignment among research, theory, practice, and experience. The stronger models build on knowledge and good effort that precede them. These substantiated model and their associated programs or social change efforts gather and then use codified knowledge from prior efforts to inform effective program design.



3.4 From Theory of Change to Program Model

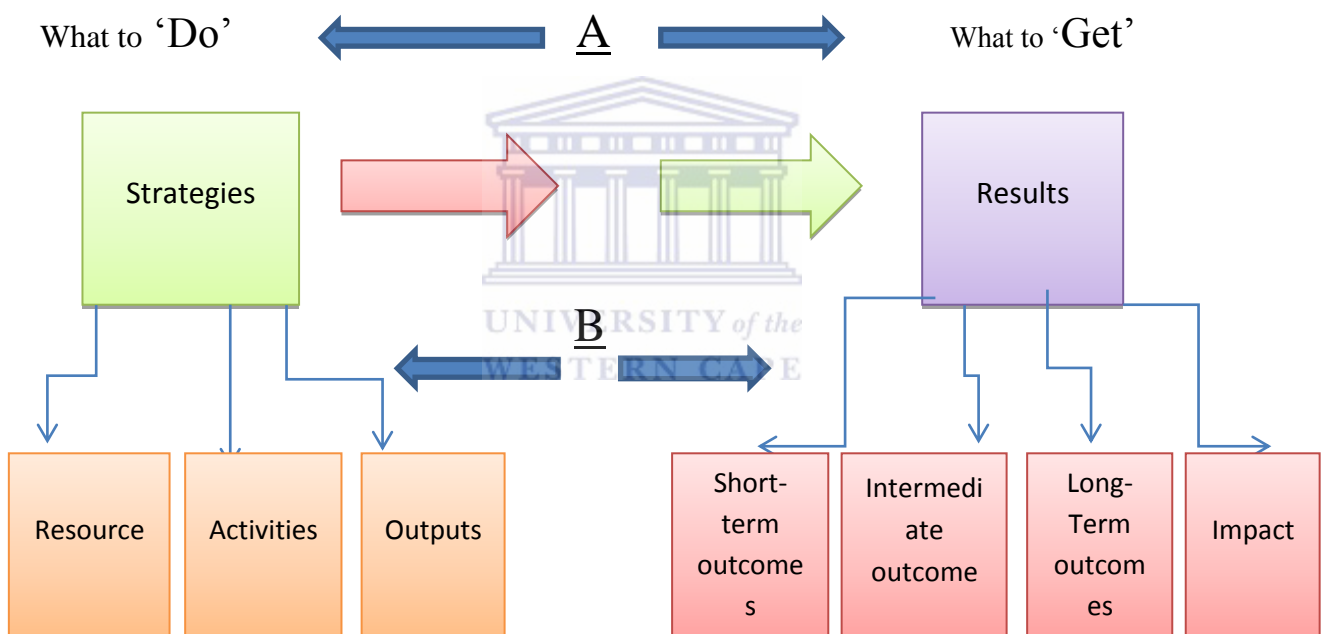
Theory of change logic models are literally the foundation for program logic models. When well-developed, they can ensure intellectual rigor for program logic models. Figure 3.3 illustrates the relationship of a theory of change model (composed of strategies and results) to the primary elements of social change and a program logic models.

Strategies reflect necessary resources, activities, and outputs needed to kick start the intervention program towards achieving intended results. Results reflect the sequences of outcomes overtime through impact. Outcomes (for individuals) are generally progress in changes in awareness, knowledge, skill, or behaviour among targeted beneficiaries. There are also outcomes for organizations and systems. Also a plausible and evidence-based connection can be established, impact is often beyond the scope (or feasibility) for the program being framed. Together, outcomes that is closer to the effort of multiple strategies plus impact

(further away) make up results. While program logic models are often built on a theory of change, it is also possible to deduce a theory of change from a program logic model.

Program assumptions may not be illustrated but they matter, the exclusion may help explain conflicts, and chaos that may erupt during program development, planning, implementation, or assessment. However, sport practitioners can use the diagram below as a tool, when asked to evaluate sport intervention programs, after they have ended, or at any point in the sport program cycle.

Diagram 3.3: *Theory of change and the program logic model*



Bickman (1987) clarifies the logic model as a plausible, and sensible of how the program will work under certain environmental conditions. The elements of the logic model are resources; activities, and outputs, short, intermediate and long-term outcomes (basic logic model). Some have added the beneficiaries or participants reached as well as the relevant external influences (McLaughlin and Jordan, 1991). Logic models may take different forms, including discourse, narrative or table and figure forms.

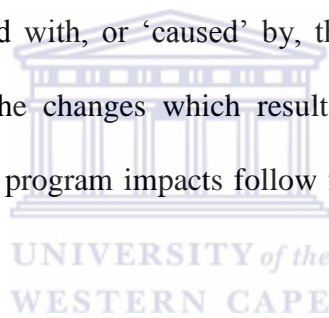
In the absence of explicitly named assumptions, either a clear theory of change does not exist or people hold multiple and conflicting variations that reflect their deeply held view about what should/could work and why. This can result in neutralizing or weakening programs that lack the focus and concentration needed to produce anticipated results. Because of the implications, excluding this foundation for your idea, program, or social change effort undermines the intervention's potential to succeed.

3.5 Features of the logic Model in SIPs for Social change

1. Resources: human and financial resources as well as other inputs required to support the sport programs for social mission such as partnerships (local and international NGOs, CBOs, Civil Societies, and Government). Information on sport participants and their environment they live in, as well as their needs (such as social issues they want redressed) is an essential resource to the program to enable activities/actions that will lead to results.
2. Activities: all of the sport and recreation contextual actions, steps necessary to produce the outputs.
3. Outputs: the products, goods and services provided to the programs' direct customers/beneficiaries and/or sport participants. For example, the reports (of sport programs and participants) generated for other researchers and sport technology developers (such as Media) as a result of the activities of conducting research could be thought of as outputs of the activities.
4. Customers/participants: this feature has been dealt with implicitly in logic models until (Montague, 1997) added the concept of '*Reach*' to the performance frame. He argues of the 3Rs of performance namely: a) resources, b) people reached, and c) results/outcomes. He explains that "the relationship between resources and results

cannot happen without people”. In the context of this study the sport participants served and the stakeholders who work within the sport program to enable actions that will lead to results. Placing customers/sport participants, the users or receivers of product/activity or service explicitly in the middle of the chain of logic helps program staff (sport coaches, managers, officials, volunteers etc...) and stakeholders (e.g., NGOs, CBOs) to better think through and explain what leads to what youth population groups the program intended to serve.

5. Outcomes: benefits or changes that result from activities and outputs. Intervention programs can have multiple chronological impacts/outcomes, referred to as ‘programs outcome structure’. First there are *short-term outcomes*, which are changes or benefits that are closely associated with, or ‘caused’ by, the program’s outputs. Second are *intermediate outcomes*, the changes which results from the short-term outcomes. *Longer-term outcomes* or program impacts follow from benefits accrued through the intermediate outcome.



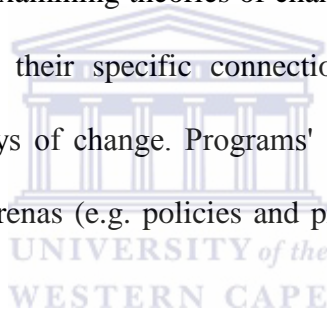
Key contextual factors external to the program and not under its control could influence its success either positively or negatively and are critical features of the logic model. These could influence the design and delivery of the program: antecedent and mediating (Harrell and et al., 1996). *Antecedent variables* are those the program starts out with, such as participant/client characteristics, geographical variables, and economic factors. *Mediating factors* are the influences that emerge as the program unfolds, such as changes in staff, new policies, a downturn in the economy, and new competing programs.

3.6 Theory of Change as Conflict Transformation Approach

3.6.1 The Micro, Meso and Macro levels: An Overview

Some of the most prevalent distinctions in both the academic and programmatic literatures about theories of change surface around levels of analysis and/or whether change efforts focus primarily on individuals or intergroup relationships, or on structures and systems. While many theories cut across levels of analysis, it is so important that pro-reconciliation sport initiatives program work at all societal levels, but some scholars argue that intervention programs for change may focus predominantly on one level as a starting point.

The program goals and intended effects often serve as path-ways, markers and a vision for the programs' change efforts. In examining theories of change, the importance of process and content goals lie in identifying their specific connection for anticipated outcomes and mapping those proposed pathways of change. Programs' *'outcome goals'* usually focus on targeted change in a variety of arenas (e.g. policies and procedures, relationships, attitudes, knowledge or skills.)



The following section briefly presents the framework used to examine targeted sport intervention programs from practitioners' perspectives on how their programs will bring social change at different levels (individuals, intergroup relations, social systems/structures and points to some of the divergent theories of change that are prevalent in conflict resolution work.

Sport for social mission practitioners often view themselves and their programs as change agents, and encourage individual participant to take leadership roles in their respective communities and organizations in fostering change. Intervention programs tend to have a relatively hopeful vision of change, grounded in optimism both about the opportunities for positive change such as reconciliation and integration among individuals, groups, and

communities shattered by past conflict. However, it is assumed that given the history of South Africa's apartheid past, aspects of conflict are inherent, but also human-beings have a potential and capacity to learn, change, and peacefully to coexist.

3.6.2 Dimensions of Racial-conflict, and the Social Change

Conflict transformation is multi-dimensional and requires a step-by-step process on the bases of the different levels in society (micro, meso, and macro including the cultural aspect that cut-across all levels). Lederach et al. (2007) argue that conflict, in particular social conflict, inescapably has multi- dimensions which require changes, and which examine the kind of changes peace practitioners hope to promote. Many scholars reach consensus that social conflict causes changes in the following four dimensions: a) the **personal**; b) the **relational**; c) the **structural**; and d) the **cultural** (see Figure 3.4).

Sport practitioners within the intervention program should consider and focus on the above four conflict dimensions during program design before articulating the changes they seek. The four dimensions of conflict transformation have different approaches that can be combined for the purpose of evaluation, learning, theory and indicator development.

The four dimensions are linked, and equally important, but different projects may emphasize one or another of these dimensions. However, a planning and monitoring system incorporating all four aspects is useful for directing where the focus should be.

Figure 3.4: *Classification of conflict at different societal levels*

<p><u>Personal (micro), Individual Level</u></p> <p>Conflict changes individuals personally, emotionally, psychological and spiritually</p> <p>For example, Un-empowered individuals are not vulnerable for change; they may fuel and trigger existing conflict.</p>	<p><u>Relational (meso) or Interpersonal Level</u></p> <p>Denotes to groups of people who possess direct, face to face contact or relationship.</p> <p>During violent conflict, communication patterns change, stereotypes are created, polarization increases, trust decreases</p>
<p><u>Structural (macro) or societal level</u></p> <p>Conflict negatively impacts structures and system, how relationships are structured, and who control or has access to power, to communicate with family, organizations, and whole society.</p>	<p><u>Cultural that cut-across all three levels</u></p> <p>Violent conflict causes deep-seated cultural changes. For example, norm that direct patterns of behaviour between men and women, elders and youth etc....</p>

Adopted from Reflective Peace building (Lederach et al., 2007).

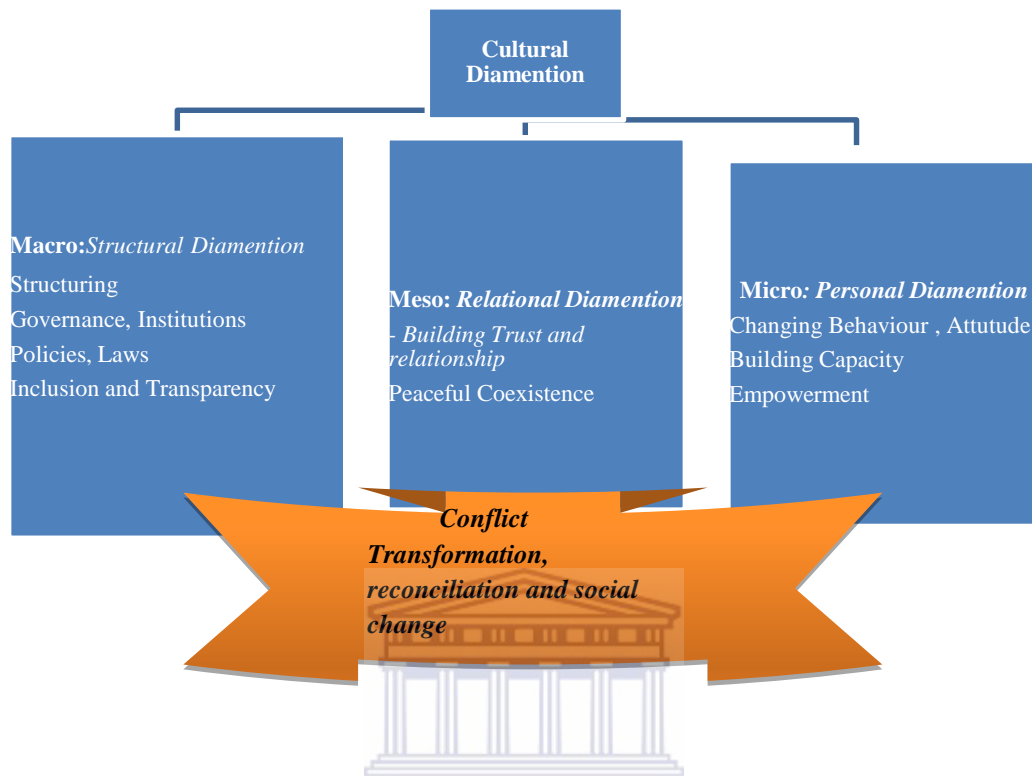


The personal and relational dimensions propose change at individual, interpersonal including at community levels, with a more immediate and local scope. On the other hand, the structural and cultural dimensions engage processes that impact institutions and wider social, political, or economic patterns, which represent broader, usually longer-term scope and impact (ibid).

The key in the above project design and project evaluation is to think as clearly as possible about what kind of changes are proposed through particular initiatives or programs including how impact will be seen and traced to the programmatic effect at different societal level (see Figure 3.5 below).

Diagram 3.5: *Theoretical framework for conflict transformation and social levels*

(original)



3.6.3 The Personal Dimension: Individual Empowerment, behaviour and action

Maregere (2009) argues that:

“Reconciliation seeks a solution for a conflict, and promote necessary collaboration between the perpetrators and victims to make them able to peacefully coexist and live together again in the same environment/society” (p42).

At individual/personal level, the victims need to understand the truth (what happened), accept the apology, seek justice and be reconciled with the perpetrator, and should walk with the perpetrator in a peaceful relationship. Through memory, they jointly reflect and understand what fuelled the conflict, what happened, what could have been avoided and what needs to be redressed to enable both parties to coexist peacefully (ibid). Therefore, in a process of reconciliation, individual development and/or empowerment play a key role. Reconciliation

can be seen as being promoted if individuals in conflict are able to empower themselves. Reconciliation is all about finding a means to live alongside former enemies void of non-violence, not necessarily to like or love a perpetrator, or forget, but develop the degree of cooperation necessary to share, so that both have better lives together than they have had separately. Reconciliation is a process that redesigns the relationships between the victim and perpetrator based on respect and real understanding of each other's' needs, fears and aspirations at individual level. The consequent habits (individual behaviour and attitudes) as well as patterns of cooperation that develop are the best guarantee that the violence of the past will not return (Bloomfield et al., 2003).

Several models have been proposed to explain behaviour at the individual or micro-level, recognising the range of habitual and intentional behaviours that impact upon environmental processes and systems in domestic, workplace and other contexts. Formal models include theories of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991); value belief- norms (Stern et al., 1999); and habitual behaviour (Verplaanken and Wood, 2006). These modules include constructs such as awareness of the environmental consequences of behaviour, ascription of moral responsibility for addressing environmental problems, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control and expected outcomes. Thus, it is vital for sport initiative practitioners to research and examine how a range of sport interventions may prove useful in modifying existing behaviours and fostering new ones namely, a) the provision of feedback information, the setting of goals or commitments to change, b) the manipulation of social norms and actual change to the meso-level context.

Lederach et al., (2007) assert that generally, there are two main categories, which are often linked for personal change to occur. These are patterns or characteristics seen in individuals namely attitude changes and behavioural changes.

3.6.4 Change in Personal Attitude

The way people think and perceive, often unconsciously, predispose an individual attitude (e.g., the way individual approach a given topic, relationship or situation). In an environment shattered with conflict, frequently, personal attitude has to do with deep-seated views which trigger existing divisions such as perceived threats, and the broader context the individual live in.

When intervention practitioners embark on a process to build relationship and trust among individuals with different racial and economic backgrounds, they may ask to clarify the social changes they seek in the following questions:

- 1) What attitudes aggravate existing conflict?
- 2) Which attitudes are necessary for change through the action or program?
- 3) If a participant in the program changes this attitude, what difference will it make in the environment, and situation?
- 4) As practitioners in the program, how would we know the attitudes have changed?
- 5) How would we know the changes made are connected to the intervention activities?

Lederach et al (2007) propose that conflicts can be negatively affected by some attitudes such as fear of making relationship, fear of expressing oneself and sharing views, superiority, lack of respect, prejudice or bias, and rigid, preconceived and narrow perceptions

3.6.5 Change in Behaviour

Far beyond attitude, behaviour refers to the way the act, responses they give, ways they express themselves, and how they interact with others. There are varieties of theories which invoke to advance behavioural learning and change during intervention programs. For example, modelling and Social learning: most programs draw modelling exclusively from the theory of social learning, emphasizing the importance of simulation and modelling in

behavioural change (Bandura, 1973). For example, interveners often mention Ghandi's principle 'be the change you would like to see' to encourage people by providing a model of behaviour for participants during an intervention.

'Learning by doing' is acquired through practical exercise/by doing. In keeping with a wealth of sport sociology particularly social psychological research demonstrating that action is an effective pathway to attitude change. Learning by doing requires cognitive processes that encourage participants to shift attitudes, and better align with their own behaviours (Stab, 1989).

The *'ripple effect'* also referred to as transfer effect occur when intervention programs accommodate small groups, for example, in conflict intervention program to create large-scale social change, the impact that small-group participants make in those within their personal and professional spheres of influence. The ripple effect (transfer effect) of an intervention program suggest that the individual and relational changes that occur during small-group interventions will have broader circles of impact as participants take their new learning back into their respective communities and organizations.

Lederach et al. (2007) outline some guiding factors for intervention program practitioners to consider in the design as well as evaluation phase of their programs:

- 1) Identify behaviours that contribute to constructive and destructive patterns of conflict.
- 2) Outline behaviours that are commendable for change through the proposed activities/programs
- 3) Justify anticipated behaviours and the role or the difference they can make in current situation.
- 4) Criterion to determine whether the behaviour has changed?

5) Indicate the changes achieved whether they relate to the intervention program.

Behavioural changes that may improve broken relationships and trust include listening very well, reaching out to the other group, avoiding negative stereotypes in language, and increased contact and relationships with other group, openness and transparency about feeling, expressing views without fear and judgements, and reconsidering perceptions

3.7 The Relational Dimensions (Meso-level)

The micro behaviours that are embedded, constrained and enabled by practices are in turn shaped by meso-level ‘structuring factors’. Generally, social practices such as sport practices are shaped and even constrained by resources and infrastructural contexts including the specific technological design of individual’s products (Shove and Warde 2002).

Personal or individuals’ understandings of social practices are shaped by ‘*cultural conventions*’ and shared meanings, routines, cultural representations, and the unspoken rules that govern appropriate behaviour in different social contexts (Warde, 2005). The practices of attitudes differ across society in relation to specific norms of communication in these practices. The key challenge is to examine how cultural understandings of different practices are established and changed among social groups who present themselves as either committed or indifferent, and it is hard to reach groups in relation to values and sustainability (McMeekin and Southerton 2007).

Practitioners who focus on changes in intergroup relations often assert that networks, alliances, coalitions, and other cooperative group relationships such as the contact theory methods are vital in promoting both individual and social change.

‘*Contact Hypotheses*’: The consensus is that contact hypothesis in many SIPs try to establish cooperative, equal-status interaction between participants from different

racial/ethnic groups (Allport, 1954). As such, intervention programs often focus on identifying common ground and working toward communal and socially relevant goals. In addition, many interventions try to acquire support for their work from local authorities to attract participants, to improve the implementation of agreements, recommendations, or action initiatives resulting from the intervention, and otherwise enhance the impact of the work. These efforts are specifically designed to assist in breaking-down prejudices about the 'other' and building collaborative relationship (as an approach to conflict), across individuals and groups that can result in healthy communication and action.

A. **Aspects in Communication:** some key issues of communication to be considered by intervention practitioners when evaluating change within a program are:

- The level of communication and contacts in the intervention programs (e.g., regular, open, or avoiding/restricted).
- Whether beneficiaries/participants within the program have the capacity to express themselves appropriately during conversations to one another without fear and pre-conceived judgement.
- Whether beneficiaries accurately listen to the concerns of others (e.g., to listen to teammate and opponents in sport), without bias and prejudice.

B. **Cooperation:**

- Whether there is a high level of collaboration, both initiating and working together on sport programs or goals that are important to the entire group participants, and require cooperation from all sides for their success.

C. **Inclusive Decision Making**

- Assessing beneficiaries understanding, whether they feel they are adequately included in decisions that affect themselves and their communities in the program.

- Examining whether communication in relation to information-sharing is open, accessible and equitable to all participants (individual and groups in the program).
- Whether the decision making process is clear and unbiased within the intervention program.

D. Conflict handling mechanisms

- Whether there are mechanism put in place when conflict arises and the appropriateness by which it is handled and preceded.
- Assessing the type and nature of misunderstandings, whether they aggravate and polarize existing conflict among individuals and groups as an attempt to review programs.



3.8 The Structural Dimension (macro-level)

The structural change emphasises beyond the direct relationship. It is a broad area that involves and influences entire groups in society (e.g., inequality), in particular, things that happen repeatedly now. Differently speaking, it is a combination of present and past historical dynamics between and among groups, where a specific group has been privileged and others excluded or marginalized (ibid). For example, in the context of South Africa, the white group was privileged while other groups were marginalized.

Assessing structures post conflict requires a critical lens on creating and formalizing institutions to meet communal goals and to serve people. The effectiveness of these institutions is determined when they fulfil human or societal needs they serve.

Structural changes can be approached in many different ways. Lederach et al. (2007) provides the following points of analysis, which are considered to serve as a straight point in intervention programs:

3.8.1 Social Conditions

- An assessment of conditions that have aggravated perceived and obvious disparities in accessing resources and power.
- Whether these patterns are consistent of exclusion and marginalization in sapping greater privilege for one group and disadvantaging others?
- Identifying the historic and basis of racism, sectarianism, and marginalization?
- Investigating if all groups are entitled to an equal say in the process that affects broader communities, and the way they are conducted and established.

3.8.2 Historical Aspects and lack of Access

- Identifying broader services and function such as key political, social, and economic organizations, specifically those in authority t serve the wider population.
- Examining whether there is rust on institutions in primary service by all the group of communities they serve.

3.9 Cultural Dimensions

The cultural dimension refers to deeper, often sub-conscious in relation to conflict, and reconciliation, and peace. Some common observations on features of culture are illustrated below:

- A. Generally, culture is the way people make sense of things, it is the process in which meanings are constructed, communicated, and shared;
- B. Cultural components that create understandings about conflict and disputes including peace provide appropriate response, which is not always formally acknowledged;
- C. Any given culture whether groups, organizational, national or local includes aspects that contribute in both destructive or constructive ways to conflict transformation;
- D. Cultural is open to change, but very slow. Wide-spread violent conflict destroys cultural resources in short periods. For example, the phenomenon of drug and alcohol abuse, which resulted in crime among the youth, may suddenly and profoundly erode a tradition of respect for elders. For this reason, a program targeting cultural change may require a broad and general or longitudinal approach;
- E. Culture is embedded in all three societal levels, and may be very challenging to isolate for the purpose of evaluation.

Lederach et al., (2007) posit that dimensions of culture that affect conflict features may differ between groups.

These may provide useful starting points for thinking about which aspects of sport and recreation activities and programs are oriented toward cultural change. It is important to bear in mind that outsiders should use caution when identifying aspects of culture in the sport programs as negative or positive.

3.9.1 Assessing Cultural Resources

In assessing cultural resources and patterns, it is relevant for pro-reconciliation program practitioners to:

1. Recognize perceived cultural aspects that seem to facilitate an impact, either positive or negative, and the way in which conflict is recognized, handled and, approached.

2. Identifying aspects of intergroup conflict that are probably affected by cultural and global view differences within the intervention programs;
3. Developing and documenting groups and settings about what parts of a culture can have a positive influence on expression and handling of conflict and what can make worsen or have a negative impact within the intervention programs;
4. Identifying cultural aspects that have been and are affected by factors such as migration, conflict dynamics, and/or modernization, displacement with particular attention to what aspects or traditional culture are tainted by these elements, and what, if any, important traditions have been lost in the sport programs (ibid).

3.9.2 Program and activities

Sport intervention practitioners must stimulate the following questions and in cooperating answers in to their intervention program activities:

- A. Which aspects of the intervention program activities for reconciliation or conflict transformation are partly or primary orientated towards changing a cultural patterns in the lives of people?
- B. What are realistic timeframe to think about the cultural shift desired? For example, are component of the intervention programs working with generational change?

3.10 Creating Indicators

Indicators have a bad reputation in the eyes of many practitioners. Somehow they have come to be seen as burdensome, nearly impossible donor requirements. Too often indicator development happens at the last minute when a proposal is due, and project designers rush to find something that seems adequate. It is too bad that this is the case. Indicator development can actually be rather invigorating and often provides great insight, even energy, for a

program, because indicators require you to think creatively about what you really want to learn and experience (Lederach et al., 2007).

Indicators are like a specialized set of lenses, they help bring into focus what you want to watch for and study in greater detail. A few simple questions are a good starting point which seeks to serve the sport programs:

- What do you want to learn about the sport programs?
- How will you see whether the expected results of the sporting activities actually occurred?
- How will you see the proposed sport program outcome or change you hope to promote?

Remember to relate your indicators specifically to the changes you are proposing, beginning at the activity level. For example, if five meetings were planned between community sport leaders from two sides of a conflict, did all of these meetings take place? If not, why not? Were there logistical delays, or did some of the sport representatives refuse to meet? For deeper learning, use indicators to assess the outputs and impacts of your sporting activities, in this case the meetings, were to facilitate. For example, you may have proposed that by holding five meetings trust would increase between the communities as part of the sporting programs.

What are the signs that trust has increased? How do the members of the communities know that trust has improved between them? By asking these questions and taking the time to work with the community, you may often find that you improve your ability to identify indicators along with your capacity to sharpen the theory and approach you are using. Concepts such as trust are embedded in the local context and local meaning structure; thus indicators must also be embedded in the local context through participatory indicator development. Meaningful

indicators require input from the local context. For example, in the Kenyan Rift Valley, locals see members of different ethnic groups riding in the same bus as an indicator of trust. Outsiders cannot tell the groups apart by sight.

Indicators correspond to the different levels and types of change you pursue. Some indicators may track the really big outcomes and impact, for example, a change in national policy.

Others may track important learning about how something is happening. This might require indicators that focus more on process, for example, tracking the ability of an organization to adapt to changes in the environment in order to effectively pursue a national policy change. Or, tracking the effectiveness of different strategies intended to generate support for a policy change. Think about developing indicators for your higher-level or longer-term objectives as well as for your more immediate, short-term activities.



CHAPTER FOUR: LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Introduction

Exploring the influences of politics, race, and identity, particularly, in the grassroots sport programs is complex with many nuanced paradoxes and intricacies. This chapter attempts to provide an expose of the study's key existing literature reviews from different perspectives. As stated earlier this study is underpinned by the theoretical frameworks of the theory of change, by placing race as central within the SIPs. This literature chapter builds on the theories of inquiry detailed in Chapter Two and offers a substantive overview of the literature on politics, identity, race, racism, and the counter narratives used by the SIPs, and how these constructs intersect with the context of post-apartheid South Africa.

First, it is regarded that 'sport' is a socially constructed category which was employed during apartheid as a means of social categorization and stratification. It is then shown how, despite the demise of apartheid in 1994, like in any other apartheid institution, 'racism in sport' exerts a pervasive and powerful force over the lives and identities of South Africans. This chapter argues that as overacts of racism and racist ideologies have become increasingly socially unacceptable.

Second, this chapter will address the socially constructed nature of identity in sport by illustrating how sport, identity and racism is never created within a vacuum and is always situational responsive, where particular attention is paid to the notion of youth programs as part of the SIPs promoting building relationship and trust, empowering individuals etc.

This chapter provides a brief and by no means exhaustive overview of past literature and research, which examined race, reconciliation and peace and conflict in societies.

4.2 Controversies of Politics in Sport

Traditionally, it is often said that sport and politics are two aspects of our society that have nothing in common. Yet the history of sport and the Olympic Movement have provided plenty examples of how they influence one another, directly or indirectly. (Kidd, 2005) posits that the history of competitive games, sport and conflict is a cautionary tale. He further noticed that athletic activities provide the occasion for peaceful communication, and even understanding across the divides of difference and hostility. Commendably, the modern Olympic Movement is committed to fostering sport as a dialogue of intercultural communication. But, games and sports have contributed to and are deeply associated with politics of difference, inequality, and conflict they are sometimes recruited to address (Asihel, 2009; Høglund & Sundberg, 2008; Kidd & MacDonnel, 2007; Sudgen, 2005). Modern sport has had a highly ambiguous relationship to racial/ethnic and national and international conflict (Giulinotti, 2011). For these and other various reasons, sport is considered as controversial with positive and negative outcomes in society (Bairner, Hardy, Horn, Res, and Martens cited in Lyras, 2012), specifically where conflict exists (Saunders and Sudgen, 1997; Sudgen, 2006; Sudgen and Harvie, 1995).

On the other hand the classic Olympic Truce, upon which the modern Olympic Truce is modelled, is an example of politics in sport. The ancient Olympic Truce required warring armies to give safe passage to anyone travelling to the Olympic Games, and forbade any state from invading the sacred precinct at Olympia at the time of the Games. For most of the ancient games for more than 1,100 year history, this Truce was respected. But, in protecting the Olympic Games, the Truce protected the rehearsal and celebration of the skills and predatory spirit of early warfare, which enabled the creation of class societies as well as the subjugation of the majority of the eastern Mediterranean population, and virtually all girls and women into slavery (Kidd, 2005). In the words of Homer, “*athletics was preparation for*

war, war for athletics". Even after athletics lost their direct connection to the military arts, the Olympic Games (and other sacred games) celebrated the political power of the ruling classes that controlled the means of organized warfare in the ancient world (Kidd, 1984).

Looking at examples of the modern Olympic Games in the 1970s, the *'ping-pong diplomacy'* that followed. The encounters arranged between American and Chinese players enabled the situation to be unfrozen, and paved the way to a dialogue between two countries that did not maintain diplomatic relations. While modern sport is much less rooted in the politics of violence than its earlier counterparts (Elias, 1972); it is replete with similar contradictions. Some scholars argue that sports were extended in to many parts of the world as an explicit strategy of imperialism and conquest (Mangan, cited in Kidds 2009). In this sense, sport has also been associated with acts of violence and aggression. On the other hand has also been evoked in deeply moving ways to reduce conflict and restore communication between antagonists. For an example, the magical Christmas Truce of 1914 where British and German troops played soccer together amid the trenches in, World War I. On the other side, the 'Soccer War' between El Salvador and Honduras broke out during a hotly contested football game and during the Yugoslavian civil war, many group of sport fans became the vanguard of genocide (Foer, 2005).

Numerous co-operation projects have also been instituted with several agencies and programmes of the United Nations, to use sport as a platform for actions in favour of education, the advancement of health, environmental protection, the campaign against drug abuse, humanitarian aid, in general to enhance the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Our world is in a more complex and unforeseeable situation than ever before. The Olympic Movement, which has been trying to successfully adapt to the ever-changing conditions of the twentieth century, has announced a renewed interest to work with the UN for of

reconciliation and peace which can be seen in their joint announcement in 2014 of establishing 6 April as the annual International Day for Sport, Development and Peace.

4.2.1 Sport in Politics and Politics in Sport

Football has the potential of mobilizing and unifying masses of supporters. Sack and Suster (2010: p.306) posit that the presence of national flags, banners, anthems, and other patriotic symbols, coupled with the inherently competitive nature of sport, can transform total strangers into a unified collectivity struggling against a common adversary. It is hard to imagine a better arena for political socialization.

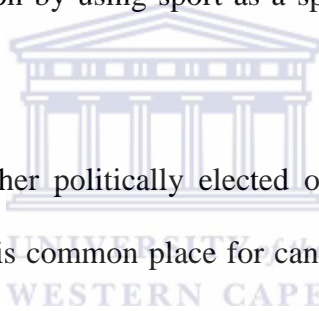
On the other hand, Football has the potential to trigger violence. The best example of such a case dates back in 1969. The FFIA Soccer World Cup qualifier matches between El Salvador and Honduras, ended with the victory of El Salvador. Consequently, the match was followed by the euphoric celebrations among El Salvadorian supporters. The hosts (match took place in El Salvador) burned the national flag of Honduras and attacked some of their supporters. After months, El Salvadorian planes dropped bombs in the airport of the capital of Honduras and later dispatched its troops on the territory of the neighbouring country. Four days later, most of the fighting in, 100 Hours war had ceased, but the ramifications of the conflict remained for decades (Veytskin, et.al. 2009).

In modern day, hooliganism in sport occurs in both verbal and physical forms, including verbal attacks, racist, offensive banners full of hatred, severe property damage, open assaults and even physical attacks on supporters, players and civilians (Piotrowski cited in Warner, 2013). He believes that the love of sport and love of country are synonymous in the realm of the association of football at the international level. Games became the matter of competition between races and ethnicities, nationalities, ideologies, and so on. This is very typical in the case of former Yugoslav states, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. The manifestation of

ethnic rivalries and hatred during the football matches in the former Yugoslav countries has different and deep roots. Shay Wood (2013) argues that most of the fans view inter-ethnic incidents among themselves, as a continuation of the Yugoslav wars.

4.2.2 Sport as a Political Resource

Sport as a political resource can be traced back to 1971, when the American table tennis team unexpectedly received an invitation to visit China and compete against the Chinese team. Since formal relations between the two countries had long been antagonistic, the subsequent trip to China was seen as a positive development for each government. The moment was popularly described as ‘*ping-pong* diplomacy’, and President Richard Nixon eagerly capitalized on the new cooperation by using sport as a springboard for his own subsequent visit to the People’s Republic.



Decades later, presidents and other politically elected officials continue to recognize the symbolic importance of sport. It is common place for candidates for elected office to attend live sporting events in the effort to connect with voters. President Barack Obama, for example, has used his love of sports to build identification with fans, through things such as ESPN’s annual feature that reveals the President picks for the NCAA basketball tournament, arguing for a playoff system in college football, or throwing out the first pitch at MLB All-Star game (MLB report, 2009).

The following examples illustrate how sport has been as a political resource:

Initiating or Improving Diplomatic Relations: As stated earlier, the visit of the U. S. ping-pong team to China in 1971 lent to the ‘ensuing rapprochement’ and eventual restoration of diplomatic relations between those two countries.

Spread Ideology and Propaganda: The Soviet Union charged its sports organizations “to ensure top performance by Soviet athletes abroad as a means of widely publicizing our attainments in building communism and in promoting physical culture and sport and to gain a prominent position internationally in the major sports”

Generate Publicity and Revenue: It should go without saying how much media hype is stirred up every time the International Olympic Committee engages competing cities and nations in bidding wars over the responsibility for hosting an Olympic Games. A large cause for this is that an event such as this holds a significant amount of potential long-term economic and social benefits for the host community through the sport-media-tourism complex. So much is at stake that communities are willing to lie – or at least exaggerate a great deal – in order to win hosting rights to host tourists from around the world.

Increase Prestige: Victory in international sporting events is often portrayed as confirming some sort of superiority over another nation, while defeat induces shame.

Protest and Reprisal: A very common form of protest through sport is the boycott. Often, but not always, associated with the Olympic Games, boycotting an international sporting event for non-athletic reasons reduces the validity of the victor because all worthy competitors did not participate. The U. S. boycotted the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympic Games in protest to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, to which the Soviet Union responded with their own boycott of the 1984 Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles. The ultimate objective here is to generate enough pressure on public opinion in order to force a change in the foreign policy of another state.

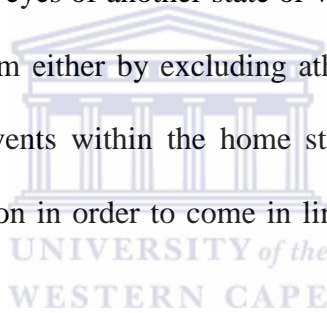
Political Education: The Soviet Union was keen to utilize sport as a means through which to propagate socialist ideology. Members of the Komsomols, organizations for eighteen to

twenty-five year olds within the Young Communist League are directed to “conduct political educational work among sportsmen and members of the physical culture groups.”

Develop National Consciousness: Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy are prime examples of a state’s manipulation of sport and physical culture to foster a sense of national identity, pride and racial superiority among their citizens.

Unification: In countries where peoples of multiple cultures and ethnicities reside, sport can serve to bring them together as shown at the 1995 Rugby World Cup in Cape Town, South Africa.

Gain Favour: Specifically in the eyes of another state or within the international community by displaying solidarity with them either by excluding athletes from an out of favour state from participating in sporting events within the home state or boycotting participation in another state hosting a competition in order to come in line with the position of a favoured state.



Prove Superiority: Athletes represent states and nations. When they win, it is symbolic of the nation or state winning. At the 1900 Olympic Games, the U. S. athletes scored much better than their European counterparts – “Such superiority of human resources demonstrated that America was the society of the future.”

4.3 The Social Construction of Identity

Most of the theoretical frameworks within social psychology do not give an adequate account of how racial stereotypes and prejudice, as well as social relations and socio historical contexts, impact on identity construction and the construction of societies. Cognitive psychology postulates the cognitive process are responsible for negative perceptions such as

prejudice and stereotypes, and that such thoughts and attitudes can be modified and controlled through, for example, knowledge and exposure. It locates the responsibility to eradicating discriminatory behaviour with the individual, while it negates the role of social relations and social institutions in this regard. Despite of its apparent criticism of racial prejudice, cognitive psychology perpetuates “new racism”¹⁷ by endorsing the notion that different races exist, and that these “races” have relatively fixed and inherent biological and/or cultural futures that are either negative or problematic (Hopkins, Reicher & Levine, 1997; Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991; Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

The South African society is largely conceived in terms of racial groups (Miller 2001). The social identity theory developed by Tajfel (198), Tajfel & Turner (1979), and De la Rey (1991) therefore appears to be relevant to this study given that they all deal with how individuals are constructed in relation to intergroup dynamics. Their theory proposes that all individuals wish to be perceived in a positive light and that they will therefore strive for associations with groups that enjoy highest status. Similarly, they would presumably dissociate themselves from groups that do not enhance their social identity. Further, this orientation assumes that intergroup boundaries are permeable and that social mobility is acceptable and possible. For example, if group members are perceived to be negative and individuals cannot dissociate themselves from the group or deny their group membership (as in the case with gender and race), they will presumably strive to change the criteria that are used to assess the group’s status, or try to change the interpretation of the criteria or assessment. Individuals who subscribe to social change belief system are assumed to have a

¹⁷The “**new racism**” referees to more recent conceptualizations of racism that are presumed to be more politically correct as described in this chapter

strong sense of intergroup unity that will cause them to attempt to change the behaviour of their group. Tajfel (1981) claimed intense intergroup conflict and hostility towards out-groups try to change variables that impact negatively on their social identities.

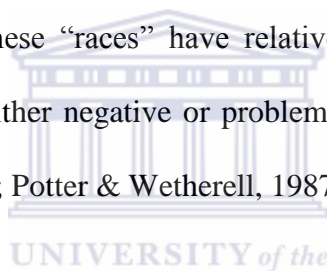
De la Rey (1991) noted that the social identity theory is not necessarily relevant to the South African context. He believes that the social theory does not clearly explain how and under which circumstances individuals will choose to exercise the various strategies described under the social mobility. He goes on explaining that the social identity theory disregards the fact that South Africans did not have the liberty to choose who to be at any given time, and that their social positions were determined by legislated economic and political control.

De la Rey (1991) argued that the social identity theory was criticized for the fact that it suggested that perceptions regarding group status are based on individual interpretations and needs, while it overlooks how these individual perceptions were shaped by ideologies such as apartheid. Michael (1990) noted that the social identity theory encourages the assessment of stereotypic norms to individual and social categories or groups. A further critic of this theory can be that it does not acknowledge that social categories are determined by social activity in particular historical context, as has been the case with the Population Registration Act in apartheid South Africa (De la Rey, 1991).

This study will therefore explore how identity construction within a post-apartheid socio-political context with due consideration to historical constructions of individuals and groups and current discourse of a new unified nation attempts to unfold the role of sport in the process of reconciliation and integration.

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4.3.1 Identity in Sport

It may be difficult to reach to a concise definition of identity and its construct due to the ongoing debates and disputed that are raging within the field of psychology and other disciplines. Historically, debates revolved around whether identity is self (individually) or socially constructed. The focus of social constructionism has shifted beyond questions about how to integrate the “social” and the “individual”, to concerns about how to conceptualize the social in the production of the individual (Michael, 1996). Within the social constructionist framework the production and construction of identities is regarded as a relational, i.e., (...as constructed through alterity, comparison, opposition and possible marginalization of other identities” (Rattansi cited in Miller 2001). A decentring and essentializing of the self is therefore advocated. In essence, this implies that the notion the self is discrete entity pre-determined, coherent, unitary, and fixed is rejected (Michael, 1996). Instead, the role of interaction and relations with other social beings, as well as the socio-political context within which individuals find themselves, are emphasised with regard to the construction of notions of self. Rattansi (1994) explains that:

“Alterity is important here because subjects and the social, and thus both individual and collective identities are seen not as essentially given, but as constantly under construction and transformation, a process in which differentiation from others is a powerful constitutive force (p.29)”.

Although the individuality of group members is still recognized, there has been a shift towards a more socialized conception of the self. Individuals are not regarded as autonomous

agents but believed to be constituted by others and society. The individual is therefore conceived as inseparable from ongoing social processes and other in society.

According to Gergen (1995), the rhetoric of unity and responsive social relations, rather than antagonism and the separation of individuals from society, is advocated in postmodernism. Identity has therefore been conceptualized as contextual and interactional future of all social relationships. It is also understood that identity reflects the unequal power relations within which it is constructed and that, depending on the context, notions of inferiority or superiority may emerge (Bhavnani & Phoenix, 1994; Levinson, 1997; Maguire, 1994; Shotter, 1992).

Although post-modernism generally rejects positivist thinking individualist approaches used in, for example, self-concept and self-efficacy studies, so called affirmative postmodernists, who maintain radical and critical perspectives regarding social and political projects, have called for the renewed recognition of the individual subject in social science (Holliger, 1994; Rosenau, 1992). The viability of subject-less social science is contested and the repositioning of a 'postmodern individual' that is de-centred and not positivist, empiricist or unified is therefore proposed. Re-theorizing of 'the self' that recognizes that individual identity is bound with group identity, is therefore called for. What is advocated is not a return to autonomous, self-contained cognitive processes, but a more social conception of an individual that is inseparable from ongoing social processes (Gergen, 1995; Hollinger, 1994; Rosenau, 1992).

The concept identity is not accepted in post-modern social psychology because it portrays individuals as fixed entities whose behaviour and thoughts can be typecast and predicted. Levinson (1997) observed that social identities:

“...often identify their bearers negatively or narrowly, stereotyping or scripting them too rigidly in ways of life that certainly never do justice to the complexities of every individual”.

The concept of identity, despite the huge interest, remains something of an enigma. James D. Fearon (1999) in his research summarized definitions of identity from different authors. For Ashmore et al. (2001), identity is a challenging concept, as it is both an assertion of sameness and differences. Thus, identity not only helps us acknowledge who we are, but also how and why we differ from the ‘others’. Billig (1995) defines identity as something which people have or search for.

Sport, particularly soccer, has the capacity of mobilizing and unifying masses such as fans and supporters. The fans of a football club or national football team may never meet and know each other, but they still have the same affiliation and identity, as they are the supporters of one specific club and/or team. The example of Serbs from Croatia and their affiliation to Red Star of Belgrade, gives us a clearer idea on how sport forms and shapes identity.

Gellner (1983) in his ‘Nations and Nationalism’ research found the connection of nation, nationalism and national identity. For him the race/ethnic and national boundaries should coincide with each other in order for the nation to exist. Hobsbawm (1992) argues that an imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people. Therefore, sport can inculcate national feelings and even the least political and public individuals can identify with the nation.

As suggested, sport has the real capacity of forming and shaping identities. As a mobilizer of masses it also has the capacity of promoting nationalism, as well as reconciliation. It therefore, depends how we apply sport into practice.

4.4 The History and Ideology of Race and Racism

Scholars particularly Sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists and race scientists have and are trying to determine the exact origin and manifestation of race and racism. Fredrickson (2003: 1) noted that the identification of the Jews with the devil and witchcraft in the popular mind of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was perhaps the first sign of a racist view of the world. He goes explaining that the Enlightenment, a secular or scientific theory of race moved the subject away from the Bible, with its insistence on the essential unity of the human race. The eighteenth century ethnologists began to think of human beings as part of the natural world and subdivided them into three to five races, usually considered as varieties of a single human species.

According to Fredrickson (2003), the nineteenth century was an age of emancipation, nationalism, and imperialism has contributed to the growth and intensification of ideological racism in Europe and the United States. Although the emancipation of blacks from slavery and Jews from the ghettos received most of its support from religious or secular believers in an essential human equality, the consequence of these reforms was to intensify rather than diminish racism. Race relations became less paternalistic and more competitive. The insecurities of a burgeoning industrial capitalism created a need for scapegoats. The Darwinian emphasis on "the struggle for existence" and concern for "the survival of the fittest" was conducive to the development of a new and more credible scientific racism in an era that increasingly viewed race relations as an arena for conflict rather than as a stable hierarchy. However, the history of race and racism proves that race is a fairly current construct, one that arose and bloomed after population groups from different continents came in to contact with one another.

Some are firm in discussion on 'race' that there is just one human race noted the following:

1. The Human biology does not divide people into different 'races', it is racism and sometimes its counter arguments that insisted on this division.
2. The origin of human beings came with different race and is a cultural and historical category, a way of making differences between people of a variety of skin tones.

Humans, as individuals or groups, are not born with propensities for any particular culture, culture traits or language, only with the capacity to acquire and create culture (Harris 1999; Marks, 1995; cited in Smedley and Smedley, 2000).

Globally, a spectrum of possible racisms, rather than a single invariant racism, has been created by historical circumstances and relations of power within particular societies (Balibar cited in Miller 2001 p.43). Although, the ideology of racism is dynamic and contextual, certain core elements, namely the existence of different distinguishable race and the notion that some races are dominant and superior to others, remain fixed and reoccur from one historical period or one society to the next (Miller 2001 p. 43).

The ideology and attitude of racism include a bundle of emotions and beliefs: a belief in the inherent superiority or inferiority of one race relative to another; feelings of hostility, suspicion, or antipathy towards members of a different racial group; a set of stereotypes about the characteristics of the other group; and a readiness to discriminate against members of other groups when one is in a position to assign benefits, opportunities, or hardships.

This study attempted to explore, how and why more accurate depiction of the negative role that race played in apartheid and post-apartheid South African communities (see Chapter Four). In this study, race is assumed divisive, and the root cause of all existing societal problems. The study also draws lessons from the rich history of the anti-apartheid sport struggle for racial and economic justice, and, explores, ways in which sport for social change

programs can contribute in the process of reconciliation, and how grassroots sport programs can be effectively implemented to contribute to the more fundamental and systemic levels of change in society.

Among others, the key points this study emphasizes include:

6. **Racism** during and after apartheid is dynamic and ever-changing. The critical aspect of racism in sport to be addressed in post-apartheid South Africa is the accumulation and incorporation of long-standing racialized practices into all of its social and economic structures
7. **Structural** racialization referred as a system of sport social structures that produces and reproduces cumulative, durable, and race-based inequalities.
8. **Racialized outcomes** focusing on individual instances of racism can have the effect of diverting someone's attention from the structural changes that are required in order to achieve racial justice.
9. The need for sport practitioners to explicitly and implicitly challenge all manifestations of racism and racialization their sport programs and organizations.

4.4.1 Racism in Sport during Apartheid

Racism was based on the premise that the human species consists of different races that are biologically and psychologically different (Stanfield, 1993 and Miles, 1989). In this case assumptions about these natural divisions between people as well as theories about the origin of group difference are central to racist discourse. In addition racism entails the assignment of traits and characteristics to people in order to categorise them in to distinct groups. More specifically racism involves the attribution of negatively valued characteristics that are assumed to be biologically determined, to some groups that are consequently constructed as inferior (Wetherell and Potter, 1992).

Much has been written on apartheid sport and the movements to isolate South Africa in sport (Kidd, 1988; Nauright and Black, 1994, 1995, 1996; Roberts, 1988, 1989; Nauright, 1997; Keim, 2003), however, for the purpose of this study is important to look at the history particularly the role sport boycotts played in mobilizing millions of people for action against the despicable apartheid system.

Race and class struggles existed in the sporting world long before 1956 when the Nationalist Government applied apartheid legislation to the social domain. However, there was no official apartheid policy that banned inter-racial or non-racial sport (Nauright, 1997; Merrett, 1996; Roberts, 1988). However, several policies worked in conjunction to prevent racial mixing in sport. After the National Party came to power in 1948, the newly appointed Minister of Internal Affairs Eben Dorges, soon promulgated whole body of legislations that prohibit sporting matches and contests between members of “population group”. Among these laws were the “urban Land Act”, which reserved sport facilities for exclusive use of one “population group” only, the 1953 “Separate Amenities Act”, which enforced racial segregation in public places such as sports stadiums; and the 1957 “Native Laws Amendment Act”, which prescribed racial segregation for organisations such as sport clubs, associations, schools and churches and, most notably the “group area Act” coupled with the “Pass Laws”, which was amended 11 times between 1952 and 1978 had the effect of practically impossible for Africans to attend sport meetings and other social events (Keim, 2003: 28).

Miller (2001) noted that Africans, Coloured and Indians were segregated by white government before 1948 and that racially integrated sport was already discouraged at that stage. Keim (2003 p. 28) claims that before 1948, the so called “inter-race boards” existed which regularly organized Cricket and Soccer tournaments between African, Coloured and Indian teams. In response to segregation black sports federations formed ad-hoc inter-race

boards to promote non-racial contests between their communities (Archer & Bouillon, 1982). Whites refused to affiliate to these bodies and competitions were therefore limited to Africans, Coloured and Indians (Brickhill, 1976). In 1959, non-racialism and unity amongst black sports bodies was advanced by the establishment of the first national organization for blacks, the South African Sport Association (SASA). Because of their defiance and opposition to apartheid legislation, affiliates of the body were banned from leaving the country. In 1963, the South African Olympic Committee (SANROC) was created to present the ideals of black athletes abroad. The effort of SANROC and other international anti-apartheid organisations resulted in South Africa's exclusion from the Olympic Games in 1964 and its exclusion from the Olympic Movement in 1970. In an attempt to revoke the decision of the International Olympic Committee, the South African Government instituted a multi-national policy 1971. According to Brickhill (1976), the policy that was instituted in 1971 has allowed the various South African "nations", i.e. Whites, Coloured, African and Indians, to compete against each other at an international level in tournaments outside the country, on condition that other non-South African athletes took part.

Miller (2011 P. 69), argue that the aim of the multi-national policy is understood that blacks who participated in international events did so as representatives of their own "national group", and not as South African representatives. The multi-national policy was rejected by blacks who ascribed to non-racialism and who insisted that all apartheid legislations should be scrapped before normal sport can be played between different race groups. The creation of the South African Council Sport (SACOS) in 1973 highlighted the conflict between multi racialism and non-racialism and also brought about an intensification of the campaign against international sport to and from South Africa (Archer & Bouillon, 1982).

Robert (1988) reported that South African Sport was completely isolated from the international sports community by the mid-seventies. In that process SACOS provided black South Africans athletes with opportunity to participate in non-racial sport, while it simultaneously focused on educating its' membership with regard to the raciest ideologies of the apartheid government (Miller, 2001). SACOS criticized for the stringent strategies and disciplinary measures that they used to ensure their members adhere to the principles of non-racialism and non-conspiracy. The movement attempted to control their members' private lives was considered to be manipulative and intrusive (Carrim cited in Miller, 2001 p70). However, SACOS has been credited for helping many young black South Africans to assert themselves as principled individuals with a sense of self-worth. It promoted strong social identities through identification of common oppressive factors and experiences and a common "enemy". It is therefore, not surprising that SACOS enjoyed much support from a great faction of the politically oppressed and others who identified with their plight.

Grewel (1989) noted that a key feature of the politics of the apartheid government was the fact that it fostered racial identities and that it created divisions and suspicions within the oppressed community. The "divide and rule" strategy led to the creation of separate educational system which also ensured that Africans, Indians, and Coloureds lived and played sport in separate areas. The Nationalist Government of the time strongly discourages non-racial activities and non-African teams were not allowed to enter African townships. SACOS was criticized for the fact that that it did not manage to transcend these artificial boundaries and that its' support base and leadership was mainly constituted by middle-class coloured and Indians (Roberts, 1989). SACOS inability to attract support from the largest constituent of the oppressed masses, namely the African population, was in fact one of the main reasons for its demise in the early nineties (Roberts, 1988).

4.4.2 Perceived Youth Identities in Post-apartheid

As discussed previously, youth and youth identity are of central importance to this study for a number of reasons. Firstly, adolescence is a crucial period for identity development, where youth including sport individuals go through a process of negotiation, and experimentation, and typically struggle with questions about how or what they are. Secondly, this period usually coincides with an individual's transition from a relatively sheltered childhood to tertiary education institutions, which disrupts previously held beliefs and identities and forces individuals to generate new social meanings and social roles in communities/society. Sport programs for social change in higher institutions and schools are therefore an important location for identity development as it is a site where discourses collide, are distorted or articulated. Furthermore, the transition to a social change inevitably results in individuals being exposed to new social agents, peers and influences. While this transition typically offers the possibility of change and social mobility, it also has the potential to inscribing racist beliefs, attitudes and practices.

Thirdly, because identity is constructed in relation to others and the broader socio-historical context, youth identity is a mirror for the manifold and often incongruous identities in South Africa. Having said this, one must also emphasise that the racialized identities of South African youths is not merely a reflection of previous generations' racialized identities, but rather symptomatic of their own racialized development in in post-apartheid South Africa (Soudien, 2010; Tatum, 2003; Walker, 2005b).

The above discussion seems to highlight the fluid and shifting nature of identities, the notion of which is supported by studies such as the one carried out by Walker (2005a) in which she explored the personal narratives of a group of youth from different racial group of undergraduate students and the institutional discourse at an historically white Afrikaans

university which was undergoing a process of transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. Here, it was found that there was a complex unfolding of both 'Rainbow Nationalism' and 'new racism'. Walker (2005a) noted that the university's official discourse on transformation seemed little more than a thin veneer subduing older apartheid ideology, which lives on in aspects of the symbolic life of the campus. Furthermore, she felt that the lives of all the students, whether it is acknowledged or not, are marked by 'race', racialization and racialized subjectivities. However, despite this there are indications of delicate social change at work, despite the new forms which are emerging. For instance, differences in social class, school background and gender are intersecting with 'race' (Walker, 2005a).

Norris et al. (2008) similarly conducted a study which investigates the collective national identity among young adolescents in post-apartheid South Africa. They focussed on the ongoing identity development of a cohort of 14 year-old South African adolescents who were uniquely positioned to embrace and/or struggle with and resist a collective national identity. It was found that black youth were more likely to define themselves as part of a cultural collective, either by language, religion, or ethnicity, coupled with a strong South African identity.

On the other hand, it was found that white youths were more likely to think of themselves as being part of a gender or age group and to report weaker ties to a national identity (Norris et al., 2008). Furthermore, the results from this study (Norris et al., 2008) seem to suggest that there is a greater sense of ambivalence around being South African amongst the white youth as a result of their historical colonial heritage and Western contemporary conditions. The study postulates that the results are indicative of long-standing cultural differences in black collectivistic versus white individualistic orientations among South Africans (Norris et al., 2008). These findings are, however, somewhat at odds with the findings made by Stevens and

Lockhat (1997). Possible explanations include the fact that there was an eleven year gap between the studies, which highlights the fluidity of identity over time. Similarly, a different sample was used and because neither blackness nor whiteness is a homogenous construct the findings were divergent.

Norris et al. (2008) also found that white youths expressed that they felt that 'race' relations were more harmonious in South Africa today than in the past. Black youths, however, expressed reservations about South Africa with respect to racial harmony and economic hardship, which many felt had not improved much in post-1994 South Africa. Yet, despite these misgivings, black youth expressed a sense of greater happiness with the affairs of the country and greater faith in government when compared to white youths. Norris et al. (2008) suggest that this disconnection is indicative of the strong influence that different racialized identities can have on individuals' beliefs about their social worlds and the kinds of social experiences members of different groups have against a backdrop of dramatic political change.

These results are similar to findings made by Dawes and Finchilescu (1998) in a study which explored the effects of the post-1994 political transformations in South Africa amongst a group of fourteen year old adolescents. The study indicated that white youths were more likely to be negative towards the new government of national unity and saw their conditions of life as having deteriorated since 1994. In comparison, black youths were seen to believe that their standard of living has improved greatly since 1994. Both black and white youths, however, shared a common concern about violence and crime (Dawes and Finchilescu, 1998).

Soudien (2001) concludes his paper on youth identity by stating that the identities young people develop are internally divided. Their subjectivities are unavoidably the products of a

series of intersecting encounters, which leave them in a number of different positions at different times and places. Thus, their identities are essentially incoherent and discontinuous. Soudien (2001) goes on to contest that, while the legacy of apartheid still continues to exert a force over them and their identities, they are simultaneously challenging this influence and trying to negotiate their place in post-1994 South Africa.

Similarly, Steyn (2001) notes that South African identities are intimately linked to the master narratives of whiteness and blackness, which were propagated during apartheid, in some way or other. Like Soudien (2001), she maintains that identities draw on, react to or subvert the residue of the apartheid's master narratives. Thus, despite the fragmentation of these master narratives in post-apartheid South Africa, it is necessary to acknowledge that it will remain a part of the unconscious fabric of South Africa for some time to come (Steyn, 2001).

Indeed, identity formation at present is a process whereby the youth bring resources, find new ones and constantly negotiate their positions relative to others (Soudien, 2001). This notion of youth constantly negotiating their positions was seen in a similar study conducted by Pattman (2007), which addressed student identities at a university in KwaZulu-Natal. It was noted that students were typically defensive in response to questioning about race and identity, which Pattman (2007) suggests is symptomatic of the racial paradox students are facing. Where, on the one hand, students' constructions and experiences of race is a highly significant marker of identity and, on the other hand, their positioning as young people of the Rainbow Nation for whom race is no longer a 'barrier between human beings' (p. 479). Thus, the Rainbow Nation discourse was significant in positioning the lives and identities of the participants.

Pattman (2007) notes that, despite the Rainbow Nation discourse of racial diversity and acceptance, race was still the predominant marker of identity for his participants. Walker

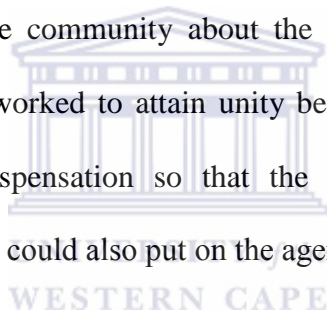
(2005b) echoed this in her assertion that all of her participant's lives are marked by race, by racialized subjectivities, and by a past of racial separateness.

The white participants in Pattman's (2007) study also noted the importance that race played in their identities, albeit more ubiquitously as many considered themselves to be un-racialized and cultureless. Many of the white participants associated whiteness with power or lack of power in the post-apartheid context, where many saw themselves as the new victims of reverse racism. Similarly, many seemed to oppose 'affirmative action' and were concerned that moral and educational standards were under threat due to racial integration. However, many also expressed feelings of guilt for apartheid and anger for the sense that they were being held accountable for the past (Pattman, 2007).

4.4.3 The Unification Period

The emergence of an alternative non-racial sport body, namely the National Sports Congress (NSC) coincided with the emanation of the Mass Democratic Movement during the late eighties and nineties. According to Roberts (2001), the NSC claimed that it was not opposed to SACOS but it wished to complement SACOS' effort to promote non-racial sport, particularly in the African townships where multi-national sports organizations were luring away top African athletes (Roberts, 1989). However, conflict between the two bodies was evident and meetings to resolve matters were unsuccessful. The main area of contestation was the fact that the NSC aligned itself strongly to the Mass Democratic Movement while SACOS argued that a sport liberation movement should remain politically non-aligned in the interest of non-racial sport (Roberts, 2001). The division and tension between the two bodies intensified when the NSC started "unification talks" with white sports-bodies between 1988 and 1990 (Nauright, 1997). SACOS remained adamant that they will not collaborate or negotiate with white sport-bodies prior to the ending of apartheid. It was therefore not

surprising that SACOS refused to join forces with the NSC and that it was systematically marginalized as the NSC formed links with white bodies that were keen to recognize a more accommodating black sports organization. To many SACOS supporters unification represented the capitulation of the black sport movement. They believed that it was deliberate and relatively insignificant sacrifice that the emerging ANC government made to appease white South Africans who felt threatened by the majority (black) government. However, the interim Committee of the National Sport Council (ICNSC) apparently believed that the NSC, as well as the non-racial sport fraternity at large, could benefit if unity in sport was attained (Baxer, 1994). They argued that unified bodies could be used to inform members of the mass-based sport movement about changes occurring in the South African Society, and also, to educate and synthesize the white community about the feelings and aspirations of black South Africans. They therefore worked to attain unity before the end of apartheid and the advent of the new political dispensation so that the importance of development and “*upliftment of the disadvantaged*” could also put on the agenda of sport bodies (Baxer, 1994).



By the time NSC was officially launched in 1990, a large component of the non-racial sport fraternity, who were required to make a choice between the two bodies which had left SACOS to join the NSC. The division within the non-racial fold had a damaging effect on longstanding relationship between members of the black sports community and many clubs, who had existed for several decades, were split or became defunct as the result of divided loyalties. In addition, the controversy surrounding the “unification¹⁹” process resulted in inadequate preparation and consolidation of forces within the black fold and in many instances the principle of the “unification” itself. Nauright (1997: 160) concurred that ... “*the ‘unity’ achieved in most sportswas a ‘sham’ particularly at provincial level*”. Current disillusionment with the lack of equity and redress in South Africa sport can partly be

¹⁹ “unification” was merely assimilation of black sport-bodies in to white structures

attributed to the fact that the objectives and demands of black sport bodies were not clearly articulated or agreed upon during the unification process (Nauright, 1997).

4.4.4 Readmission to the International Sport arena

In June 1991 the South African government repealed a block of apartheid statutes including the Group Area Act and the Population Registration Act. The following month the International Olympics Committee (IOC) restored the Republic's membership of the Olympics movement on 9 July 1991 and subsequently invited South Africa to participate at Barcelona Olympic Games which was the country's first Olympics since Rome 1960. This development was welcomed by the International Cricket Council (ICC) and four months later South Africa toured India playing its first International cricket match since 1970 (Booth, 2011). President Mandela wrote to the ICC that South Africa's presence will enhance the process of unity in sport as well as the spirit of national reconciliation (under the leadership of the NSC, unification was reached in most sport codes). In 1994 the Ministry of Sport and Recreation together with the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA) and the South African National Recreation Council (SANREC) were established which strengthened the NSC" position (Miller, 2001 p, 74). However, the relative under-funding of the Ministry of Sport and a lack of resources especially in smaller sport codes are often used as reasons for the slow and inadequate rate of transformation and development (Hendricks, 1998).

In accordance with the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the Government, the Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR) has identified sport development as one of their priorities (Miller, 2001 p, 75). The African National Congress (ANC) broadly agreed with the assumption that Sport should assist in the process of national reconciliation (Booth, 20). However, at this stage, it was not clear how the disbanding of the NSC and the consequent establishment of the Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR) and the National Sport

Commission (NSC) would advance the attainment of genuine non-racialism and equity in sport (Miller, 2001, P. 74).

In accordance with the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the government, the DSR has identified sport development as one of their priorities (National Department of Sport and Recreation, White Paper, 1995). When it was still in existence, the NSC was charged with the responsibility of ensuring that development programmes which facilitate skill acquisition, talent identification and also a nursery for high-performance sport are established by all sport codes. According to the White Paper on Sport, the Sport Development Plan is meant to revolve around four key areas, namely physical education, youth and junior sport, tertiary sport and national federations (Miller, 2001). Women and girls, senior citizens people with disabilities and workers are identified as interest groups that should be given special attention (National Department of Sport and Recreation White Paper, 1995). Freedom was given to each federation to apply their discretion in the allocation of funds. However, there was no national monitoring system in place to ensure progress or to stipulate the nature, parameters and proportional funding of development programs.

In 1994 the objectives of the DSR were seen as commendable and warranted in view of the major shortcomings that existed in terms of facilities, training and participation opportunities, particularly in historically disadvantaged communities (Hendricks, 1994). Undisputedly, many individuals who are involved with the development have sincere intentions and are devoting a lot of time and energy to reach equity in sport. It is also true that many sport managers and officials consider sport development as nothing more than an admission for international sport participation (Hendricks, 1994; Nauright, 1997). Lately c, however, criticism of ineffective underfunded and superficial development programmes has been mounting (Boshoff, 1998, 2000; Hendricks, 1998; Roberts undated a & b, 1999). The merit

and feasibility of “development” is increasingly being questioned and debated by both proponents and sceptics of such programme. Moreover, the philosophical and ideological underpinning of “development” within the South African context, needs to be critically examined.

Crush cited in Miller (2001), contended that the current development discourse rests heavily on efforts to depoliticise and naturalize by denying past complexities and reifying the present as historical legitimated. It is arguable that the depoliticisation of “development” makes it comfortable for dominant groups to deal with continuous issues such as discrimination, poverty and racial operation. Underdevelopment is often linked to blacks’ inadequate coaching or planning, their incompetence or poor financial management. Miller (2001) noted that it is assumed that blacks have to be educated or assisted to adopt the practices of whites in order to succeed or improve. It is notable that many of the shortcomings of international redress programmes outlined by Clark (cited in Millet 2001) correspond with criticism levelled against South African sport development programmes. He noted that development programmes that are presumed to assist the disadvantaged or oppressed often:

- (a) Do not focus on real impact of such programmes on the poor or disadvantaged;
- (b) Regard the disadvantaged as a homogeneous group with the same needs and abilities;
- (c) Do not reflect on the long-term consequences of intervention or reform;
- (d) Over-emphasize economic growth as a requirement for sustainable development;
- (e) Relate more to an ideological mission while conditions for sustainable development are not necessarily created;
- (f) Incorporate reforms that are sudden and sweeping;
- (g) Do not identify poverty alleviation as an objective or responsibility.

Heinemann (1993) warned that development models, and the explanatory patterns that underpin them, should be viewed critically because they could be influenced by the political agendas of different sectors as a particular country. This may be certain in the case in South Africa, where sports for development and grassroots sport for reconciliation, reintegration and transformation is apparently used by the historically disadvantaged to enforce redress, while the historically advantaged are allegedly using it to simply contain black talent and to secure participation in international sport. These allegations will be explored in the next section.

4.4.5 Manifestation of New Racism in Sport

In a more global context racial prejudice is expressed less openly in recent years, for example in the American sport context today but it has by no means been eradicated, despite the fact that black American athletes are well represented and relatively successful in most sport codes (Koppett, 1994). This seems similar case in South Africa where divisions along racial lines apparently still exist although previously segregated sport bodies have “*unified*”. Berghorn, Yetman & Hanna, 1998) suggest that increased interracial participation and contact does not necessarily result in improved racial integration or reduced prejudice and stereotyping. Similarly, Chu and Griffey (1985) noted that increased contact between race groups will not be conducive to racial integration if the groups do not experience common goals or enjoy equal status, cooperative interaction, environmental support or relative equality and interracial acceptance.

Although black athletes are expected to compete against their white counterparts on an equal basis, they generally have poorer training facilities, limited access to top-level coaching and less financial resources (Hendricks, 1994). The fact that blacks in the post-apartheid era are permitted to compete against whites does not necessary mean that they have equal

opportunities to succeed. These equal treatments under racially unequal circumstances constitute indirect discrimination, direct discrimination i.e. unequal treatment amidst racially unequal circumstances (Essed (1991). The fact that inequalities exist with regard to resources, mean that black athletes are also distinguished from and treated differently to white athletes. Development programs and quota systems, that have supposedly been instituted to address historical imbalances, are used to legitimise the categorisation and stigmatisation of black players (Boshoff, 1998, 1999; Hendricks, 1994, 1998). It can be expected that black's racial consciousness and prejudices and stereotypes associated with their radicalised identities would be more pronounced and central to their self-assessment within the sport context (Aries, Oliver, Blount,, Christaldi, Fredman, & Lee, 1998).

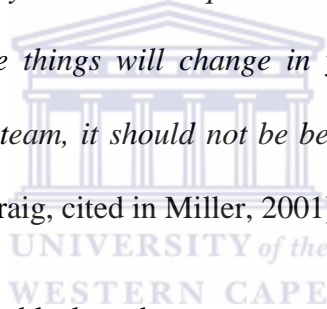
Racial Prejudice and discrimination are considered to be unconstitutional in sport and all other social institutions in post-apartheid South Africa. However, racial operation and exclusions in sport are manifested in more indirect and covert ways. It has been alleged that value judgements of black athletes “inadequate ability and under-preparedness” are used to justify their exclusion from top-level sport. Furthermore, the development label is apparently also used to distinguish black athletes from “racial other” and to enforce their presumed inferiority, while merit debates accentuate the fact that blacks are unable to conform to the performance standards of whites. However, disclaimers are often to conceal and deny racial prejudice and institutionalise and “*naturalise*” its consequences. The next section will focus on the extent the assumption that racial prejudice is manifest through the stereotyping and labelling of black players.

4.4.6 Stereotyping and Labelling of Black Athletes

The assumption that black athletes are under-prepared or “*inferior*” underlies the fact that they are generally categorised as development players, regardless of whether they have

participated in, or had significant exposure to a development programme. The categorical use of the “*development*” label is perceived as derogatory and racist as it generally suggest that all athletes of colour have inadequate ability by virtue of the fact that they are black. The predominant message that is conveyed by the labelling of black athletes is that they are not ready or “good enough” for the highest level of competition and that they have not attained the standard of their white counterparts (Abrahams, 1999a; Bey, 2000; Boshoff, 1998; Rich, 1999a). Breyton Paulse, one of the few black rugby players that have been included in the national team since rugby unification describes his discomfort with being labelled an “affirmative action” or “development player” as follows:

“Being called a ‘development player’ was also quite hard to handle, but I said to myself I will prove people wrong. I hope things will change in years to come. But, one thing is certain: if I make the Springbok team, it should not be because of my colour - it should be because I deserve to be there” (Craig, cited in Miller, 2001).



The following comment was from black rugby supporters who echo the resistance to the use of this label:

“Stop referring to Paulse, Chester Williams as developmental players. They are not. But it appears that if you are black, you are a development player. But whites are also in need of development; we saw it in recent test matches” (Cape Times, 10 August 1999, p. 1).

In this case athlete’s race, rather than their need of assistance or improvement apparently determine their designation as “*development players*”. In exceptional cases where black athletes are included in representative teams their “progress” is automatically attributed to the success of the sport development system even though many who started their sporting careers during the apartheid era owe their success to their former black sport organisations. On the

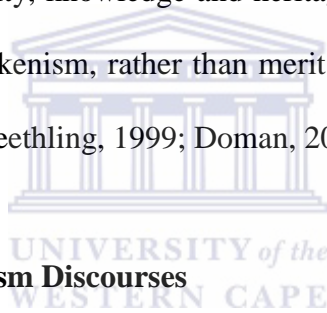
other hand the “development” tag is not necessarily bestowed upon novice or inexperienced white players who have had little exposure to particular sport or who are economically disadvantaged. On the contrary, the failure or underachievement of black athletes is not necessarily ascribed to the lack of development support. It has been suggested that these development programmes serve to curtail the chances of black players and that the later have a battle to escape the confines of these programmes in order to be recognised for their true potential (Hendricks, 1994; Roberts, undated c). On the other hand, the existence of development programmes serve to silence public criticism that no redress is taking place and that only whites benefit from international sport competitions (Miller, 2001).

4.4.7 The Policy Instrument and the Merit Debate

The merit argument which is based on the view that selection should be determined by proven rather than potential performance is widely supported by the South African sports in public. Black athletes who oppose depoliticised merit debates are not necessarily in favour of non-merit selection. This discontent is related to the fact that black athletes are not afforded enough opportunities to prove their abilities (Granger, 1999). Hendricks (1998) and Boshoff (1998) cited examples of instances where black rugby players were not given opportunities to prove their ability at a national level. During 1998, black rugby supporters in the Western Cape were outraged about the fact that black players whose teams dominated league competitions were excluded from provincial teams. There is a growing body of evidence to support black players’ allegations that selections are racially biased and that they are not afforded equal opportunities to develop or prove their ability (Henderson, 1999; Rich, 199a, 1999b, 1999c, 2000a, 2000b). In instances where black coaches or officials are appointed, the merits of their appointments are questioned. A case in point is how the appointment of a black provincial cricket coach who has a proven record of playing at the highest level in SACOS was immediately described as a “political appointment” that may require

“reinforcement” (Miller, 2001). Similar cases have been surfaced including black coaches and officials over the years.

It has been argued that equity will not be achieved without enforced quotas, it has to be recognised that this system also reinforces the perception that black players, coaches and officials have to be accommodated and tolerated that their inclusion will compromise the performance standards of white teams (Bey, 2000. Hendricks (1998) reported that arguments against government’s quota policy are partly based on the assumption that it will lead to a lowering of standards which will be the detriment of South African sport; that encourages reverse discrimination and that is unfair to white athletes who deserve the position on the basis of their superior skills, ability, knowledge and heritage. It is also difficult to deserving blacks to gain respect because tokenism, rather than merit is automatically assumed to have played a role in their selection (Neethling, 1999; Doman, 2000).



4.5 The Counter Race and Racism Discourses

4.5.1 Peace Education

Peace education is a broad field which uses different approaches and disciplines that can be incorporated in sport programs, specifically to sport programs aimed at achieving desirable social change in post-conflict. Integration of peace education with sport intervention programs can enhance the potential of sport as socio-cultural tool, in reducing racial and societal tension and violent conflict across divided communities shattered by conflicts. Sport is a vital social space/platform that can be used to educate the youth, men and women in communities to counteract racism, intolerance, prejudice including zoophobia in contemporary South Africa.

Definitions of peace education vary across disciplines. However, peace education is all about sharing of knowledge, skills and experiences to change violent attitudes and behaviours in to non-violent and desirable one in order to coexist peacefully in community/society. Peace education plays a pivotal role at the micro/individual level in society.

Capra (1982) explains about the need of change in thinking in understanding on both values and perception, which are the most necessary and primary strides in solving societal problems. Eradication of societal issues and all forms of unjust in society advance peace and instability in society, contrary to the absence of war (Cheng and Kurtiz, 1998).

Scholars agree on the lack of comprehensive method and inclusive approach on peace building. For example Galtung (1995) postulates that peace is not simply the absence of violence, it should comprise the absence of both the direct or personal, and the indirect or structural conflicts, which are the bases of violence.

In the context of this study, it is important for sport intervention program practitioners to distinguish between the two conceptions of peace namely, '*negative peace*' and '*positive peace*' within their intervention program settings, in particular, on questions in relation as to why people in communities where the intervention programs operate, involve in violent protest in an environment void of war.

Jeong (2005) explains that absence of war represents negative peace, which is the absence of direct physical violence, but positive peace denotes the present of justice against any form of exploitation that include the redressing of structural inequalities, the well-being of human-beings and their needs directed towards the eradication of the root causes of conflicts.

From the above sentiments, the relationship of the non-exploitation indicates, not only the relationships between human beings but also relations between human being and the nature

they are confined in. The connections between peace and nature are fundamental in the quest of 'positive peace' in society (Mische, 1987). As such, human beings' attitude and behaviours are closely linked to existing natural resources to satisfy their basic needs (Barnaby, 1989). For example, sport resources such as facilities and environmental factors are intimately linked to these natural resources. When natural resources are threatened or when sport programs are unequally shared in society, rivalry for resources can lead to conflict.

There are many NGO initiatives around the world that use peace education within their sport programs to intervene societal issues, to empower individuals and groups, to stand united against racism, gender, terrorism, in general causes of violence in schools and communities, such as Athletics United for Peace; Mercy Corps; the Peace First (formerly known as Peace Games); the Sport in Society (SIS); Football 4 Peace (F4P), Kicking for Peace (KFP), Ultimate Peace (UP); Teachers without Borders (TWB); Bridges To Understanding and, Volunteers Action for Peace to mention just a few. All of these intervention programs aim to change the culture of violence in to a culture of peace hoping to bring about desirable societal change in communities after violent conflict.

4.5.2 Culture of Peace

The UNESCO social programs, in relation to war and conflict assume that violent conflict and devastating war resonate from human mind, in the same way peace does. These assumptions led UNESCO to begin and expand the Culture of Peace Programs as a world-wide movement.

A culture of peace has a combinations of values embraced in society where attitudes and traditions of human behaviour adhere, and it is an approach of social relations that inspire and

bind harmonious societies together. The UN Declaration of Peace in 1998 (UN, 1998) states that it wants to uphold:

1. Admiration, protection and celebration of human rights;
2. Denunciation of violent aggressions at all level of society
3. Tackling conflict causes with non-violent means such as negotiations and deep-dialogue;
4. Active participation of citizens or inclusion in decision making in meeting human needs both in present and for future generations;
5. Equal rights and opportunities for both gender in society;
6. Acknowledgement of freedom charter such as freedom of expression at all levels
7. Dedication and commitment to freedom principles, democracy and justice;
8. Collaboration, tolerance, unity, cultural diversity, dialogue that led to mutual understanding between, nations, racial, ethnic, religious, cultural groups, communities and societies in general.

The above UN statement on peace exemplifies the notion of drabble peace, which requires both avoidance of violent conflicts and the quest for certain constructive peace conditions. At the same time, the holistic approach for peace building is derived from historical roots of certain ethical and cultural aspects in society that influenced the temporary peace. The sport intervention programs may incorporate peace education from the holistic approach perspective to educate and empower the youth, and reduce their perceived racialized identities that leads to uniting conflicting interests peacefully within their sporting programs.

Social mission through sporting programs are perceived to have influenced marginalized youth and provided them with the opportunity to promote reconciliation through building relationship and healthy communication by narrowing perceived gaps across hostile

communities (Kidd &MacDonnell, 2007). Sport as a medium to promote peace and inter-racial solidarity is an effective tool that contributes in the process of building culture of peace in communities suffered from their conflict past (UN, 2005; Lyras, 2007; Lyras and Kotziamani, 2008; Keim, 2009).

4.5.3 Integration

Besides efforts of the local and international NGOs, individual and group of role models, civil societies, and other community initiatives' efforts at local and national levels, there are many international programs aiming to integrate individuals, groups and communities by the UN at international levels namely:

1. The International Olympic Committee through the Olympic Games and lately the Olympic Youth Games
2. The educational exchange programs between the Jewish and Arab youth and children in Israel and other initiatives led by the UN (e.g., Football 4 Peace, the Right to Play for African refugees, the integration program for the middle east and Asia) are some practical examples. The main objective of such initiatives, is to (re)building relationships and integrate individual and groups to communities after conflict (Kidds& MacDonnell, 2007).

In South Africa, Nelson Mandela who witnessed the power of sport in the struggle for freedom recognized the potential sport played in the process of integration, reconciliation, and social transformation in post-apartheid South Africa (Keim, 2009). The 1995 Rugby World Cup won by the Springboks was a symbol and signalling peace, reconciliation and integration in post-apartheid that united racially segregated communities together (Hoglund & Sundberg, 2008). Sport can empower individuals and groups and integrate desperate communities by creating more harmonized individuals and groups and by reducing

perceptions of racialized identities in society (Keim 2003). Thus, the proclaimed non-racial and non-sexist sport in post-apartheid South Africa is expected to narrow gaps of difference among racial groups. Indeed, if sport directed towards peace projects are appropriately, designed, implemented, monitored, evaluated and sustained, they hold promise to play a vital role in the process of reconciliation (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008; Keim, 2003). However, pro-opponents of sport in development wars that sport practitioners within the sport intervention need to carefully examine and assess their assumptions, As such, under what conditions sport can play a critical role in communities/society is a relevant point of departure in maximizing sport's potential for desired outcomes (Coalter, 2002). Not necessarily all sports are viable for the youth who are vulnerable and at risk, there is a need to locate sport intervention programs on a need base, instead of result-driven and/or outcome-based approach (Coalter, Allison, & Taylor, 2000).

Hoglund and Sundberg, (2008) identified four factors in which the promotion of reconciliation can be evident, namely:

1. The applications of new national symbols and symbolic acts of reconciliation after conflict;
2. The implementation of sport policies in addressing fair demographic, in particular racial representations in post-racial conflict;
3. The eradication of perceived stereotypes and negative thoughts through intra, and inter-communal sport intervention programs; and
4. Empowering individuals through sport intervention programs, in attempt to promote reconciliation after violent conflict (p806).

As such, reconciliation is not only forgiving, but also restructuring of social relations in society, in particular in post-conflict societies (Brouneus in Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008).

Furthermore, reconciliation comprises racial integration that guide former enemies to coexist and celebrate their differences, and resolve grievances in non-violent means. The determination of individuals and groups to avoid from antagonistic identities to a collaborative, cohesive, inclusive and shared national identity is first step to national reconciliation (Cwik, 2007).

Post-apartheid South Africa is moving towards social transformation, it has, after the demise of apartheid, introduced new national symbols, new coins, notes, a new national flag and national anthem etc. Some societal institutions are restructured and some may be transformed in future in an attempt to represent the nation and for more South Africans to identify with the 'Rainbow Nation'. Sport is an area where such practice and processes can take place either by design or default (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008).

4.6.4 Building Relationship and Trust

The concepts of both relationship and trust are topics of academic inquiry; they are not extensively explored in a variety of disciplines, in particular in the field of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP).

From the peace and conflict field of study, relationship is generally voluntary, and building broken relationship after conflict is dependent on the willingness of conflicting individuals or groups or parties to collaborate on shared goals and interests that allow them to coexist peacefully.

For Lederach (1998), the notions of relationship and trust after conflict are central in peace-building. He explains that rebuilding broken relationship, specifically as a major task in the process of reconciliation requires connecting antagonistic individuals and groups together in

a manner to resolve their issues and problems in non-violent means. He further elaborates 'relationship as both the beginning, and an end of conflicts' (p 26).

Lederach's method of rebuilding relationships mainly surfaces around building social networks that can bridge conflicting individuals, groups and communities to communicate and discuss issues pertaining their lives and communities. For example, in Bosnia sport intervention programs are used to build relationships, and integrate communities across the ethnic divides (Cwik, 2008). Willingness to collaborate for mutual interests among people facilitates rebuilding positive relationships in communities such as the intrinsic aspiration of people, to see their community advanced in development.

On the other hand, trust is an individual characteristic that requires commitment and expectations on the part of individuals (Butler and Cantrell, 1984). Many scholars view trust as a personality character trait that manifests in childhood, and remains relatively steady throughout the life span (Rotter, 1967). Others view trust as a synonym for collaboration (Zand, 1972).

Similarly, trust is attributed to a psychological state of mind, which includes the determination to affirm and accept vulnerability based on rational and positive expectations on the act of the trustee. Trust is manifested on relevant, but also justifiable reasoning, which requires evidence of the trustworthiness (Lewis and Weigert , 1985).

Trust is the by-product of interdependence with the other. Thus, rebuilding relationship and trust between antagonistic individuals and groups in post-conflict is a valuable resource both for ending the conflict and in social interactions.

4.5.4 Building Relationship and Trust

Concepts both relationship and trust are topics of academic inquiry, they are not relatively extensively explored in varieties of disciplines, in particular in the field of sport for Development and Peace (SDP).

From peace and conflict field of study, relationship is generally voluntary, and building broken relationship after conflict is dependent on the willingness of conflicting individuals or group or parties to collaborate on shared goals and interests that allow them to coexist peacefully.

For Lederach (1998), the notion of relationship and trust after conflict are central in peace-building. He explains that rebuilding broken relationship, specifically, as a major task in the process of reconciliation that require connecting antagonistic individuals and groups together in a manner to resolve their issues and problems in non-violent means. He further elaborates 'relationship as both the beginning, and an end of conflicts' (p 26).

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Trust is the by-product of result of interdependence with the other. Conflict is dependent on both conflicting sides to come to an end and/or at least to coexist than to frustrate one another. Thus, rebuilding relationship and trust between antagonistic individuals and groups in post-conflict is a valuable resource both in ending the conflict, and in social interactions.

4.5.5 Cohesion, Inclusion and Exclusion

Exclusion may be defined as the denial of opportunity, access to resources and opportunities and human/social rights, to specific individuals or groups in a community/society. On the other hand, social inclusion is the positive practice of opportunities to enhance and create social networks and bonds by the provision of access to all citizens in the broader social relations. (Coalter, 2006).

Social cohesion and inclusion are ingredients in the process of reconciliation, and transformation. In the context of the current study, the main priority and concern of the sport intervention programs are to empower the marginalized, and excluded individual, groups and communities. Thus, sport practitioners have to strategize their intervention programs and incorporate academic research in social capital such as social cohesion, inclusion, trust and trustworthiness to get an indication for social change in communities.

Sport and recreation were used as areas of exclusion by apartheid. Excluded individuals and groups are purposefully dysfunctional in socio-economic activities in communities; they are victims of discriminatory system that prevented them from exercising their potential in social fabric such as the apartheid system. Social policies are an instrument that locate and minimize how individuals and groups see themselves as excluded in society.

Although most debates and discussions on inclusion and exclusion concentrate on individuals, groups and communities living in poverty, the issues of exclusion are by far beyond economic resources. Arrow (2000) asserts that the terms of inclusion and exclusion are complex constructs, and proposes that research should focus on social interaction to determine the degree of inclusion and exclusion in society.

The notion of inclusion and exclusion determines effective functioning as well as the success and failure of capacity in socially desirable economies. Inclusion and exclusion are multi-dimensional, which require entire societal structural constraints beyond the concepts of scarcity and inequality (Sen, 1985). Three elements pertaining inclusion and exclusion out of ongoing discussions and analysis provided by Atkinson are:

1. Elements of relativity: groups and individuals are excluded or included relatively to a given place and institutions in society. Therefore, it is important to look at others' beliefs (interaction of individual with others) when seeking to examine inclusion or exclusion.
2. Elements of agency: individual's state of inclusion or exclusion comes through the action of an agent, for example, on the basis of race, gender, or authority, which may include or exclude.
3. Elements of dynamics: for example, welfare state cannot exclude individuals, but the individual may have inadequate prospect for the future.

Social stigma is extremely associated with exclusion, which results in isolation, lack of self-esteem, loneliness etc... Dayton-Johnson (2003), defines social cohesion, and social capital as follows:

- Social capital refers to the sacrifices (e.g., effort, time etc.) made by individuals to advance collaboration with others.
- Social cohesion refers to societal traits dependent on the accumulated social capital. (Atkinson, 1998).

Social cohesion is of fundamental importance in society and influences social relations positively. A group of people who possess shared structural level are referred to as cohesive. Structural conditions that produce positive membership attitudes and behaviours maintain interpersonal interactions (Friedkin, 2004).

Since we think of investments and social capital as requiring trust (Arrow, 1972; Hardin, 2002), social cohesion affects investment decisions by characterizing the extent to which, others in the economy have attitudes favouring trust and trustworthiness.

4.5.6 Coexistence

Coexistence in common sense would mean to celebrate differences in views and opinions and to tolerate and live together without violence. From the literature, coexistence refers to seeking to see and live next to former enemies where the past disagreements are harmoniously discussed and resolved (Hamber and Kelly (2005).

Coexistence is more linked to politics such as dignity, citizenship, being recognized a right as well as seeing oneself how one relates with the other. Coexistence in short means 'connecting-up with others' (Villa-Vicencio, 2000, p.207), and from the literature, coexistence is classified in to two levels namely, the integrated, and minimalist stage:

1. When members from different racial, or religious creeds live in harmony with one another, called integrated stage.
2. When members live together without any violence or agreed, called minimalist stage or e 'thinner' form of reconciliation.

The core issue underlining coexistence is that it is an integral part of reconciliation which builds trust, respect and confidence for one another. Coexistence requires restoration, developing of trust in relationships that never existed in the past, this form of reconciliation is robust and presents both moral and practical reasons to support, it is difficult to achieve.

Coexistence may be the first stage of integration where trust and solidarity become the final result. Whittaker (1999) sees reconciliation from a community-integrated approach; he explains reconciliation as next stage of a dispute settlement where an integrated community is advanced in a civilized manner (p.114).

Reconciliation is an 'act of balancing' (Porter, 2003), which results in coexistence. Porter argues that engagement in reconciliation is a central process in an open and transparent environment to expand and address divisions based on common purposes. Lack of openness and transparency divide communities and undermine the rebuilding of relationships.

4.6 Community and community Sport

Community comprises of familiar relationships and cooperative links between a group of people that acquire high level of intimacy, ethical and moral commitment, including cohesive ties and stability. In any given community, there are clearly defined values and rules that steer attitudes and behaviours through interrelated social norms (Field, 2003).

Communities are more structured within a configured environment, which possess certain demographic components that seek to sustain social bonds that create self-identity, with

psychological, emotional and social needs to meet. The concept of identity includes many forms, and an individual learns behavioural norms and a sense of identity from those experiences. (Zakus, 1999) claims that the sense of belonging to identify with wider and communal associations gets stronger in the fast growing and shifting world. Sport as a social construct, it is shaped with these formations and processes.

An individual has to invest a piece of oneself to be considered a member in a community {e.g., sense of community} (Skinner, Zakus & Edwards, 2005). There are also conditions attached to any members in communities, and this suggests that there are individuals who belong and individuals who do not belong in a given community. McMillan and Chavis (1986) assert that these conditions secure the emotional safety of community members, which are relevant for manifestations of sameness in a community. Participation in sport provides non-tangible advantages to communities (Collins and Kay, 2003). However, high self-esteem, community identity and unity, are some of the benefits from participation in sport, which can assist in the process of community development and integration (Vail, 2007).

Social inclusion comes with the accomplishment of social participation and integration in communities with the possibility that participants can have control over their present and future in life (Coalter, Allison & Taylor, 2000). Both community development and social inclusion, stress on social processes, to enhance the capacities of communities that contribute to social capital in development (Field, 2003).

In exploring how sport can contribute to social capital, in particular, in disadvantaged communities, it is important to look at the sport intervention programs which aim to build trust, relationship, networking, and social inclusion. The social methods, using sport as a platform to ongoing individual development, indicators of success of such engagement may inform policy programme at a local level.

4.7 Volunteering in sport for Peace

Globally, about 1.5 billion people live in countries which are devastated by violent conflict, crime, and fragility (World Bank, 2011 p3). Many African countries, in particular, East African are shattered by ethnic, racial, religious and political conflicts. Volunteerism can bridge social divisions, which is a fundamental aspect of social cohesion. At individual level of inter-personal relation is vital for communal and shared understanding. Individuals and groups who have relationships and contact with different people from different racial background have a greater potential to make a difference in their communities, they have reduced levels of anxiety as well as possess greater levels of understanding (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Theories such as contact theory, social identity theory, and social role theory suggest that direct contacts and interactions among individuals and group of people with different racial, religious and so on increase the possibilities to get more appropriate relationships about 'the other', and help them to appreciate diversity that result in reducing conflicts.

The culture of volunteerism at community grassroots level is an approach in reducing negative perceptions among individual and groups. At institutional level, volunteers can promote transparent governance through intensive interactions during their volunteering endeavours.

Given the conflict and war in Africa, the prominent idea that increasingly advocated for successful peace-making and peacekeeping intervention program is people-centred and/or community-centred sustainable development (VOSESA, 2011). Community-centred development programs' approaches search for societal problem solutions such as deep dialogues and actions, on the bases of human relations, and participatory and shared decision-

making. As such, volunteering is considered as a fundamental part for successful development interventions in communities (e.g., sport volunteering programs).

The 2001 United Nations General Assembly's definition of volunteerism include the manners carried out voluntarily, and not as an obligation supported by law, and echoes that volunteerism is entirely voluntary.

Shared goals as the base of volunteering, it produces mutual understanding, care, support and increased acceptance towards out-group members, and their aspired cultures (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Objectives for such interests to share may require communal resources, infrastructure, market places, sport facilities and schools (Khadiagala and Mati, 2011). Lack of shared goals during contact results in inter-group disputes that can lead to animosity, and prejudice which undermine the daily interactions among individuals and communities (Amir, 1969).

Some of the volunteer projects such as sport intervention programs that are designed to accomplish major social goal (social issues), and the potential to break down constraints that divide social groups, use contact theory as an approach to achieve anticipated social change. Contact theory mainly in sport asserts that shared goals are more likely achieved, in particular, when athletes in regular contact internalize perceptions that they have equal status among their teammates.

Major projects are designed for volunteers to come together on equal ground to offering their support in achieving common societal goal. Volunteering is a reflective learning process with the experience of high degree of empathy and love in understanding the needs and concerns of those communities with whom they serve. Social roles aimed at helping human-beings require greater capacity to isolate and set aside own ego, to improve their capability, and reflect problems from multi-dimensional perspectives (Mead, 1934).

When the youth engage in a volunteer programs (specifically at grassroots level), the learning experience is more durable than other groups in communities. In this sense, sport volunteering may be more effective in contributing to national identity formation in the process of peacebuilding. Sport volunteering comprise serving own community or other communities in any of sectors that need attention, and it is imperative that youth volunteers share communal goals with other groups in their communities.

The post-apartheid South African democracy requires long-term structural and policy changes to win the hearts and minds of its citizens as well as perceptions of one another and actions. Conflict transformation the arrival of peace is not the end of conflict, perhaps negative peace, since a lack of political consciousness, trust among racial groups, and poverty becomes the root causes of many conflicts. Civic engagement, particularly, integrating community volunteerism in sport programs, and encouraging the grassroots youth to participate may be an important complementary measure for community peace building and social inclusion mechanism and for celebrating diversity.

4.8 Social Theories, and Identity in Building Relationships

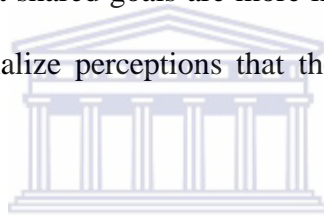
4.8.1 Contact theory

The contact theory assumes mutual understanding acquired by intervention programs is more to advance shared objectives and goals. Thus, reconciliation and peace can be advanced as people when people have more relational opportunities to interact and discuss communal issues to resolve with non-violent means.

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Generally reconciliation and peace demands institutions that are legitimate with strong safety and security, and the rule of law and justice. The post-apartheid South African democracy requires long-term structural and policy changes to win the hearts and minds of its citizens as well as perceptions of one another and actions. Conflict transformation the arrival of peace is not the end of conflict, perhaps negative peace, since a lack of political consciousness, trust among racial groups, and poverty becomes the root causes of many conflicts. Civic engagement, particularly, integrating community volunteerism in sport programs, and encouraging the grassroots youth to participate may be an important complementary mechanism in celebrating their racial diversity.

4.8.2 Inter-group contact theory

Among others, self-integration is a key future of social identity theory. Social learning theories, and modern contact theory postulate that the more interaction among people, they are likely to unite on communal goals (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006), and held greater possibility in experiencing reasoning that lead stimulate reflections on intergroup understanding {e.g., team sport} (Pitner, 2007).

Intergroup contact theory exemplifies increased interactions, and contacts among diverse group of people have the potential in reducing negative perceptions of the ‘others’, that results to accommodate and tolerate, ultimately to understanding (Allport, 1954). However, to bring diverse people is not necessary sufficient to for intergroup to experience and learning to occur, in particular among those who may possess radical views and opinions (Amir, 1969).

Contemporary research that suggest contacts and interactions alone are not sufficient (Kimenyi and Kimenyi, 2011). Building connections and creating healthy environment is

necessary, but not sufficient, there need an additional educational programs that can encourage groups to celebrate their diversity, and coexist harmoniously.

4.9 Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) the SIPs

Coalter (2005) postulates that monitoring is a continuous, organized, collection and analysis of data in relation to planned and mutually agreed programs. This gives proof to the extent how programs are carried-out in accordance to plan, whether it is achieving intended targets or the program progress towards achieving its goals. The extents to which adaptation and changes are made require monitoring information.

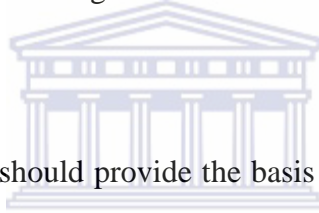
On the other hand, evaluation is the process of undertaking a systematic and objective investigation of monitoring information in order to answer agreed questions and make judgments on the basis of agreed criteria. Concerns such as the effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability and impact of an organization or program may relate to evaluation. This is not simply to examine the impact and their occurrence, but the and why experiences can be learnt and how programs can improve (ibid). Evaluation sport intervention programs provide fundamental learning as well as organizational and program development within the intervention setting.

The purpose of the formative M&E provides with information that can guide to organizational and intervention programs improvement. In the context of sport in development, intervention programs, M&E play a pivotal role in reflective learning and development.

Many practitioners who collect monitoring data are not sure, and pass it up to supervisors until it is eventually incorporated into a report for the donor (Shah et al., 2004 p21-22). Data of monitoring that are collected under these conditions are not often analysed by the field

practitioners, and therefore rarely used to make decisions about adapting the initiative's strategy or activities in general.

The above challenges support the UK Government's Department for International Development (2005) view that the major objective of evaluation in international development is to nurture an inquisitive, transparent, and self-critical organizational culture, which encourages to learning and doing better in the field. Furthermore, SCORE (2005) explains in regards to issue of internal capacity at organizational level as one of the major challenges for the actual implementation and sustainability of projects, and suggest that improved and sufficient internal capacity as important for long term success, well sustained and stronger organizations can lead to in implementing better initiatives and achieving better results in the long term.



Coalter (2005) asserts that M&E should provide the basis for a deep dialogue, both between sponsors and sponsored organizations within organizations; it should acknowledge the importance of development in organization in the same way as barely defined outcomes. As such, contemplations lead to more emphasis on participatory evaluations and process-led that can contribute to organizational development in many ways.

Coalter (2005) claims that when organizations become members in M&E process, it can lead to a) building capacity, b) greater ownership including integration and understanding, c) an ability to reflect on and analyse beliefs, behaviours and attitudes. Staff involvement in M&E at all level and in all aspects of organization and program delivery provides an opportunity to produce both self-critical and self-improving organizational tradition.

The M&E process-led approach is relevant to many civil societies around the world. Sport-in-development programs are relevant as their sponsoring organizations. In support to this,

the United Nations' declared the 2005 as the Year of Sport and Physical Education, in particular, in reference to sport as an important platform and sector in civil society.

Evaluation sport intervention programs aimed to promote reconciliation is challenging. In attempting to address to some of the challenges, directed to social change at micro-level impacts (i.e., an approach, working through empowered individuals), a medium that differentiate between phases of impact and levels of intervention. Three recognizable phases of changes can identify:

(1) *The promotion phase*: intervention programs attempts to encourage and advance some results (room assessment);

(2) *The application phase*: when changes are persuaded during intervention programs, they possess a chance to be applied in in communities (a short-term assessment), and the last but not least

(3) *The sustainability phase*: when questions arise on continuity nature of the changes and their long-term impacts are assessed (medium and long terms).

In South Africa many sport initiatives such as the Kicking for Peace run by the Western Cape Network Community for Peace and Development, a civil society network which consists of 36 non-governmental organizations compensate for wider failures of national and local states, weak civic structures and disintegrating families (Keim, 2009). Experiences from government-run programs in South Africa point out the difficulties of ensuring the quality of activities, when recourses are scant (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008).

Keim (2009) highlights that the integration through sport can only be realized with some other additional conditions which constrain sport programs such as lack of qualified sport



officials, language barriers, and most importantly the lack of monitoring and evaluation of programs.

Mukoma and Fisher (2004) argue that: “...because programs are seldom delivered exactly as designed and planned...without detailed process evaluation, we can only infer that perhaps the implementation did not occur as expected” (p356).

The process of M&E seeks to assess the positive and negative impact and consequences of any adaptations and, assist in the quick distribution of emerging good practice throughout the organization and its programs (Coalter, 2005). The process-led M&E may play a vital role in sport intervention program development to ensure on effective and efficient program delivery, which also require research and theory-driven evaluations, rather than the more traditional quantitative approach to output and outcome measurement. This requires conceptualizing, and understanding the design of programs. Sport may not possess fundamental power, instead the participation including on how it is experienced and the combination verities of additional programs which explain success and failure (Coalter, Sugden, 2005).

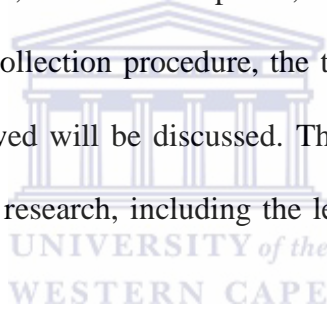
4.10 Summary

The major resource to create a culture of peace in society are the people themselves, most importantly, the youth who are the future leaders and pioneers who can create healthy environment and relationships including structures to sustain peace. Educating the youth and adults in attempt to make them peace agents is central to any peace intervention programs. Educational programs may be a major component for any intervention programs in achieving anticipated social change after violent conflict.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a discussion of the study's method, and procedures, including the guiding theoretical principals. Firstly, this section examined the study's qualitative methods, where particular focus is paid to the study's framework in formed by the theory of change at different societal levels. Secondly, the research aims and questions are presented. Thirdly, this chapter discusses and presents the demographic details of the 103 respondents which include, program beneficiaries, organizers, role models, government, and UN officials who participated in the grassroots SIPs situated in the townships of the Western Cape, post-apartheid South Africa. In addition, this section explains, the sampling method used to recruit participants for this study, data collection procedure, the transcription and analysis method, and the ethical procedures followed will be discussed. This chapter concludes by outlining reflexive thoughts, regarding the research, including the learning experiences within setting and the SIPs.



5.2 Rationale of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research approaches to qualitative data collection and analysis are numerous, representing a diverse range of epistemological, theoretical, and disciplinary perspectives. In the researcher's view, the theoretical or philosophical foundation provides a framework for inquiry, but it is the data collection and analysis processes and the outcome of those processes that are paramount. In other words, we need a way to argue what we know based on the process by which we came to know it (Agar, 1996).

Quantitative methodologists emphasize objective data collection techniques and the use of controlled measurement instruments to ensure the collection of reliable and valid data that

can contribute to the establishment of universal, generalizable scientific laws (Schurink, 1988). On the other hand qualitative methodologists advocate a humanistic, subjective exploration of reality and endeavour to understand human experiences and social realities from the perspective of an involved and affected insider rather than a neutral outsider (Kirk & Miller, 1986; Mouton, 1988). These different approaches are, however, accepted as complimentary rather than oppositional.

Many scholars argue that human learning is best researched by using qualitative data (see, Domegan, and Fleming, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Richardson, 1995). In selecting a research methodology, Guba (1981) asserts that paradigm selection is proper that can meet assumptions which are being investigated. This study is about sport and social change including human experiences and perceptions, as well as implementation/distribution of knowledge gained within own communities.. Therefore, qualitative approaches are more appropriate than quantitative designs to provide the insight necessary to understand sports' events and programs in the lives of racialized youth identities and their perceptions in post-conflict. Notwithstanding that the relative contribution quantitative research make to science, although the social sciences in particular has been the focus of much debate in the past (Miller, 2001). It has since been recognized that there is no universally accepted method that can be used by social scientists to construct reality, and that both qualitative and quantitative approaches have a role to play in scientific inquiry (Schurink, 1988).

Historically, qualitative research methods were considered to be invalid and unreliable (Kirk & Miller, 1986). However, researches are based on some underlying philosophical assumptions about what constitutes 'valid' research and which research methods are appropriate for the development of knowledge in a given study. In order to conduct and evaluate any research, it is therefore important to know what these assumptions are.

This study revealed that ‘constructs’ such as race may no longer be accepted as absolute or scientific truths, as they once were, especially during apartheid. Race and other seemingly natural categories are no longer seen to be value-neutral and are considered to be bound up within normative prescriptions and power relations. This is due to its ability to excavate the nuanced experiences of the sport participant. Unlike positivist research, qualitative inquiry is of the opinion that multiple truths exist in parallel to one another. Qualitative inquiry is not so much concerned with the so called reality of these truths, as with lived experience of the realities.

The concept of theory of change as a framework for this study came from theory base program evaluation literature (Wess, 1972), and has resonated throughout the social science (London, 1996). For example, Schon’s (1983) conception of the ‘*Reflective practitioner*’ has strongly influenced the conflict resolution field’s acknowledgement of the unconscious assumptions that guide conflict engagement in qualitative research.

Social change in qualitative analysis allows questions to be explored without being burdened, by the need to establish the ontological credibility of social constructs, such as race, racism, identity and sport as a real thing. The qualitative approach allows the researcher’s personal experiences to influence perceptions as well as interpretations.

The main objective of this study relates to the effectiveness of the sport programs, which include perspectives on the development of program design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms., The strategic plans on collaboration among stakeholders to sustain the program is critical, and the theory of change and logic program model are suited to assesses and document the sport intervention program’s strength and/or the lack thereof.

The methodology used to collect the data was predominantly orientated around group discussions and semi-structured face-to-face interviews with key role player in the program, which were conducted between the years 2012 - 2014.

5.3 Social Change Theory and Program Evaluation as a qualitative Enquiry

The aim of this research is to explore and evaluate the role of grassroots SIPs in the process of reconciliation and integration in post-apartheid South Africa. Main focus is given to the impact of sport intervention programs on the lives of radicalized youth from different racial backgrounds who will be the future leaders of the South African communities/society.

This study is qualitative in nature to explore how pro-reconciliation sport programs are guided to achieve their goals in a divided society, and how their programs are designed to address intended societal problems in communities shattered by conflict after apartheid. The study has attempted to expose effective methods and theories, also referred as a 'good practices' that embrace social change and theory based evaluation to determine the success and failure of community-based SIPs.

Theory of change is also referred as programme theory (Funnell, 1997), theory-based evaluation or theory of change (Weiss, 1995, 1998), theory-driven evaluation (Chen, 1990), theory-of-action (Schorr, 1997), intervention logic (Nagarajan and Vanheukelen, 1997), impact pathway analysis, and programme theory-driven evaluation science (Donaldson, 2005) refer to a variety of ways of developing a causal modal linking programme inputs and activities to a chain of intended or observed outcomes, and then using this model to guide the programme evaluation.

Many logic models, and methods used in programme theory (and guides to developing programme theory) show a single, linear causal path, often involving some variation on five

categories (inputs, processes, outputs, outcomes and impact. Most approaches to building logic models have focused on simple, linear models, but some have explored how non-linear models might be used (e.g. Funnell, 2000; Rogers, 2000) to better represent programmes and guide their evaluation. This study presents a framework for classifying the different aspects of simple logic model that may be used in sport intervention programs.

However, the simple logic model provides linear relationship, which is not as successful as other non-linear program logics in peace-building which involve holistic approach in multi-dimensional relationships. Furthermore, the sport intervention organizations who aim to redress broader societal problems may be too small in achieving social change. Broad social issues need broader perspectives. However, the simple logic model provides reflexive and learning experiences for sport practitioners to start and extend their research base and practical experiences in developing and implementing their intervention programs. Thus, logic model is used to unpack the theory of change, how the intervention works and analysed.

While the use of simple logic model method provides a clear statement of the overall intent of an intervention, and useful guidance for implementation and selection of variables for an evaluation, it is important for researchers to be aware of risks in using them, in particular, they should not be taken literally when they are not exactly true (Rogers, 2008).

Barnes et al. (2004) assert that the use of models such as these for evaluation assumes '*a stable environment in which any indication of either theory or implementation failure would be capable of adjustment in line with available evidence*' (p13–14).

In program logic model, inputs/resources and activities, represent implementation theory in that they list the elements necessary for sport programs to produce desired results. The activities listed in the second column, which are crucial to successful implementation, depend

on the inputs/resources available, and are required for the outcomes that can ensue. There is a timing sequence to the set of activities, although all do not have to be completed before the effects start to take place.

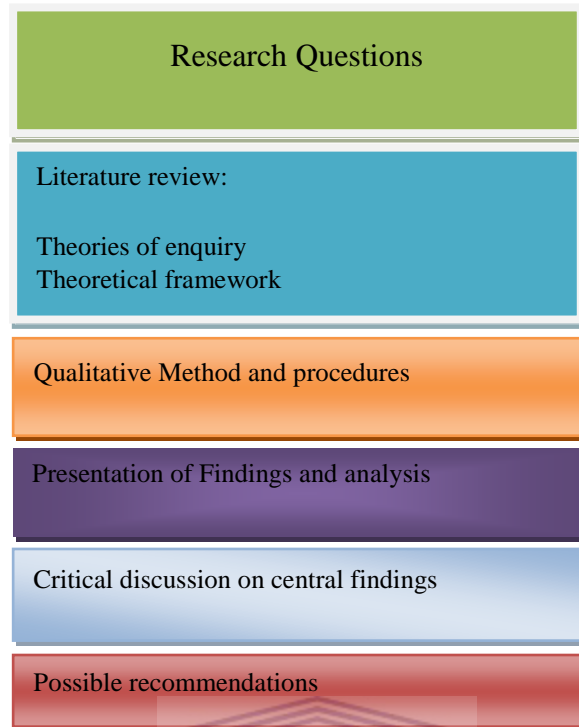
The pilot study that has been conducted prior field work in this study revealed that some sport practitioners and those who participate in the program blame themselves or others when the process does not progress as it should. Resources are wasted in pursuit of the perfect and controlled response. Opportunities are missed when a chance is damped or ignored because it does not fit in the expected arrangement when programs run by own realm that does not guaranty expected result. As a result, *“Personal as well as professional frustration results (even) when well laid plans prove ineffective (Rogers, (2008).*

5.4 The Research Design

Research design can be thought of as the *logic* or *master plan* of a research that throws light on how the study is to be conducted. It shows how all of the major parts of the research study such as sampling, interviewing, observation, analysis methods etc... work together in an attempt to address the research questions. Research design is similar to an architectural outline. The research design can be seen as actualisation of logic in a set of procedures that optimises the validity of data for a given research problem. According to Mouton (1996) the research design serves to plan, structure and execute the research to maximise the trustworthiness of the findings.

Research design gives directions from the underlying philosophical assumptions to research design, and data collection. Yin (2003) adds further that colloquially a research design is an action plan for getting from *here* to *there*, where ‘here’ may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered and ‘there’ is some set of (conclusions) answers (see Diagram 5.2).

Diagram 5.2: Research Approach and process



5.5 Research Procedure

5.5.1 Aims and Research questions the study

The aim of this study is twofold: (1) to explore mechanisms how grassroots sport specifically can be utilized as a vehicle in the process of reconciliation and integration and, (2) to evaluate the impact of the SIPs in the lives of the youth and their communities after apartheid.

The following research questions will be explored:

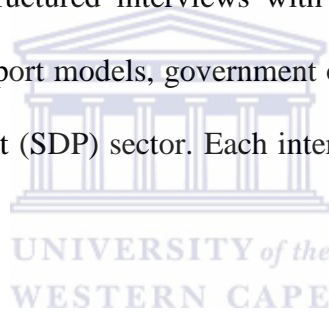
2. What are the different mechanisms through which grassroots Sport Intervention Programs (SIPs) aimed to combat racial conflict can serve as a vehicle to promote reconciliation and integration in post-apartheid South Africa?
 - 2.1 How do perceived racialized identities and narratives of whiteness, colouredness, and blackness impact on SIPs' participants in post-apartheid South Africa?
 - 2.2 What are the bridging and dividing characteristics of the SIPs in post-apartheid South Africa?

2.3 What factors determines the success of pro-reconciliation sport initiative programs aimed to promote reconciliation and integration in post-apartheid South Africa?

2.4 How can a collaborative approach of different stakeholders be achieved to establish a strategy to maximize the potential of sport to promote reconciliation and peace in Post-Apartheid South Africa?

5.5.2 Selection and Description of Participants

This study is qualitative in nature. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were primarily used to collect viable information, from 113 respondents who participate in grassroots sport initiative programs in the Western Cape, post-apartheid South Africa. These sources of data include semi-structured interviews with the youth/beneficiaries, coaches, officials, managers, volunteers, sport models, government officials, and with the UN system, Sport for Peace and Development (SDP) sector. Each interviews lasted, an average between 90 to 120 minutes.



The semi-structured research design provided a strict focus on the sport programs, their impact on racialized identities. The objective was to examine, how pro-reconciliation sport programs are designed, implemented, evaluated and monitored, to bring desired social change. Along with the semi-structured face to face and focus group interviews, research data was also collected through utilizing extensive observational techniques, and external source as an accumulation method.

The following categories of respondents were purposively included:

- 1) **Focus groups:** There were eight focus groups. These groups consisted of the youth aged 15 to 20, who benefit from different the sport programs for social change. There were 10 participants in each group, Although the focus of the study was not gender,

particular considerations was given to the special dynamics of power and gender that exist within race, especially within the South African and international sport context (for more demographic details on focus group, see table 5.1).

- 2) **Interviews:** Interviews were conducted with three black/Africans, one white, and three coloured coaches/officials were interviewed, these groups of sport practitioners and volunteers have an average between 10- 30 years of experience in sport. It is sought that they can share the wealth of experience they have on the role of sport in the community. In post-apartheid South, in most instances, black and coloured coaches are often assigned to deal with their 'own' 'black/African' or 'participants'. Although government puts a lot of efforts into transforming the sport structures, it is conceived that black officials and coaches are elected as managers or officials of white dominated sport, this method may be used to make public statements that reflect positively on the policies and decisions regarding the inclusion or exclusion of black managers (Miller, 2001). However, some black officials and managers, albeit very few, have made public statements their discontent with the treatment of black managers and officials. Seven coaches/officials from different racial background were purposively selected, and assumed to represent in an interview.
- 3) **Interviews:** Two males and one female government officials were also interviewed. This category comprise one coloured male, one African female, and one White male from the Department of Sport and Recreation in the Western Cape. They were purposively selected to provide some information on the government policy with regard the grassroots sport, and whether the provincial government provide technical and financial cooperation towards the sport initiatives as to sustain or the luck thereof.
- 4) **Interview:** Three sport celebrities/sport models: A female and two male sport models that tirelessly encourage, and support the SIPs were purposively selected for an

interview. These participants who were selected for this study were in fact the topic of many heated debates regarding race, gender and sport in the media and other public spheres. One white UN personnel on Sport for Development and Peace: This individual was selected to provide first hand on the existing UN policies, on how the UN use grassroots sport initiatives as a platform to achieve other international goals and peace as well as to give an overall UN views on issues pertaining grassroots community sport programs in relation to other countries in the world.

Table 5.1: Demographic details of Respondents/interviewees)

Participants	African	Coloured	White	Sport code	First Language	Gender
Coaches/officials and managers Age range 22-58	3	3	1	Soccer	African = 3 Afrikaans = 3 English=1	Female = 2 Male = 5
Youth participants Age range 15 -19	60	30	10	Soccer and Basketball	African = 60 Afrikaans = 30 English =10	Female = 30 Male =70
Sport Models Age 40 and 46	1	1	1	Soccer, rugby and netball	African = 2 Afrikaans =1	Female = 1 Male = 2
Government officials, Department of Sport and Recreation Age: 42-48	1	1		Representing all sport codes	African = 1 Afrikaans = 2	Female = 1 Male = 2
UN, sport for peace and development Age: 68			1	Representing all sports codes	English = 1	Male = 1
	65	35	13	4 + sport codes	African = 65 Afrikaans = 36 English = 12	Female =34 Male = 79
TOTAL				4+	113	113

5.5.3 Data Collection

5.5.3.1 In-depth Semi-structured Interview

Understanding various interpretations of social life requires a position of relativism, which is the realisation that realities are multiple and exist in peoples' mind (Sparker cited in Amis, 2005 p105). The most logical way to access social realities is to talk to people. Within most social science disciplines, interviews-based research has predominantly featured 'individualistic' interviewing (Madriz, 2000). In-depth unstructured interviewing is often associated with the collection of qualitative data, that is, the 'why' and 'how' of a given phenomenon, from the respondent's perspective. Interviews offer a depth of information that permits detailed exploration of data collection.

Photo 5.1: *The SIPs' beneficiaries and staff in action*



Gratton and Jones (2010) assert interviews can collect data concerned with concepts that are difficult or inappropriate to measure, tend to allow respondents more freedom in terms of their answers, and tend to explore questions of ‘why’ and ‘how’ rather than the ‘how many’ and ‘when’ (p. 155).

Table 5.2: Methods and sources for data collection

Data Collection Method	Types of Respondents
Face-to-face interview	Coaches, managers, Volunteers, Role Models, Government Officials, UN personnel on Sport for Peace and Development (SDP)
Focus group Discussion	Sport Participants/Beneficiaries
Observation Method	Personal documents (journal), physical participation on program, policy documents
Document	Reports, manual training resources, policy

Veal 2006, cited in Gratton and Jones (2010) provided three situations where interviews tend to be used:

1. Where there is only a low population, making the quantitative approach of the questionnaire inappropriate.
2. Where the information is expected to vary considerably amongst respondents and such information is likely to be complex and thus difficult to measure using other methods.
3. Where the research is exploratory, and interviews may be used to identify information that could be used to refine and develop further investigation (p. 155).

Amis (2005) notes interviews offer a depth of information that permits the detailed exploration of particular issue in a way not possible with other forms of data collection (p. 105). “Interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowledgeable, and able to be made explicit” (Patton, 1990 p.278).

In this study the sensitiveness and confrontational nature of the research questions was recognised. All interviewed beneficiaries, coaches, managers, volunteers; sport celebrities/role models, governmental officials, and the UN personnel have sufficient knowledge regarding the alleged racism in South African sport and the challenges with regards to reconciliation and transformation. At times of the interview, all respondents were sport participants in different sport codes and areas (as players, coaches, officials, administrators, volunteers and so on).

The beneficiaries/youth participants in a focus group were assertive and able to talk about their own experiences in their own words. The opportunity for discussion groups has allowed them to express their feelings, in particular, on own personal perceptions on race and identity as well as on the benefit of the SIPs. The objective of the interview was therefore to present arguments through a third voice. It is conceded that a racial tension between white, coloured and African youth and adults in the Western Cape has increased since the outcome of the first democratic election (James, 1996; Rasool, 1996).

5.5.3.2 Face-to-Face Interviews

Semi-structured interviews, as a procedure for using open-ended questions based on the studies central focus was developed before data collection to obtain specific information and enable interpretation and, or comparison across cases. According to some authors, interviewers nevertheless remain open and flexible so that they may probe individual participants' narratives in more detail (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Semi-structured interviews serve as a guide (Flick, 2002), which are the foundation on which the interview is built, but one that allows creativity and flexibility to ensure that each participant's story is fully uncovered.

The face to face interview questionnaire (see Appendix A) comprise 35 questionnaires, and were used as a qualitative research method to probe more details information and a deeper insights in to the participants' experience and perception of race, social issues and on the role of the sport intervention programs.

5.5.3.3 Focus Group Discussions

There are various views and discussions in the literature as to when a one-to-one interview is likely to be more effective than a focus group. Clearly, the nature of the topic, research objectives, and types of respondents, skills and personal preferences of the interviewer will all be important in making decisions (Gaskell, 2000 cited in Amis 20005). Schuurin, 1998 cited in Miller (2001) claims that unstructured interviews with an interview schedule are valuable in group context (p. 128). Focus group interviews are associated typically with market, and political opinion research; it has become particular prominent with those participating societal issues (see Madriz, 2000) and/or participatory action research (see Kemmis and McTaggart, 2000). In the present study, there were eight discussion groups. Each group comprise twelve participants, aged between 15 to 19 years-old. There were one white male, two coloured males, three African males, and two African female discussion groups. The two female discussion groups comprise both African and Coloured participants in each group.

The focus group method for data collection was preferred and conducted to gather the data on participants' personal and social situations including the social problems facing their communities, and their perceptions, experience, and satisfactions of the intervention sport programs. The purpose of the focus group is to “learn through discussion about conscious, semi-conscious and unconscious psychological and socio-cultural characteristics and processes” (Berg, 2001). Information pertaining to the type and nature of racial and social

conflicts their experience within and with communities, including their expressed need and the benefits from the sport intervention programs were gathered.

The male and female group discussions felt more comfortable in the group setting with their own peers because they were assured their homogeneity in areas like class, race and gender. Amis (2005) asserts that in focus group discussions the interviewer attempts to gain an insight in to the inconsistencies, contradictions and paradoxes that are a quintessential part of our daily life. He further argues that the more sensitive the nature of the research, the more important they become. The discussion groups in this study challenged one another; they developed positions of consensus, and built on each other's ideas which stimulated dynamic environment to collect empirical data.

5.5.3.4 A Case Study

A case study is one of several ways of conducting research whether in social science related or even socially related because, its aim is to understand human beings in a social context by interpreting actions of individual or a group, and communities including in sport. Gillham (2000a, p.1) defines a *case study* as an investigation to answer specific research questions which seek a range of *different evidences* from the case settings. Yin (2003) explains a case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly defined. The case study approach is especially useful in situations where contextual conditions of the event being studied which are critical and where the researcher has no control over the events as they unfold.

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) assert that the primary defining features of a case study as being “multiplicity of perspectives which are rooted in a specific context”. The case may also be a program, an event, or an activity bounded in time and place. According to McMillan and

Schumacher (2001), a case study examines a bounded system or a case over time in detail, employing multiple sources of data found in the setting.

The use of multiple sources, information and evidences used in this study, after collated are sought to arrive at the best possible answers to the research question(s). As a result the researcher may gain a sharpened understanding of why the instances happened as they did, which might become important to look at more extensively in future research. Given the thematic position adopted in this research and the nature of the research question, the case study methodology was also considered the most appropriate approach to employ because it provides a systematic way to collect data, analyse information, and report the results, thus understand a particular problem in the pro-reconciliation sport programs or situation in great depth.

5.5.3.5 Journal

Journals were kept to help the primary interviewer to react to personal views, biases and other possible dynamics that emerged during the research process. The researcher's own experience as a black athlete who participated in both recreational and competitive sport, personal discontent with current socio political developments in sport, were expected to influence my interaction and interpretations.

Bogdan (1992: 107) refers to field notes as a written account of what the researcher hears, sees, experiences and thinks in the course of collecting data in qualitative research. My status as participant-observer was an advantage to gain access to participants' and organisers' meetings enabled me to document relevant aspects for this study. My role as an observer was to record group interactions and behaviours as objectively as possible.

A critical reflection on the research process, with particular attention to the impact of my own subjectivity, was therefore maintained throughout the study. These personal reflections will be discussed at the end of this section.

5.5.4 Data Analysis

Theories of social change are implicitly or explicitly guided by conflict resolution practice, and are essential to engage in evaluation of post-conflict intervention programs. Articulating the prevailing theories of change within the conflict field is crucial, to someone who hopes to measure performance, and ultimately increase understanding of what works (Ashton, 2007). Articulating the theories of change and program evaluation on grassroots sport is a young field where there are many untested approaches, prepositions, and programs competing for attention and donor resources.

Conflict assessment and theory of change are related but distinct concepts useful to inform conflict resolution interventions and their evaluation. It is commonly understood that the world as well as the categories and concepts used, are socially, culturally and historically specific. The exchanges and relationships between people, which occur on a day to day basis are seen as the practices during which our shared versions of knowledge are constructed. Thus, peoples' ways of understanding as well as relationships are culturally and historically relative, where they are created through the daily interactions that occur in daily life.

This study is aligned with qualitative methodology, for the reasons above, and has assumed a social change perspective by recognising that it is not whether something is real or not that is of primary concern, but rather the extent to which individuals, communities and societies uncritically accept that the construct is a reality. For instance, while race, identity including sport are human constructs which bear out of certain historical, social and political

conditions, they still wield a great deal of power in post-apartheid South Africa and actively shapes the lives and identities of many South Africans youth.

The social change theory seems to echo this assertion by maintaining that, despite the fallibility of race as a scientific truth, race is embedded in everyday experiences and permeates the very fabric of social life. In accordance with social change, and critical race theory, this study took a critical stance towards those understandings and perceptions of the social world, which are usually taken for granted, by disrupting and destabilising them. Furthermore, qualitative narrative analysis allowed both questions of race, and the SIPs to be explored.

It must be noted that discourses or narratives are in no way an objective or partial way of representing events or reality. Each participant's narrative, regardless of how factual it may claim to be, is constructed according to the author's particular point of view, thus not an exact mirror and/or image of reality. However, despite this construction, narratives reflect important aspects of the individual's world, which are inherently related to the structuring of social order, rendering them invaluable tools for social studies (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999), and the theory of change in this study serves, to assess the realities and the need for intervention mechanisms in order to change broken relationships, existing perceptions and stereotypes among racial groups, and bring desirable change.

The narratives which were collected from face-to-face and group discussions were subjected to thematic content analysis. Thus, interviews and discussions were broken down into relatively self-contained areas of content, which were then individually submitted to thematic content analysis (Elliott, 2007). Thematic content analysis can be broadly defined as a method for identifying, analysing and reporting themes within data. A thematic content analysis will minimally organise and describe the data set in rich, nuanced detail (Braun &

Clarke, 2006). The term thematic, in this study analysis may refer to the analysis of story-like verbal material, or discourse, and the use of relatively comprehensive units of analysis, such as themes (Smith, 1992).

According to the tenets of thematic content analysis, any given text may contain a number of themes, and a particular passage may reflect more than one theme (Brandt, Dawes, Africa & Swartz, 2004). In this study, a thematic content analysis was used as it allowed the researcher to examine the data set or, in this instance the sport participants, and the program's narratives of the intervention method, for the presence of themes. The themes that emerged are an invaluable research tools that emphasize and describe patterns which occurred frequently and continually across the data set. Thus, in this study, themes provided a rich and nuanced description and understandings of, among others, perceived racialized youth identities, and racism, the design and implementation of the intervention sport programs, and the method used to achieve the program goals and/or the program impact of SIPs in post-apartheid South Africa.

Furthermore, a thematic content analysis can be a method that works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality' (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This echoes the theory of change, which is the framework for this study which describes that reality is constructed and learned and are open for change. As such, a thematic content analysis provided the researcher with a means of disrupting the notion that racism in sport, sport identity, and other perception's such as social issues in communities are natural and material truths. Thus, the researcher was equipped to not only deconstruct various social discourses, knowledge and truths, but to also discuss these perceptions as manufactured via communal and partial interchanges. The process of analysis was broken down into a set of stages, which began with the formulation of the research questions that guided the focus of the analysis.

Following this, a reading of the narratives took place, where themes were allowed to emerge in a spontaneous and organic manner. Commonalities, themes, trends and patterns, which were then found to run through, and across texts after multiple readings, were defined and the units of analysis (namely meaning bearing words, phrases, episodes, even utterances and so on)' were assigned to these categories. Once the themes had been identified, the researcher then refined through the data set to refine under each theme, which were then used when writing up the research report. Once these stages were completed, conclusions were drawn. This method of extraction allowed for an examination of broad sport social functions '*social mission through sport programs*), and effects of stories/discourses within their context's generation, the fact that discourses or narratives denote an interaction between the respondents and the researcher and/or between the narrator and the audience.

5.5.5 Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of the findings of this study will be substantiated through ensuring that:

- The research process is detailed and transparent and open to the scrutiny of other researchers;
- Personal investment in the study is made transparent through self-reflection.
- Findings are related to data;
- Theoretical assumptions are stipulated and,
- Findings are given contextual validity by linking it to other work of similar genre.

In addition, the researcher acknowledges the qualitative judgements implicit within the process of thematic content analysis. Thus, my role, and the manner in which I positioned myself in relation to the discourses that emerged, was subjected to review (Elliott, 2007; Newel and Burnard, 2006; Stevens, 2003; Steyn, 2001).

5.5.6 Ethical Consideration

Care was taken to protect the interested of the participants and to ensure sensitive interviewing. In addition to other ethical statement, Schurink's, 1998 cited in Miller 2001) guidelines for maintaining a code of ethics during unstructured interviewing are reflected below:

- Informed consent: all participants were informed of the nature and purpose of the research and agreed to be interviewed and to have their views recorded, published and discussed;
- Confidentiality: the identities of all participants were protected and the option to remain anonymous was presented to everyone;
- Feedback: participants were informed that they could have access to the finding of the study after completion of the research project;
- As far as possible, care was taken to protect participant's freedom of expression and to ensure that they felt un-intimidated and comfortable to express their opinions regarding continuous political, racial and reconciliation issues. As suggested by Schurink (1998), this was accomplished by conscious efforts to treat each participant with respect by demonstrating empathy and by refraining from a pedantic or patronising attitude;
- Care was taken not to raise false expectations with the participants. Individuals, who expressed a need for further discussions with regard the research topic, were accommodated as far as possible.

5.6 Summary

The research procedure outlined above allowed for the deconstruction and analysis of the discourse that emerged from the youth and adult South Africans who participated in the SIPs

social realities. This section discussed the methodological concerns of the study. Firstly, the paradigms and design section detailed the study's qualitative orientation. Secondly, both the research aims and questions were outlined. Following this, the chapter briefly outlined the study's participants, as well as the rationale as to why the focus of the study is on grassroots sport programs, and in previously segregated communities. In addition to this, this section described the sampling process, the respondents' demographic profile, the data analysis procedure, as well as pertinent ethical considerations, and concluded with my reflexivity within the research process.

In general, the hard work, and sleepless nights to accomplish this study have made me, to profoundly value the insights and capabilities of other scholars, and researchers from all school of thoughts, and to acknowledge their contributions to the study of this nature.



CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the study's method, and procedures, including the guiding theoretical principals. Firstly, this section examined the study's qualitative methods, where particular focus is paid to the study's frame work informed by the theory of change at different societal levels. Secondly, the research aims and questions are presented. Thirdly, this chapter discusses and presents the demographic details of the 103 respondents which include, program beneficiaries, organizers, role models, government, and UN officials who participated in the grassroots SIPs situated in the townships of the Western Cape, post-apartheid South Africa. In addition, this section explains, the sampling method used to recruit participants for this study, data collection procedure, the transcription and analysis method, and the ethical procedures followed will be discussed. This chapter concludes by outlining reflexive thoughts, regarding the research, including the learning experiences within setting and the SIPs.

6.2 Emerged Themes

Before the discussion of the findings, it is worthwhile to acknowledge that the themes which emerged from , and are presented in this study, are by no means complete or an exhaustive explanation of the sport intervention programs and the racialized identities (coloured, white and black) of South African youth in contemporary South Africa. Instead, they offer a substantive look into the role of intervention programs and perceptions of the South African youth of their lives as they struggle with the very real racial tensions and segregation of being young adults in a rapidly changing social landscape, framed within the context of ongoing and persistent societal issues in their communities.

The findings in this study are not exclusive. Rather, they are independent constructs that do not refer back to one another. Discourses which are inherently embedded presuppose other discourses, and contradiction within discourses raise questions about other narratives and discourses in use (Parker, 1992). Thus, similarly, the themes attract metaphors and organizational support from each other. The main themes which emerged from this study draw many sub-themes into the discourse that contradict, support or complement one another. Therefore, unlike the simple logic model, the interpretations and discussions do not always provide pure linear analysis. Indeed, the very nature of this study is multi-dimensional and comprises a number of theories and approaches in the quest for answers to these complex and broad research questions. Furthermore, the diffuseness and complexity of colouredness, blackness and whiteness within SIPs are represented in non-linearity. Finally, the respondents' voices are presented in italic, quoted and highlighted.

6.2.1 Racialized Youth Identities in the context of Current Socio-political and the SIPs

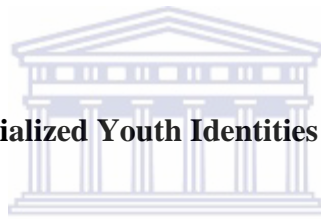
Many scholars attest that race and ethnicity were particularly explosive conceptions during the apartheid era. Thus, apartheid government used these constructs to divide and rule South Africans. The views that there were racially discriminatory policies and segregation in place even long before the beginning of apartheid in 1948 are also important to consider.

Before articulating the findings, it is important to understand that identities and sport as social constructs do not exist in a vacuum. Instead, they are shaped by many fundamental and contextual factors, which include the individual culture, family, peers and society, including the social environment they live in (Sudgen, 2010, Goosen and Phinney, 1996). Having this in mind, it can be argued that the SIPs' approaches to redress perceptions of racialized identities among the South African youth and particularly the 'Born Frees' can be viewed in relation to both South Africa's racialized past and its present socio-cultural context. In the

same way, the post-apartheid narratives of a ‘Rainbow Nation’ are also impacting on South African identities and sport. Thus, one should recognize the influence these discourses have on both identity and sport, despite the interruptions and disintegration of racialized discourses in post-apartheid South Africa. These exemplify Steyn’s (2001) view that the notion of colouredness, blackness and whiteness promoted by apartheid are still affecting the South African youth identities after the demise of apartheid.

The following emerged themes primarily consider the discursive and symbolic experience and practices characteristic of ‘Rainbow Nationalism’ as a direct reaction against racialized ideologies of apartheid sport, and the impact this narrative and the SIPs have on youth identities.

6.3 The SIPs and Perceived Racialized Youth Identities



The following chapter provides the findings of the research study including feedback from discussion groups and face-to-face interviews. The voices of participants from 10 discussion groups (1-10_) and 13 face to face interviews (1-13) interviewed between July 2013 and December 2014 are presented below.

6.3.1 Youth Identity in the Context of Apartheid Legacy

“...I don’t have coloured or white friends, they don’t live with us. They live in better communities than us. Our coach tells us we don’t have to worry about the past about what happen to our parents. He is right...” African male, discussion group (6), November 2013

“...whites have everything they want, our parents are not educated, we are poor. Our schools are not the same; toilets are dirty... maybe they don’t like poor people which are why they don’t come play with us” Coloured female, group discussion (8), November 2014.

Apartheid was characterized by the rule of white supremacy, which was committed to segregation and the maintenance of racial separateness and inequality. During apartheid race was not a flexible construct which firmly charts whiteness as dominant, normative and invisible, and blackness, and colouredness as subordinate and marginalized (Miller, 2001). The above perceptions of the 'Born Frees' in discussion groups clearly illustrate that the new generation is still affected by the history of apartheid, in particular, by the historical construction of white as supreme and intelligent with untold privileges, compared to other racial groups who were seen as everything that whiteness was not (e.g., poor, illiterate, lazy and immoral).

“...I have been told by my parents and relatives what happen in the past. Now I can see the difference between what I know and what I see. In this sport program we are happy they teach us to be caring to one another also we don't know what happen in past all of us so it is good to be together as friends and help each other and it is nice” Female coloured, group discussion (7), November 2013.

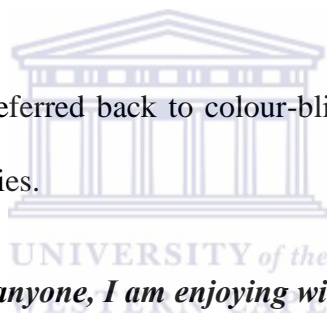
“...when we together you don't see we are different. We talk our game together, we also help one another in the game and win, but we also lose but we also talk what was wrong. We don't have much white but coloured and they are friendly” African Male, discussion group (5) July 2013.

As mentioned above in the discussion groups, the SIPs' attempt to make the youth aware of unjust apartheid practices in the past in a manner to forget the ugly history of apartheid, and forgive and to stand united. However, it can be argued that racial inequality and segregation are still being for grounded as a key and critical aspect of their present identity. This suggests that the racialized ideologies from the legacy of apartheid are still shaping and impacting the racialized youth identities in contemporary South Africa. While this transition from apartheid

typically offers the possibility of change and social mobility, it also has the potential to inscribe racist beliefs, attitudes and practices from the past (Puttick, 2011).

To be colour-blind, mainly demands that one must first realize and take account of race (Walker, 2005a). As such, it is important that an individual recognizes racial attitudes, behaviours and thoughts in a manner which is against their normal habits of being and thinking that take race into account. Furthermore, Ansell (2006) posits that the colour-blind concept has been mutated from discourses which supported anti-racist practices during the apartheid era and which assists the denial of whites' racial hierarchy and their avoidance to acknowledge racial privilege. Therefore, one can try to see in reality racial differences in a different way.

Many of the discussion groups referred back to colour-blindness in the context of the SIPs when discussing their own identities.



“I don’t have any problem with anyone, I am enjoying with everyone. In my team we don’t talk these things. Only when there is a problem in township and our coach informs us that we shouldn’t be part of this kind of thing. I mean, when they fighting in groups like blacks fighting against coloured in group from different communities etc...” White male discussion group (6), July 2013

Some scholars, in particular proponents of critical race theory, assert that colour-blindness is a tactic, albeit, an unconscious one, used to distance oneself from uncomfortable beliefs and actions (DeCuir and Dixon, 2004). However, the notion of colour-blindness among some of the youth may indicate that there is no longer segregation and discrimination in post-apartheid South Africa after the 1994 democratic election.

The SIPs, through many collaborative activities, teach the youth to construct social harmony as a norm which can result in equality among the youth groups from different racial groups. However, colour-blindness discourse can also eliminate from public debate the need to hold discussions on transformation and racism, which further entrenches racialized inequalities and imbalances ‘including in sport’ (Gallagher, 2003). As such, the discussion group assertion or pretention of being colour-blind in relation to the past seems to be furthering inequalities, by highlighting the way in which apartheid legacy impacts the post-apartheid South Africa. Thus, it seems important for the SIPs to maintain the balance between the history of the past and meeting its anticipated goals or change.

On the other hand, discussion groups claim that the past belongs to their parents and through those sentiments serve to distance themselves from the past, which may create problems in the SIPs’ work in relation to the identification of participants’ need-based program design and implementation of their programs.

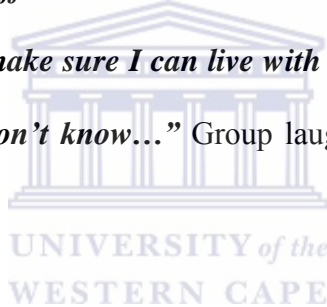
“...my parents and elder brothers know what racism is. As to me I don’t know. I was not born during apartheid and I didn’t see what was happening at that time...” Female discussion Group (7), 2013

“My mother, you know! She told me I should not be part of a race or skin of color; I don’t have to know about what happened in the past. She thinks I will end up hating other people from other race. My mom passed away and I am looked after by aftercare in this program...” White male, discussion group (6), December 2014

“...I have to see my future, I learned this from sport attendance, I don’t want to go back and put myself in problem. All I need is to do my school and sport, to make good friends from any class or race. I want that”. Coloured female, discussion group (6), November 2014

From the above group discussions, participants are trying to clarify more socially undesirable thoughts, beliefs and stereotypes and project these away from the self, to keep their positive self-image (Van Dijk, 1997). Projecting racist feelings and ideologies on to the past, individuals are going to contribute their own efficient state on to others, considering themselves as foreign to the self, and reducing unpleasant and uncomfortable feelings about the self (Clark, 2003). Yet, besides these developments, some in the discussion groups were aware of the fact that race practices in the past not only relates to the present, but also their future.

“...It doesn’t affect me now...not at all. I must see the future. I can live peacefully with other groups and communities different than mine. For example, if I finish my study, I will be working somewhere, I must make sure I can live with anyone. My coach tells us maybe I will marry a white man – I don’t know...” Group laughter’. African female, discussion group (6), November 2013



In the same way, besides several attempts to reject the apartheid past, some in discussion groups seem to make constant claims to the same past.

“...like my dad will always tell us the hatred he has for blacks. It is like he will not come to terms with this thing. As to me, if I don’t change my thinking, race will be there forever...”

White male, discussion group (7), November, 2014

“...my parents teach me about history of apartheid also radio, news later and TV. I feel my parents when they talk of apartheid. It feels like you were with them and also the pain. You feel it”. Coloured male, focus group (5), November 2013

Some in the discussion group acknowledge that they are who they are not because of their past, but also because of their parents’ past. In many respects, like in the context of the last

respondent, it can be argued as meaningful in terms of speaking to trans-generational trauma, where traumatic historical legacies may be transmitted individually through the unconscious communication of parents and grandparents as well as cultural exchanges. Histories of violent conflicts such as South Africa's has trans-generational transmission of trauma from generation to generation, it is relevant to recognize that the victims', and the perpetrators' children unwittingly live the ghostly legacies and secrets of their parents and parental generations (Schwab, 2004). Thus, these are very important concepts to be recognized by the SIPs practitioners in their program development to create new approaches to be able to combat, and reduce underlying racial conflict.

6.3.2 Perceived 'Born Frees' Identities in Relation to 'Rainbow Nation' and the SIPs

"...we have one national flag, anthem, we are one and the same..." Male African, discussion group (5), November 2013

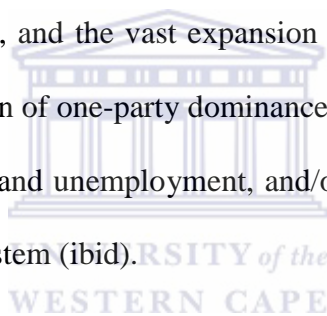
President Mandela's discourse on a 'Rainbow Nation' can be seen as an ideal or a master narrative in which lay a persuasive idea of a multicultural democracy in an attempt to resolve social issues among previously antagonistic races, to create mutually reconciled cultures, and to unify racial groups to live in harmony. Although this powerful image has persisted in the rhetoric of the new South Africa, the ideal is inspired by many youth and adult South Africans after apartheid. Notwithstanding that the post-apartheid history suggests that the expected level of the 'Born Frees' commitment to the new democratic regime is by no means evidence of this, or cannot be justified (Matte, 2012).

"...I don't have a problem with any one, the thing is, why is our school and communities not like the whites? I always ask myself. As young as like me, whites drive nice flashy cars. Ummm.. I sometimes get jealous, I don't hate them..." African Male, discussion group (6b), November 2013

“...many times we even struggle to get bread but it is not good to complain...” Coloured female, discussion group (9), November 2013

“Look! Apartheid was criminal. They put all the system to rule us even this time after freedom. This kids we don’t want them to feel like us, it is better we don’t tell them, how apartheid left blacks and coloureds poorer... We put our efforts to give them peace of mind. We teach them in the field and in classes... about how to live in harmony” African Coach, interview (6), July 2013

The above discussion raised questions, depending upon whether one focuses on the potential impacts of the newfound opportunities of the post-1994 democratic dispensation, the new schooling system and curriculum, and the vast expansion of infrastructural development or, on the other hand, the continuation of one-party dominance (with the ANC replacing the NP), the everlasting levels of poverty and unemployment, and/or the popular view, on the notion of the dysfunctional education system (ibid).



On the other hand, the democratic elections in 1994, with its metaphor of a ‘Rainbow Nation’ have in many instances become a symbol of peace and reconciliation among the country’s diverse population (Bornman, 2006). The symbol/metaphor itself extends out of the country’s long history of conflict and strife, and aims to project an image of different racial, ethnic and cultural groups being united and living in accord as colour-blind.

“I had one white and few coloured friends at school. After I started participating in sport, Umm... I start to meet many Coloured and Zulus from another communities, I am Xhosa. It was difficult for the first time, but later we become good friends, I feel I am blessed because it is good to have different friends; we even start to learn one another’s language. They teach me few words of Afrikaans and I teach them

Xhosa, I am happy but, we don't have many whites in this program; I don't know why they don't come, Eish! I feel I can make good friend with them". Come on we are rainbow" (group laughter) Female African discussion group (1), November 2013.

"We are the same? We are South Africans; we sing the same national anthem together even here before we start our sport activities also prayer, we have one South African flag, I love it. ei...ei...eiii... I don't understand why I feel I am different, maybe because I am black? We enjoy together our games and traditional music while we are playing, we also talk one another before and after sport, I've made many coloured friends from other communities, it feels nice but ya!". Male African, discussion group (5), November 2013

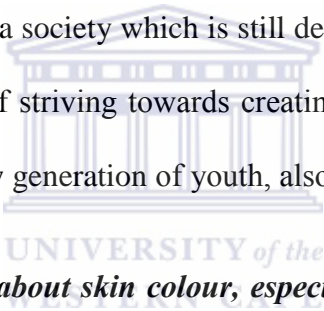
The above sentiments highlight the affirmation of contemporary South Africa as a multiracial democratic society, which embraces its diversity. Symbolically, the image of the 'Rainbow Nation', also popularized by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in 1994, and often used to describe the post-apartheid South Africa, as the most poignant of a number of symbols used to promote the idea of a free, non-sexist, multiracial democratic society within the process of reconciliation.

After the demise of apartheid, many symbols have been used and created to keep South Africans united, which include constitutional recognition of eleven official languages, and the country's unique hybrid/mixed national anthem, 'NkosiSikelel'iAfrika. As such, it can be argued that the master narratives of the 'Rainbow Nation' including the other metaphors such as the above new national anthem, and flag, including the constitution, have played a significant and discursive role in the transition to the new democratic dispensation (Puttic, 2011); and sport is an area in which these processes can take place. Notwithstanding that

sport is not necessarily bad or good, it is a social construct, and sport's purpose in society rests on how it is utilized (Sudgen, 2005).

The group discussions echoes Bornam's (2006) and Franch and Swart's (2003) assertion that the new narrative of this dispensation attempts to offer new and different identity possibilities predicated on the recognition and reversal of past inequalities, and the construction of a sentiment of national unity that integrates previously designated 'racially constructed' differences into a vision of a meaningful and valued national identity. Individual identities such as sport identities develop not only in interpersonal and community contexts, but also in the cultural and historical contexts in (Lederach, et.al., 2007; Goosens and Phinney, 1996).

In many respects, South Africa is a society which is still deeply marked by its racialized past, but there is also a strong sense of striving towards creating a different 'present' and a new future, particularly among the new generation of youth, also referred to as 'Born Frees'.



"I don't start not to care about skin colour, especially after I see and met speak to white and black friends here. Yes! I have some feeling inside, but I am able to speak to them, and also they speak to me. Eeee...After game, our coach always teaches us to look after one another no matter about our skin colour. Last week my black friend Tholani, visited our house and we had a good time at home. It is nice!"

Coloured male, discussion group (5), December 2013

"I think I feel different when we sing the 'national Anthem' and when we carry our national flag? It tells me we are brothers and sisters but many people they don't think like that". African Male, discussion group (5), December 2012

"I love to see the flag in the way we do in the sport program. It belongs to all of us regardless our skin colour. I feel proud when our national teams or runners win

and when the flag is above all flag in Olympic and other games”. Female Coloured, group discussion (2), March 2012

The above group discussions highlight the value of celebrating diversity and unity in sport. The participants of the discussion groups within the SIPs seem to recognize and understand the importance of harmonious race relations and democracy, while rejecting apartheid legacy and its racialized ideologies. Thus, coloured, black and white identities in contemporary South Africa seem negotiated in relation to the current South African context, which in many ways are framed by the narratives of ‘Rainbow Nationalism’.

Cwick (2007) claims that, an important step in the process of national reconciliation is to move away from conflict identities to a more inclusive and bridging national identity. In other words, reconciliation is not only forgiveness, but also restructuring and redressing social issues and distorted structures after violent conflict. Furthermore, re-building relationships is also a critical component of reconciliation and peace-building after conflict (Lederach, 1997).

The 1995 Springboks Rugby World Cup win by South Africa provides a good symbolic example, when President Nelson Mandela took that opportunity and called for national identity and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. The Springboks played under an official slogan ‘*One Team - One Country*’, specifically when Chester Williams, the only coloured player in the team, was promoted as an icon for rugby in the ‘new’ South Africa (Grundlingh, 1998).

Hosted and won by South Africa, the 1995 Rugby World Cup served as an “opiate for the masses” since people were enthralled by the sporting event. Thus, black, coloured, and white youth identities in contemporary South Africa are negotiated in relation to the current South

African context, which is framed, in many respects, by the discourse of a ‘Rainbow Nation’. The efforts by the ANC at national level to transform key institutions, including the post-apartheid sport in South Africa, to become more representative of the nation in order for more people to identify with them; can advance integration and reconciliation in the light of the SIPs.

“I see and talk with many young people like me who belong to another race. They are people like me also play with them. I am not worried about their race, religion or beliefs anything like that. I learn from them, they learn from me”. Male African, Discussion group (3), December 2013.

“I feel proud even when our white rugby players win the world cup, when our flag raise up high in the world. I wish Bafana-Bafana do the same, to make black people happier. It makes you feel proud. Eeeesh! Is good!” African Female, discussion group (2), January 2014.

As such, Walker (2005a) argues that young South Africans are likely to make complicated and more or less conscious investments in choosing some subject positions over others, in becoming and being one kind of person rather than another. Well organized sport is also believed to contribute to the process of broader societal transformation (Kidd, 2008; Keim, 2009; Sudgen, 2010). The racialized youth within the SIPs seem consciously attempting to assimilate with the tenets of the ‘Rainbow Nation’ and its key value of racial acceptance into their identities. This is perhaps a subconscious counter reaction in the current socio-cultural context where racism carries extremely undesirable social connotations in post-apartheid South Africa, and within the SIPs.

During the course of the discussion group, it was assumed unfair to question participants too harshly, but the participants' hesitance to talk of their personal experience in between their discussion, in particular, in relation to the 'rainbow nation' on issues of racism, was simply to portray oneself as colour-blind and racially accepting. Yet, despite this, it is necessary to critically examine not only what was said, but also the function it serves including in the context of the SIP. Thus, it is also essential to look beyond the rhetorical strategies employed to distance the self from racialized ideologies, which are largely assigned to the past and to apartheid. The reasons as to why people endeavour to align themselves with the ideologies of the 'Rainbow Nation' vary. Perhaps one way of understanding this, is to consider the way in which individuals will create unpremeditated specific situations to fit certain contextualising structures (such as audience expectations, justification of emerging feelings, etc.). The following contradictory discussions were exhibited.

6.4 The Race and Racism in post-apartheid South Africa

First, this section intends to explore how racialized youth identities are being redefined in the new South Africa, where the effects of race and racism are almost being down played, and how manifestation of reconciliation and integration become central in the life of the South African youth in relation to the SIPs.

While apartheid institutionalized cultural capital, and instilled among whites a smooth pathway in the life of white people, blacks and coloured seem to have lost their own tradition and culture. However, after the new political dispensation, post 1994, whiteness seems to have lost some of its cultural capital whilst African culture continued to recreate itself as socially valued and desirable. Thus, blackness, colouredness and whiteness seem in a state of volatility where none of them seems powerful (Snyman, 2008).

“... I feel racism at this time is much better than immediately after 1994. People including those youth start to understand how badly it can destroy communities but still it’s rife. From my experience, I feel not better; we need to change people’s thinking such as in this program...” White male coordinator, interview (3b), November 2013

“...I am may able to go to coloured communities, many people are ‘shap’ or okay but I don’t trust because many was stabbed in the past...” African male, discussion group (4), November 2013

The above response seems to highlight the running and shifting nature of identities, the notion of which is supported by studies such as the one carried out by Walker (2005a), in which she investigated personal narratives of a group of youth from different racial groups of undergraduate students and the institutional discourse at an historically white Afrikaans university which was undergoing a process of transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. She found that there was a complex unfolding of both Rainbow Nationalism and ‘new racism’, and noted that the university’s official discourse on transformation seemed a little more difficult due to older apartheid ideology, which lives on in aspects of the symbolic life of the campus. Furthermore, she felt that the lives of all the students, whether it is acknowledged or not, are marked by ‘race’, racialization, and racialized subjectivities. However, despite this there are indications of delicate social change at work, despite the new forms which are emerging. For instance, differences in social class, school background and gender are intersecting with ‘race’ (Walker, 2005a).

“...I am South African so I don’t see any difference between me and other group. I love to go and meet-up with other race, my friends from school and in this program...” African male female, discussion group (4b), July 2013

“I really don’t see myself different than others, it is with this in mind I help the girls to maintain stand like me. We all belong one another, and when your behaviour and attitude is right, other people are right with you, like if I go to my coloured people” Coloured female role model, interview (6), July 2013 coach, interview

The above responses echo similarly the view of Walker and Norris et al., cited in Puttic (2011) who conducted a study that investigated the collective national identity among young adolescents in post-apartheid South Africa. They focussed on the ongoing identity development of a cohort of 14 year-old South African adolescents who were uniquely positioned to embrace and/or struggle with and resist a collective national identity. It was found that black youth were more likely to define themselves as part of a cultural collective, either by language, religion, or ethnicity.

Norris et al. (2008) also found that white youths expressed that they felt that ‘race’ relations were more harmonious in South Africa today than in the past. Black youths, however, expressed reservations about South Africa with respect to racial harmony and economic hardship, which many felt had not improved much in post-1994 South Africa. Yet, despite these misgivings, black youth expressed a sense of greater happiness with the affairs of the country and greater faith in government when compared to white youths.

I feel the ANC is our government and the policy is right, we can all find a way to live in harmony...” African coach, interview (6), November 2014

The above responses contradict each other. However, this disconnection is indicative of the strong influence that different racialized identities can have on individuals’ beliefs about their social worlds and the kinds of social experiences members of different groups have against a backdrop of dramatic political change (Norris et al., 2008). However, it may be hard to

discover these intrinsic feelings, but the SIPs' practitioners should put more emphasis on such perceptions which can be unpacked by the theory of change and program logic, which assist to easily find mechanisms and integrate into existing intervention program design.

Hook (2004c) notes that attempts to isolate racism to the abnormal subject essentially turns a problem of social power into a problem of individual psychology, thereby supporting racist ideologies, albeit covertly. Such individualising frames of reference not only absolve the self from the responsibility of racism but also avoid approaching racism as a normative condition of a given society. Thus, individuals essentially distance themselves from the negative self-image created by acknowledging the existence of such beliefs within the self (Clarke, 2003).

“Look! We want this sport program to use against apartheid segregation. We want them to know they belong to one another; teach them to love and care for one another regardless their skin colour by telling those stories. ...we provide them many examples when they play practically – how they must collaborate in and out of field....” African coach, interview (1), November 2014

“I was fortunate that I did attend some training in Joburg where you teach young people moral and values. I am teaching them how they can conduct themselves over weekends... they must respect and assist elders people including their parents. Sport is all about respect to human being, environment including animals!...”

Coloured official, interview (3), November 2014

The above narratives seem to suggest that respondents know that to a large extent the youth identity is still shaped by apartheid's discourse, but are also trying to integrate the lessons learned within the SIPs. The coaches and managers are providing the youth with counter narratives that seem to detract from the old apartheid discourse within the SIPs. The 'counter

narratives' run opposite or counter to the presumed status quo control. These narratives such as telling stories, teaching by doing etc... are in conflict with and are critical of the old apartheid discourse, often arise out of individual or group experiences that do not fit the master old narratives. Counter discourse narratives act to deconstruct the master narratives, and they offer alternatives to the dominant discourse (Stanley, 2007). Thus, while these findings suggest that vestiges of apartheid are still ever present, there is also cause to suggest that these vestiges are being disrupted and new discourses are being forged within the SIPs.

“...I don't have the feeling like my mom does. She comes from apartheid ... But for me, I don't have that reason, I am born when things were changed” Coloured female, discussion group (6), July 2013)

You know? I am loved by many young people that I earned when I represented my country as an athlete. I go all over to sport program such as this. I chat with the youth on how I become famous, the fact that they must behave themselves. They shouldn't drink and smoke, they shouldn't commit crime, they must stand against any social ill in their communities. I tell them about my own friends who were criminals and who have been shot to death. All of these can make a difference. They are young and listen carefully and understand...” African sport role model, interview (4), November 2013

These statements seem to re-iterate the changing landscape of South Africa where youth identity should be deconstructed with exemplary discourses or counter discourses. These counter narratives suggest that while South Africa still has a long way to go in terms of national healing and reconciliation, that the racial terrain in South Africa is changing, albeit slowly.

As stated previously, there was a great impetus amongst the participants to distance themselves from racist beliefs and prejudices. This functions not only as a means of presenting the self in a more socially desirable manner or change, but also distances the self from unpleasant emotions and self-perceptions associated with such beliefs within the SIPs. When reflecting on race, racism, and the need for integration, many of the participants made a distinction between personal/internal and social/external loci of control.

The term 'locus of control' refers to beliefs about whether the outcomes of an individual or group's actions are attributed to what they did {internal control} or circumstances beyond their control {external control} (Rotter, cited in Puttic, 2011). Many of the participants tended to ascribe an external locus of control to racism and racists. This seemed to serve to distance the self from such beliefs, thereby decreasing feelings of shame and accountability (ibid). Furthermore, by assigning an external locus of control to others who were perceived as being racist towards the self, the participants were able to somehow lessen feelings of hurt and scorn. This seemed to mirror how the emotional impact of apartheid was diminished by rationalising acts of racism (Bloom, 1996). Similarly, one could argue that by blaming the racist acts and beliefs of others on an external locus of control, participants are essentially blaming their own racist attitudes and beliefs on the external, thereby decreasing a culturally undesirable sense of self.

“After joining the sport program, I learned from many people. Archbishop Tutu came and advises us how we must care and love one another. He said apartheid was our enemy who separate us now apartheid is gone...” White male, discussion group (7), November 2014

“The UN encourages young people to learn fairness through sport. Sport is a tool to unite and empower young people and communities. We are not interested in elite

sport but the grassroots sport. We believe sport to play vital role in achieving Millennium development Goals (MDGs). The UN supports grassroots and it is immensely involved in African countries where conflict and war are evident. We network with South African community sports these in townships". UN official on Sport for Development, and Peace interview (10), October 2014

However, by splitting the locus of control between the internal and external locus of control in this manner limits individuals' abilities to shift their understanding of the situation and critically engage in the broader systemic power structures and limits the possibility of interrogating any deeply seated ideologies at a deeper level. It must, however, be stressed that individual racist or antiracism acts are not isolated instances of bigoted behaviour but reflection of the broader, larger, structural, and institutional fact of white hegemony (Taylor, 1998).

Furthermore, there is a failure to examine the systemic obstacles that impact on individual agency and choice thereby limiting the pursuit of any real change. Similarly, such discourse serves to enable the individual to distance themselves from any unpleasant feelings or there is also the sense that multiculturalism is more concerned with the appearance of being multicultural and racially accepting than with actually maintaining those beliefs. This seems to cast further doubt upon the motives behind multiculturalism, where one could argue that it essentially serves to maintain the status quo.

6.5 The Construction of 'Sameness' and 'Otherness' within the SIPs

Arguably, literature, in particular on race, seems to focus more on white identity and whiteness, often at the exclusion of blackness, and black identities. Some scholars criticize mainstream psychology for mainly focussing on marginalized and excluded groups (Miller,

2001). Generally, blackness in apartheid was perceived or rather comprised all black South African ethnics. However, the perception of blackness was informed by apartheid's master narrative (segregation), and is often at odds with the narratives of the 'Rainbow Nation', and its proposed notion of racial tolerance and reconciliation. As the result of these two conflicting narratives, many whites may be left with uncomfortable and difficult feelings. They expressed uneasy feelings in relation to blacks, blackness and black culture. There was an interesting, and vibrant discussion that emerged from the mixed discussion groups in which they discussed not only identified racial categories, but also forms of racism among the black ethnicities.

“When I met many young black and coloured through this program, they seem friendly and, they didn't avoid me because of my white skin, but some of them do. They don't come and talk to me the way blacks do to one another or it takes them too long to come forward and talk to me. I don't worry about race? My parents ask me about this, and I tell them the same thing. This thing of race is history. I like to have friends no matter what their colour is. I love every one” – ‘group laughter’ –

White male, Discussion group (6), 10 December 2011

“Point of correction! ‘Eish!’ eiei..you are wrong, even blacks among us do that. If you are from Zulu, the Zulus are more comfortable to come to you, the same with Xhosas. This is because people from one culture speak the same language, when you speak the same; it is like you are speaking to your mom or sister. We feel comfortable with one another, not because of other things. Ummmm.Ya!” African

male Discussion group (6), December 2011

My friend is right; you whites also do the same. For example, if you met with two new people one Coloured and the other one a White; you will be more comfortable

with the white than the coloured. Am I right? It is the same! I also get close to coloured than others; they can speak Afrikaans (my language). Maybe this is natural. Coloured Male, discussion group (6), December 2011.

The above discussion shows how respondents sub-consciously identify themselves with their own racial or ethnic categories (in group) within the SIP. This discussion exemplifies the theoretical concept underpinning social change of Tajfel and Turner's (1979; 1986) social identity theory (SIT) which explores how people come to see themselves as members of one group (in-group) in comparison to another (out-groups). It can therefore be argued that part of the sport participant individual's self-concept that derives from their knowledge of their membership of racial or ethnic group or groups together with the value, and emotional significance attached to their membership (e.g., the perception of language) emerged as drive in the above discussion groups.

The post-apartheid South African communities, society in general, is perceived in terms of racial groups (Miller, 2001). The SIT identified by De la Rey (1992), Tajfel and Turner (1979) appears relevant and/or seem to fit into this study. Their theories propose the individual is constructed relatively to inter-group dynamics. Their theories postulate that individuals would like to be perceived in a positive light, and they would therefore endeavour to form relations with groups that enjoy the highest status and privilege, and in the same way dissociate themselves from groups that do not improve their social identity. Such alignment assumes that intergroup permeability and social mobility is more acceptable.

6.6 The Discomforts on exclusion in Contemporary South African Sport

“Blacks were not allowed to represent their countries during apartheid. Now also they brought this quota and affirmative action. It does not work in sport. Why can't they give us

necessary resources and we can produce good players to represent their countries. It makes sense in other area but not in sport, we need talent and we can produce it but we need resources". Coloured coach, interview (9f), November 2013.

"...forget during apartheid! Even these days, most players including blacks are selected from Gauteng not from Western Cape or other provinces. Why? What can we say? They must think about it. We can't blame apartheid when we, ourselves are apartheid to ourselves again, I mean!!...this days Many of the players during apartheid" African coach, interview (3a), November 2013.

"I really don't understand, unlike our program, sport is about competition and winning as well. There was no need for these policies in the name of representation. You can narrow gaps by providing well trained coaches and sport infrastructures in communities that was neglected. They will learn and practice; they can be better players than whites? Why not?"

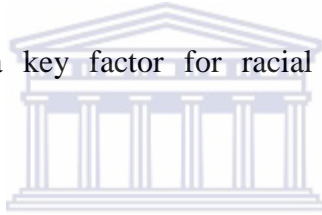
White program coordinator, interview (6), July 2013



The above face-to-face interview responses from participants from different racial backgrounds, in similar fashion exemplifies the criteria that were applied to assess black players in order to justify their exclusion during apartheid (Miller, 2011). On the other hand respondents seem uncomfortable with the policy instruments implemented after apartheid such as the quota system for representation. Most of the interviewees in this study attributed to the lack of sport resources, and access, in particular in previously marginalized townships and communities, not to a lack of talent or sport skills. However, the extent to which the performance criteria has shifted in post-apartheid South Africa is still debated on the so called 'Development Players' (black players representing national teams are perceived still as token players, they are with the national teams simply because of quota, and not merit).

From the above responses, exclusion of black and coloured players from representing their country in sport during apartheid epitomizes Neethling (1999), who claims that the tactical reasons that are used to legitimise the omission or replacement of black and coloured players were not necessarily applied to assess white players.

The responses on the need for social change are in agreement with Capra's (1982) assertion that the concepts and value of a need for change is, firstly, to solve the many societal problems. The need to integrate sport intervention programs with peace education informally seem to contribute to individual and group participants with regard to instilling the necessary skills and knowledge to end racial tensions among the youth and enhance a culture of peace. Most of the interviewees emphasised the notion of individual empowerment, which is perceived by the coaches as a key factor for racial and other societal problems in communities.



Hoglund and Sundberg (2008) assert that if individuals in conflict torn communities empower themselves, reconciliation is being considered as promoted. Studies conducted among undergraduates in tertiary institutions by Asihel (2009) suggest that rational thinking resonates in empowered individuals, who are vulnerable but also have the capacity to discuss underlying societal problems, including gender and racial issues with non-violence means, and set an example in communities (Ibid). Furthermore, most of the face-to-face interviews echo the Transformation Charter for South African Sport (2010) which postulates that a change not only of how it works and how it is structured, but how people think, interact participate and perform by the will of everyone knowing that it is a journey requiring commitment, intention and full participation.

“I like in coaching and educating the female youth who most live in disadvantaged and devastated communities, where poverty, rape being the most problem. I always

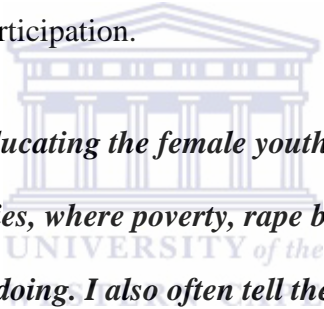
teach them practically by doing. I also often tell them success stories including how important to networking with other fellow females including with coloured and white females after or before the sport programs. My hope is that these youth who are taking part in this sport program can make a change in their communities. They can live by example. They can also teach their peers who unfortunately are not part of this program. They can be role models so others can follow their steps. We trying our best, Archbishop Tutu is our partner, he regularly come and visit and even talk to them; in the hope they can get inspired and change their thinking”

African female coach interviewee (1), July 2013.

In understanding how racial conflicts can be intervened through the sport intervention program and in large scale, the above female coach stressed on the positive effects of transferring knowledge to their communities, the ‘ripple effect’ (Sudgen, 2010). The female interviewee believes that the youth in the SIPs will have opportunity to spread knowledge and results broadly. In the context of the respondent, the transfer effect of the sport intervention program seems to suggest that the intended change at the individual and relational level (micro and meso) which occurs during the intervention program will have ever-widening circles of impact as participants take their experience back into their respective communities. The SIPs seem to create an environment that promotes the adoption of new innovative non-violent conflict resolution skills, ideals that promote a culture of peace and change. As such, reconciliation and integration are achieved by the principal of cooperation and transfer of knowledge to the broader society. This is in agreement with Maregere (2009) that racial reconciliation is a process that seeks to develop the necessary cooperation to enable people in conflict situations to coexist and live together again in the same society.

6.7 The Ripple Effect

Hoglund and Sundberg (2008) assert that if individuals in conflict torn communities empower themselves, reconciliation is being considered as promoted. Studies conducted among undergraduate in tertiary institutions by Asihel (2009) suggest that rational thinking resonates in an empowered individuals, who are vulnerable but also the capacity to discuss underlying societal problems, including gender and racial issues with non-violence means, and set an example in communities (Asihel, 2009). Furthermore, most of the face-to-face interviews echoes the Transformation Charter for South African Sport (2010) which postulate that a change not only of how it works and how it is structured, but how people think, interact participate and perform by the will of everyone knowing that it is a journey requiring commitment, intention and full participation.



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African Female coach interviewee (1), July 2013.

In understanding how racial conflicts can be intervened by the sport intervention program and in large scale, the above female coach stressed on the possibility of transferring effect of

knowledge in to their community, the ‘ripple effect’ (Sugden, 2010). The female interviewee believes that the youth in the SIPs will have opportunity to spread knowledge and results broadly. In the context of the respondent, the transfer effect of the sport intervention program seem to suggest that the intended change at the individual and relational level (micro and meso) which occur during the intervention program will have over-widening circles of impact as participants take their experience, back in to their perspective communities. The SIPs seems to create an environment that promotes adoption of new innovative non-violent conflict resolution skills, ideals that promote a culture of peace, and change. As such, reconciliation and integration are achieved by the principal of cooperation, and transfer of knowledge to the broader society. This is in agreement with Maregere (2009) that racial reconciliation is a process that seeks to develop the necessary cooperation to enable people in conflict situation, and coexist and live together again in the same society.

6.8 Societal issues as Triggers for Racial Violence

Within the discussions and interviews respondents alluded to some of the tragic incidents between racial groups that occur within their communities.

“The reason why it is not easy for me to trust other people from other colour is, there are many black people who was killed for money and cell phones by coloured and also coloured by blacks, they stabbing by knives each other every day even for bread and cool drink!” African male, discussion group (8) June 2012

“Adult people even the young use alcohol and drugs, they don’t have job but they rob and use the money for these things. They don’t know what they are doing, is wrong. If someone has no food, he must attack another person for food other race different than their own...”

Coloured male, Discussion group (8), June 2012

“Even in my school, people get stabbed and killed for cell phones, they ask you money for drag and tic, if you say I don’t have, they stab you...” African male, discussion group (8), June 2013

The above discussions and responses support Lederach’s (1997) assertion that societal issues are triggers of conflict, which result in broken relationships, and he believes that relationship aids the beginning and end of conflict. The responses also support the endeavours of the SIPs in attempting to bring peaceful co-existence and the end to the conflict.

The above sentiments, however, are contrary to Mattes’ (2012) view, who claims that the ‘Born frees’ have experienced a series of peaceful democratic elections that increasingly turn on new issues and personalities with diminishing links to the past. Furthermore, the youth also receive almost universal education in reformed schools, and attend racially inclusive universities. Further, there is even a wider income gap between rich and poor blacks, than between blacks and whites as a whole (Leibbrandt and Levinsohn 2011). However, the ongoing education programs with conflict resolution and collaborative methods by the SIPs which are conducted by NGOs seem to reduce racism and violence in schools and communities.

Discussion groups were asked what they think of the causes of the racial violence that impact the lives of many youth in their communities:

“I am not sure but I think it is because of the message that we get from our parents and relatives. We grew up being told whites are against blacks (they kill blacks), but relatively okay with coloured people and so on. ‘Mna!’ We don’t know what happen in the past but we also learn at school, watch it the Television and newspapers”. African male discussion group (7), June 2012

“It is the way we live. We coloureds live different places than the black and white. When we see black people passing, we consider them like strangers not like our brothers and sisters. Blacks also have the same behaviour. It is nice to go to different communities and play there, everybody seem friendly”. Coloured female, discussion group (1), June 2012

“I feel guilty when I ever see bad things happen to blacks and other races, but I was not there. Simply because I am white, and black and coloured also see me as if I did these things. When we play soccer, I like us to discuss things together, the feeling is different, and you don’t see all these things”. White male, discussion group (2), November 2013

The SIPs’ assessment shows that the majority of participants expressed fewer racial stereotypes and less racism compared to youth who were not part of the programme. From the findings, the role of sport in fostering racial integration among the youth from different racial and ethnic backgrounds seem to result in some integral factors in building relationships such as sport as a non-verbal means of communication; engaging in collective experience and establishing direct physical contact; and sport’s ability to transcend existing racial divisions. In general, many of the SIP participants in the discussion groups seem in favour of racial integration and further inter-racial socialisation compared to how they felt about this before they joined the SIPs.

“I am aware that relationship among the youth is the most fundamental in everything I do with the youth. Team cohesion, communication on and off the sport field, and sympathetic care are so important to develop among the youth in order for us to meet our objectives. We are more in building relationships so that they can start to enhance these imperatives in their own lives...” Coloured female coach, interview (9), July 2013

The above responses epitomize the notion that sport is attributed to function as a means of bridging relationships across social, economic and cultural divides in communities. The sense of belonging and shared identity among the youth can lead to more homogeneous shared identities than conflicting racial identities. Relationship-building is the most central component of peace-building, and highlights the importance of intervention programs that explicitly focus on strategic networking (Lederach, 2007). The web of relationships is significant in the process of building relationships, all relationships are not linked to, or dependent on a single individual or small number of individuals. Rather, they include horizontal connections at the community level across groups and institutions, as well as vertical links to influential leaders and decision-makers outside the community (ibid). For example, in the context of this study, the NGOs who run the SIPs are well positioned to facilitate the process of relationship-building among the South African youth with different racial backgrounds, in dialogue and programs that cross diverse boundaries.

“I want to see these young people to learn how to be fair within the rule of sport then they can extend this to other areas in their communities. Look! For example we have volunteering programs where they assist in communities and we mix them because we want them to communicate on what they do in communities. This shapes their relationship and affects positively their perception on one another. It is simple!” African coach, interview (7), November 2014).

The notion of establishing community sport organizations with intervention programs such as the participation of the youth in volunteering activities generates social ties and community infrastructure that help to build relationships and stability in communities after conflict (Putnam, 2000). The SIPs seem to provide shared experiences between partners on anti-social change practices and on racialized youth identities and relationships. Sharing sport

experiences through participation may result in increasingly racial group understanding, the youth can realize that they are alike, rather than different. This shared ritual identity based on relationships can strengthen their sense of belonging on the basis of shared goals, to erase the conflict and effects of perceptions or persistent negative characterizations of racial groups in communities.

6.9 Inclusion as Fundamental in Building Relationships

The method of getting participants into the sport program is a key and first step to the SIPs in order to commence with their intervention programs. Given the history and legacy of apartheid, there are various reasons why inclusion and exclusion have become a concern of national importance in post-apartheid. Apartheid and its legacy provide clearer insights and lessons. It is relevant to acknowledge that the efforts to reconcile racialized and conflicting groups after conflict is inspired by the TRC and its constitutional processes, including by the post-TRC initiatives. It is equally important to understand reconciliation as a critical component to peace-building; it is an ongoing, long but also complex process, which demands, among others, structural reform at macro level in society.

Manoto (2009) claims that the post-apartheid South African government institutionalized legal frameworks and policy, which prioritized social inclusion, non-discrimination, and social justice including equity measures, and as such, social cohesion and inclusion have yielded general acceptance by the public and its social structures. (Putnam, 2000) postulates that while social cohesion and inclusion are believed to bond people and communities in positive relationships, social exclusion is a device to promote conflict between group or groups in society.

On the other hand, the theory of change clarifies precaution on the selection of potential beneficiaries including the intervention practitioners to work with within intervention programs. It is stated that, specifically if the focus of the program is racial conflict, participants from different racial background deserve an equal right to be recruited and that no individual or group should be excluded.

In the context of this study, the nature and context of the social problem to be addressed, the sport participants are central to the design of the intervention program. Thus, it was felt to ask program leaders and managers within SIPs whether there are particular criteria or methods used to recruit potential participants.

“We don’t have any procedure to recruit participants; everyone who wants to join our program is welcomed. We have varieties of programs, not only soccer. We have Hiking for Peace’, we have art and music, and we also have outing programs, to introduce them with other communities (such as coloured to blacks etc.). We also have after care facilities, where we look after these youth without parents, to provide them with food, soap including other necessities. So they make their own choices in which program to participate, we try to be holistic”. African male coach, interview (2), July 2012.

“Most of them they register for after care, that’s when we give them choice which program they want to participate. I work for ‘Intonjae’ (which means preventing HIV/AIDS), aim is to combat HIV/AIDS spread among the youth and community. We educate males and females more focus to stay abstain from, if not use condoms. Our program are attractive that capture parents and whole community. They are a mix from diverse cultures. We also have an educational support program, we help

them to do their homework. It is just everything we do for them". African female coach, interview (4), July 2012.

The data from this study seems to contradict Clark's (date), criticism of the post-apartheid South African Sport for Development Programs. He noted that development programs that are assumed to empower previously disadvantaged or marginalized groups or communities often: a) regards the disadvantaged as an homogeneous group with the same needs and abilities; b) the programs do not focus on real impact of the disadvantaged or the poor; and c) these programs do not identify poverty alleviation as a responsibility and objective of their programs (cited in Miller, 2001).

The sport managers, officials and coaches were asked to elaborate on how they recruit the youth as well as on the sport intervention program objectives, and intended results:

"Look! Apartheid left us racially segregated, we were not allowed to play and represent our country such as in rugby and so on. We have so much racial problems and violence in our communities. We don't want this young generation to live in that way. This sport program aims to introduce and integrate as much as many youth with different racial back grounds so that they can learn to appreciate one another. For example, if you look how we start the sport program, we pray, and sing the national anthem together; simply this is meant to tell them they all belong to one South Africa. We want to empower and equip them the value of peaceful relationship through our sport programs so that they can teach their peers in their communities". Coloured male coach, interview (3), June 2012.

"....this program educates the youth about the value of peace, collaboration, oneness and togetherness. I teach them in the field how to collaborate and

communicate as teammate. After the sport program, I always come with newsletters, specifically these with crime, robbery, shooting and all that. I ask them what they heard in the news, on TV and so on. I also bring newsletters; we discuss crimes and their negative effect in our communities. I want to teach them how to be good in life and change their perceptions of the 'other'. Once we agreed on our discussions, I tell them next practice day and time, and we conclude the sport programs". African male coach interview (1), July 2013.

The primary bonding network is the family unit, though other social domains represent potentially distinct bonding networks, whether formal (work/professional, religion, union member) or informal (family, friends). Each network is characterized by its own distinctive forms of internal trust, driven in turn by values and voluntary efforts peculiar to or on behalf of the network. In addition, each network has a potential compounding or reinforcing effect on others. While social capital is relational, its influence is most profound when relationships are among heterogeneous groups, i.e. when there is bridging social capital (Narayan & Cassidy, 2001).

The relationship, vertical relationships between heterogeneous social groups, which is known as linking social capital, is characterized by the connections between those with different levels of power or social status, e.g., links between the political elite and the public or between individuals from different social classes (Woolcock in Bayat, 2007). The capacity of the community to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions outside and beyond the community is a key function of linking social capital. If we start seeing relationships as important for the formation of the various forms of social capital we need frameworks and a place of gathering (conceptually, culturally and physically) where we can foster these relationships.

6.10 Identifying with Role Models

Role models who are engaged with civil society and NGOs in post-apartheid communities play a vital role in the life of the youth and adults as they possess unique sets of personality traits and characteristics to influence and inspire. Bandura (1973) theorized that most programs that draw implicitly from social learning emphasize the importance of modelling and imitation in behavioural change.

“...I try to live by example which is the most important in my life. Interacting with these teenagers who happen to know me in the media makes me feel so proud. You can see for yourself! They are like a white paper, you can write anything on. I tell them my personal stories as a black South African, how I succeeded in my sport career. They listen to advices, and I believe it is my moral duty and legacy to do that...” African male sport model, interview (12), November 2013

“The youth need people like us, to come and share with them our success stories. When I started my sport carrier, I was inspired by many black female athletes who never made it to represent their country at international sport. I also want to inspire this young generation – they don’t have to dwell with the legacy of apartheid ‘hatred’. When you have that in your heart, it doesn’t take you anywhere, it works against you. That is what I tell them...” Coloured female sport role model, interview (11), November 2014

The above responses epitomize the social learning theory, which is an interactive and evolving process, achieved by observing certain behaviours and actions (Bandura, 1977). Learning by doing invokes cognitive dissonance such as sport talents (Stab, 1989). The above sentiments clarify the practices and experiences accumulated through adolescence from role models who provide notions of what socially acceptable behaviour is and what is not.

Furthermore, they also learn how to think and develop strategies for achieving their goals in life. Generally, teenagers are influenced by a variety of adults and peers. Role models can be instrumental in developing career aspirations, educational goals, and consumer behaviour. They can also motivate youth and raise awareness about unhealthy behaviours, like bullying, alcohol and drug abuse etc.. When they have a prevention mind-set, they are more likely to choose role models who provide them with preventative strategies. It can be argued that the Olympic Education is a learning avenue to teach Olympic ideals, where participants are encouraged to learn, comprehend, experience and propagate the Olympic principles in which respect, fair play, friendship and peace are central concepts.

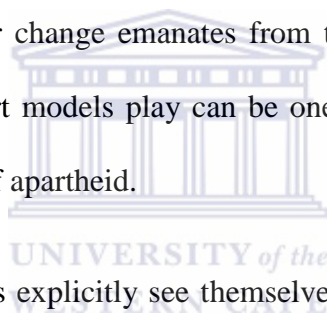
Contrary to the findings of this research, it is relevant to acknowledge that role models inherently have both positive and negative impacts on the youth. Negative role models also influence young people's motivation in different ways than positive ones. A number of studies, in particular, cognitive theories, have shown that human beings learn through modelling others, at an intra-personal level. The gangsters within communities who kill and stab others of their own race are also role models in their own right, who influence vulnerable youth in communities. Many scholars have discovered why some teens are drawn to positive and negative role models. The answer may lie in the mind-sets the youth adopt toward achieving personal goals. However, the SIPs' efforts to teach and make them aware of the merits of becoming a positive role model seem to impact the radicalized youth in contemporary South Africa.

“We invite celebrities and models to our sport programs, because we believe they can make a difference in the life of this young people, the youth need them. They are champions who can inspire. When they spend some time with the youth, they feel they are blessed... more than you can imagine” African coach, interview (11), November 2013

“We have many people who come and teach us many things. I like these females who play sport at national level, they inspire me, and I want to be like them. I am glad to shake their hands whenever they come to visit and encourage us. I like all of them no matter colours, I love them!” Africa female, discussion group (7), November 2014

“There are many crimes in our community by some gangsters, I wish they come here and learn with us. I like to assist my community and people so people can love me. I don’t want to fight or kill but help...” Coloured male, discussion group (8), November 2014)

The above sentiments from the discussion group illustrates that they are more likely to be inspired by the positive role models within the program. In communities ravaged by the legacy of apartheid, the need for change emanates from the individual mind-set. It can be argued that the role that the sport models play can be one of the best examples among the narratives to counter the legacy of apartheid.



The discussion group participants explicitly see themselves as active learners and achievers who accomplish goals through hard work and perseverance. With this type of mind-set, the South African youth strive to achieve the goal of becoming their best selves. From the findings, it also seems that they look toward their role models to show them *the* ways in life.

“I learned from Tata Archbishop Tutu when he told us about ‘ubuntu’. I know we are one and the same South Africans. Sport models are like your mom and dad, they advise so important in life, we learn from them many things. Like for example, we don’t have to fight when we have problems but we can discuss and solve. They teach us to live peacefully”

White male, discussion group (9), November 2014

The role models within the SIPs seem positive in motivating the racialized youth in many ways. The findings indicate that the youth have gained: 1) the ability to coexist and live by

example and inspire others; 2) a clear set of cultural values; 3) a commitment to their own community; 4) a willingness to accept other racial individuals and groups; and 5) the ability to overcome obstacles such as non-violent conflict resolution through discussion and dialogues. The role models demonstrated to the youth how to successfully achieve goals and a sense of self-worth. It can be argued that youth who possess a growth mind-set are likely to gravitate toward these types of positive role models, and have high vulnerability for desirable change in communities.

6.11 Building Relationship for Coexistence as merits of Reconciliation and Integration

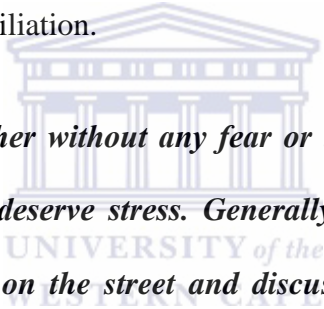
“....team-building which is important in building broader relationship, also ingredient to live together”.

The sport interventions are perceived as non-sexist and non-racial programs, which promote social inclusion, integration and cohesion in a way to advance reconciliation process in post-apartheid. From the above interviews building relationship and trust, the notion of ‘*to living together*’ (coexistence) emerged repeatedly. It felt relevant to ask interviewees to elaborate further.

“Ya!, Our aim is to teach them to collaborate in a lesson team-building, team cohesion, which are important in building wider relationship on and off field.If we can achieve that, it would mean they can live together. We teach them the value of ‘living together’, they will make peace within themselves, their fellows, communities and so on...”. White female coordinator, interview (6), July 2013

Traditionally to coexist may mean to live together (togetherness). From the respondent point of view ‘living together’ and/or coexistence seems the outcome of rebuilt relationship. She mentioned that the team-building lessons aims to the wider picture of relationship (with and

within groups and communities), then, coexistence. It is not clear whether coexistence results by itself as a byproduct of rebuilt relationship or the combination of many other results. From political point of view, Villa-Vicencio (2000) defines coexistence as political relationship and/or connectedness and mentions some of the most relevant elements of coexistence such as dignity is acknowledged, equal status of citizenship, and perception of oneself in relation to the other. He further explored in the literature two levels of connectedness or coexistence: a) where individuals and group members of different racial or ethnic groups live united to each other and, b) when people in society live together void of violence and/or when violence is ceased are the so called '*thinner form of reconciliation*' (ibid). Thus, building relationship, trust, confidence and respect among individuals and groups seems to determine the degree of coexistence as an aspect of reconciliation.



“...basically to live together without any fear or tension free you from stress and this young people don’t deserve stress. Generally, to see them together, playing, communicating, walking on the street and discussing things together makes you proud. We didn’t experience these during apartheid. We take them to different communities other than their own. This young people know nothing in the pass, and it is easy to teach them to live peacefully. If all south African’s think that way, any problem in communities even reconciliation is easy” Male Colored coach, interview (7), December 2013.

“...to learn to live together is rewarding. During apartheid, it was tough and we couldn’t. But, after independence, as an athlete, I lived with black and white athletes for training and, months. We embrace one another as South Africans and, we could able to win our respective games. We want to inspire this young people, and they can embrace one another regardless their skin colours, at school,

communities, and everywhere they are and will find themselves". Female colored sport role model, interview (9), December, 2013

From the above responses, seeing the youth collaborating, doing things together, the degree of tolerance they possess informs their communication and understanding, and the respect they have to one another are perceived signaling elements and development of coexistence within the sport programs. The efforts to change the youth thinking seem one way to effect intended result. Hamber and Kelly (2005) claim that creating a society where differences are harmoniously discussed and resolved are central in reconciliation by coexistence. The frequent contacts to play, learn and collaborate have led the youth within the sport program.

"At the beginning I had difficulties to go outing for two days with my group and others. After I joined for a try, I enjoyed it so much; e eee... it feels like you are with your own family". Female Africans, discussion group (8), December 2013

"The outing gives us more chance to know one another better! I can live with anyone of my groups from now" Coloured male, discussion group (7c) November 2013

The above discussion group affirm the SIPs impact at personal and relational (micro and meso), level. Another debate surrounding reconciliation in the literature is the element of coexistence. Coexistence, simply, is living together. In the sense of this review, coexistence will suggest seeing former enemies living and sharing together. As noted by Lederach (1997), proponents of coexistence seek to establish a society where disagreements are peacefully discussed and resolved. Reconciliation, according to those who hold this coexistence view, involves restoration and establishment of relationships of trust, previously non-existent. It demands understanding of the fears and aspirations of the other and, in the political realm, the

respect for the rights and legitimacy of the political opposition groups. It is suggested situations where former enemies continue to disagree and to be adversaries, but still live together based on democratic reciprocity. This, in Crocker's (2005) view, constitutes a 'thicker' form of reconciliation, where societies do not return to the use of violence as a means of resolving conflict. He defined it as a shared comprehensive vision, mutual healing and restoration, or mutual forgiveness (p108). For him while this form of reconciliation is robust and presents both moral and practical reasons to support, it is difficult to achieve. The racialized youth perception of one another is embedded from the past and carried in the present. The SIPs as a platform seem a viable tool to create awareness among the youth.

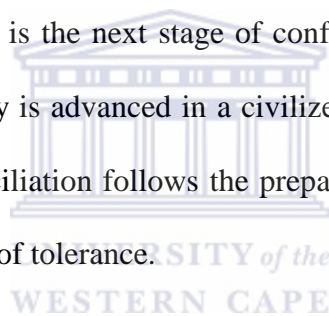
According to Kriesberg (2000), regards the term 'reconciliation' as referring to a process of developing a mutual conciliatory accommodation between hostile or formerly hostile persons or groups. He notes, it often refers to a relatively amicable relationship, typically established after a rupture in the relationship involving one-sided or mutual infliction of extreme injury. He explains, there are variations to the meaning of reconciliation. On one hand, it means bringing people back into agreement. On the other hand it may mean to bringing people into a state of compliance. He notes, however, that there is no inconsistency in these two meanings, since to bring persons into agreement suggests that one or more parties accept losses that cannot be prevented. In other words, coming to agreement does not mean equal gains and losses for former adversaries. In this circumstance, reconciliation refers to accommodative ways members of antagonist entities have to come to regard each other after having engaged in intense and often destructive struggle (Ibid).

The above discussion is in agreement with Kriesberg's view that reconciliation can be attained between individuals, peoples and groups or various combinations of them. He observes paradoxically, however, that some individuals may become reconciled with each

other and yet members of the enemy groups remain unfriendly. In other words, the units under reconciliation can be interpersonal and/or relational or vice versa.

The findings epitomizes Sluzki (2003) definition of reconciliation that the sequence of stages from confrontation to integration. According to Sluzki, the process towards reconciliation begins with a state of conflict characterized by hostility and contempt. This is followed by the stage of coexistence, to collaboration, cooperation, independence and finally to integration, at which stage friendly trust and solidarity become the feature of the end product, making confronting parties see each other as one (p22-26).

Whittaker (1999) also views the term reconciliation from this community-integrated approach. For him reconciliation is the next stage of conflict settlement where a process to promote an integrated community is advanced in a civilized manner (p114). This process of achieving this community reconciliation follows the preparedness of groups and individuals to make concessions for the sake of tolerance.



“We live in close proximity; I ask our group to volunteer in communities such as cleaning, assisting elder, sick, and disable. This help them to realize and better known communities and its problems. At the end we talk about that and they like it and some of them are already members of the Community Volunteering service, they learn a lot” Coloured Official, interview (3), July 2013

“The coloured and black people and their communities live in separate space due to apartheid segregation, ‘they don’t know each other’ ...apartheid left us just like that. We want them to mix-up through volunteering while serving communities. The more we engage them so, the more they will build relationship, friendship not

only individuals but also communities – this is just a starter...” Female coloured official, July 2013).

The above responses from the officials distinctly describe youth volunteerism as an integral part of the sport intervention programs. From the face-to-face responses The SIPs staff believe that volunteerism program as bridging block between racialized youth and their segregated communities. It can be argued that grassroots volunteerism may improve the efficiency of communities and contribute immensely to development. The sport program has clearly put volunteering as a platform to introduce the youth with racialized communities, to enhance relationship and friendship gained and extend networks.

Putnam (1993) regards that community volunteerism as an active community participation/engagement, which is vital in the formation of social capital. Narayan & Cassidy, (2001) claims that social capital as interpersonal relations, and relationships among racially-mixed/heterogeneous individuals and groups form the bridging social capital which is the most profound relationship.

The involvement of the youth in volunteerism can create collective norm and/or ‘reciprocity’ across the racial lines. (Coalter (2007) explains there is a possibility of making trust and networks, which attracts governments, particularly policy.

6.12 Summary

The findings illustrate that racialized youth identities in South Africa are being informed by both the discourse of apartheid segregation as well as the new discourse of the ‘Rainbow Nation’. This section also provided an analysis which focussed on how the youth from different racial background perceive both their-own racialized identities as well as the racialized identities of the other. The role and approaches used by the SIPs to redress those

social issues, most notably, building relationship, and the peace education within the program demonstrate the possibility and complexity of racial conflict and its impact. From the findings, building-relationship, integration, inclusion, coexistence, volunteering and community development seem reconciliation necessities and/or ingredients, and an ongoing processes.



CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

This study is anchored on theory of change and evaluation theory in order to gain comprehensive insights on how the sport intervention programs are designed, and implemented in a manner to contribute in the holistic approach of reconciliation and integration process in post-apartheid South Africa.

The central findings in this study are not intended to be generalized to the broader South African sports community and the sport intervention programs across the country. Nevertheless, the analysis of narrative or discourses of the targeted sport intervention program sample generated adequate responses to the research questions. While the findings are illustrated in previous chapter, the critical discussions, conclusion and recommendations, in relation to the research questions are presented as central findings of this study are presented in this chapter.

7.2 Perceptions of the Racialized Youth Identities in the context of the SIPs

The findings in this study clarifies that the negative impacts of racialized identities within the sport intervention programs are entrenched from the apartheid decades of history and its legacy of social segregation, oppression and inequalities introduced to divide and rule in South Africa. Furthermore, there significant amount of evidences that apartheid sport is characterized with white domination, and oppression, which committed itself to racial separateness and limpidness. For example, whilst blackness was seen as inferior, illiterate, unproductive and subordinate racial group, whiteness was seen as intelligent, dominant, and privileged throughout the landscape. However, from the findings, the discourse of ‘Rainbow

Nation' emerged as a symbol of unity in attempt to unite South African racialized identities in to 'sameness'.

It was interesting that the discussion groups articulated more concerns about the divisions among blacks and made less direct reference to racism to counter racial identities (colored and white), the perception of ethnicity among blacks reflected more or less in the same narratives of other racial groups. Perceptions between 'sameness' and 'difference' (black and white) seem to have similar effects among the black youth within the intervention program.

There are considerable evidences, which proclaim that members of oppressed racial groups are more likely to have negative attitudes from members of own racial group in relation to discrimination when comparing with similar attitudes from members of other racial groups. This sentiment supports reports from some blacks that they have experienced intra-racial racism as prevalent form of racism (Paradies, 2006). However, interracial-racism is often not seen antagonistic or damaging, but it re-inscribes stereotypes and racial prejudices that are recognized, and uncontested. Thus, both ethnicity and race are embedded in politics, culture, economic and history that require equal attention within the sport intervention programs, but also in society in general.

The notion of 'sameness' and 'difference' within the sport intervention program also played-out among the black ethnics (Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho etc...) in different way. It appears as if many of the youth in discussion groups conceptualized 'ethnicity' as inclusive identity. Given the history of apartheid, such understandings of oneself may have emanated from within political activism. There seems inconsistency on their continued shift between their South African and preferences of race and identity to identify with, and this illustrates the ambiguity and multiplicity of their selfhood.

7.3 Racial Integration and Reconciliation

Many of the face-to-face interviewees epitomized the general belief that sport has the capacity to improve racialized relations, inter-racialized youth and segregated communities, promotes nation-building and reconciliation. The respondents in this study apparent acceptance of new national symbols such as sport emblems, new flag, and national anthem exemplifies that there is a general support for peaceful race relations, and this is verified by the sense of commitment and obligation to nation-building as well as by the discourse of the 'Rainbow Nation'. From the responses, strong sense of national pride accompanied by educational programs within the sport intervention program seem to reduce perceived racialized identities among the youth participants.

The findings in this study suggest that the sport program aimed to empower the youth, and their communities require a hard work from both the stakeholders within the intervention programs as well as government. However, with the exception of few, most of the interviewees expressed about the extent which national unity or equality has been attained in sport blaming, the current sport structure as responsible for blacks and coloured impairment within the sport sector.

Both the face- to-face interview and discussion groups anonymously support for their national teams regardless of skin color. However, the question of racial representation was a principal concern in this regard, and some of the respondents postulate that racial representation in a national team is an encouraging and discouraging factor in the 'Rainbow Nation.

In the discussion group, it was interesting that the youth/beneficiaries or 'Born Frees' seem not to worry much about their racial differences. However, the learned history of brutal apartheid from their parents, relatives and schools in relation to racial segregation, division

and oppression were mentioned as the main constraining factors to build relationship, and socialize with other racial groups before they join the sport intervention programs. In all individual interviews, it was assimilated that with the existing intervention programs, inclusion of all racial groups in to a new non-racial groups to represent the new 'Rainbow nation' was proclaimed as one and major aspect of promoting reconciliation. Furthermore, within the intervention programs, there is no reconciliation specific program, but building trust and relationship, volunteering, peace education, assimilation of conflicts and its non-violent resolution, HIV/AIDS awareness, crime prevention are believed as an integral parts, which advance the broader reconciliation process in post-apartheid South Africa.

Overwhelming majority of the respondents postulate that the divisions inherited from apartheid, in particular, redressing social issues as a major task to create conducive reconciling environment. This general sentiment epitomize Lederch's (2007) four models of reconciliation namely truth, mercy, justice, and peace, which are interdependent which require complex processes, as such, rebuilding broken relationships is compulsory to all models in post-conflict societies. Thus, from the findings, societal divisions reflect social inequalities, addressing societal inequalities contributes significantly in re-building relationship, and advancing four of the proposed models for reconciliation.

The continued focus on racial differences may be necessary to monitor the rate and extend of social transformation and redress. However, the results of this study suggests that, the attainment of non-racial identities seem to be in conflict with continuous construction of difference that are in many instances grounded in neo-racist conceptions of ability and the right to access.

The efforts of the sport intervention programs seem to assume beyond the youth and their segregated communities. All face-to-face interviews with the role models and sport officials

within the programs displayed a sense of disappointment with the lack of progress with regard to the unification in sport at national level, on general beliefs indicating that the government has done very little to mobilize grassroots sport initiatives as deemed by the sport transformation charter. As a result, they highlighted the following challenges within the sport intervention programs:

- Lack of white youth participants within the current sport intervention programs (compared to the number of black and coloured participants) within the sport intervention programs
- Limited resources and lack of funding to extend the intervention programs
- Some communities are segregated very far than others, but also with no or poor facilities, the fact that whites have clean and sophisticated sport facilities to access in their communities. There seems a general perception that whites would not want to come and play in poor facilities.
- Lack of government support, particularly, clear policy on grassroots sport for peace, necessary resources to sustain and strengthen the intervention programs and the lack of physical education in school curriculum.

The findings in this study suggest that the presumed differences between white, black and coloured within the context of sport intervention programs are closely linked to historical patterns of white dominance and inclusion, and black and coloured exclusion, and subordination (e.g., current living condition and access to health and education between whites and other racial groups). However, the respondents were speculating in their responses, while some respondents attribute to existing government structures and its failure to transform the sport sector, others attribute to inherent dividing and uniting characteristics of sport in contemporary South Africa.

7.4 Dividing and Bridging Characteristics of the Post-apartheid Sport

Controversies in sport from the literature are presented in chapter three. In the face-to-face interviews majority of the respondents assert that they desire to be distinguished from ‘other race’ groups, and emphasize on the continued discrimination, exclusion and being disadvantaged that allegedly stem from these racial categories. This perception seem to declare that it is not about being classified by race, but the way in which a racist system favours a particular race group than other racial groups.

The discourse of the discussion groups verify that the youth continue to be racialized by historical conceptions of different race. The tension between racialized self-definitions and the quest to assume a shared and non-racial national identity was evidenced by the shift among discussion group’s arguments about the ‘sameness’ and ‘otherness’ within the sport program.

An overwhelming majority of the interviewees and discussion groups in this study suggested that the black and coloured people and communities in general do not have proper facilities and opportunities in sport even in post-apartheid. This sentiment seem to widen the existing gap between white and other racial group, in the manner that access to sport resources and opportunities as a major dividing factors which may have undermined the reconciliation process in post-apartheid South Africa.

The white, black and coloured interviewees suggested that sport in post-apartheid South Africa as unfair and inequitable, sport opportunities and infrastructures in previously segregated communities are scant, although all racial groups are encouraged to participate and represent their country. Perceptions that government is not doing well to transform apartheid sport as deemed in the Transformation Charter to transform South African sport seem to aggravate existing divisions among racialized South African youth. These sentiments

from respondents may attest to some scholars' hypothesis that commitment of the Born Frees' to the ANC as a new democratic government as well as the narrative of 'Rainbow Nation' may not be self-evidence, by any means (Mattes, 2012). The racialized nature of sport inherited from apartheid seems to highlight its conflicting nature in the racialized youth discussions. The potential of sport to perpetuate racial conflicts in post-apartheid South African society seem to be informed by existing sport resources and infrastructure of white sporting facilities the white minority enjoy in post-apartheid.

The existing unequal access to sport resources in post-apartheid seem to contradict with the Transformation Charter for South African Sport (2011), which proclaims on consistent result of mobilizing more resources at micro and/or grassroots level, which enables to create competitive local and national teams for South Africa. The National Federations (NF) through its development programs, to support sport's talents seems never realized yet. The arguments surfaced on the notion that the NFs through its structures could have supported the grassroots sport intervention programs as a means to identify sport talents within the sport intervention programs as its key responsibilities. Furthermore, The transformation charter strictly endorses that transformation in sport should be 'bottom-up' in the so called a 'catch-up strategy', particularly in previously disadvantaged areas through government funds so that more youth from disadvantaged areas and previously segregated communities are afforded an opportunity, to ensure that all South African racialized youth identities including their communities have justifiable, and equitable opportunity to access sport resources.

The sport officials most of them volunteers revealed that they have very limited access to resources to run the program in a manner to attract more young people to the sport intervention programs, and repeatedly mentioned about the prolonged promises by the government as deemed by the sport transformation charter. The perceptions that government

is not doing so well to transform the sport landscape seem to negatively impact the grassroots sport intervention program.

A female sport role model respondent, expressed on equity in sport referring to some evident on few blacks and coloured's female elite athletes' achievements and representation in national teams after apartheid. However, they expressed their concerns on their continued underrepresentation due to the lack of sport resources within the grassroots sport programs that can contribute to the female talent identification that create opportunity for young South African to represent their own country in near future.

The identification and recognition of racist terminology labels or 'stereotypes' orchestrated by apartheid legacy and later internalized by the youth seem divisive within the sport intervention programs at times, thinking of the 'racial other' in negative terms. For example, perceptions that blacks are inferior, lazy, and cannot possess the skills to play rugby, if they do they are labelled as 'Development Players' etc...

The white, black and coloured interviewees in this study expressed an awareness and experience with the dynamic of both gender and race, most notably in context of the history of South Africa. Their responses revealed that both males and females are affected by sport racism and stereotypes in some way or the other. Furthermore, respondents postulate that selection of soccer athletes to represent their countries is confined in Gauteng provinces and surroundings than other providences. From the findings, post-apartheid sport aggravates existing racial divisions from the past, and they all attested the existing sport structures.

On the other hand, the key central findings in this study suggest that increased communication and interaction through sport brings increased collaboration, which results in integration, which is an integral part of reconciliation. The South African patriotism demonstrated during sport events such as the 1995 and 2007 Rugby World Cups are some cases in point to highlight the positive role of sport in uniting South Africans with different racial backgrounds. Furthermore, these glorious events have also promoted the discourses of the 'Rainbow Nation', where President Mandela harnessed the opportunity to appeal the nation to unite and requested for reconciliation. Notwithstanding that these moments were symbolic, and short lived.

Almost all of the respondents including the youth in discussion groups were categorically exposed some expressions that they hold-up and support their national teams regardless of the racial representation. However, sport practitioners in the face-to-face interviews mentioned that the lack of racial inclusivity in the national teams as determining factor to discourage or support the national teams.

On the other hand the sport intervention programs educate the youth beneficiaries to be responsible 'citizens' by supporting their country's national teams. Majority of the group discussion in debate surfaced around the post-apartheid new symbols in relation to sameness, and the racialized 'Born Frees' seem comfortable to adopt and internalize the "Rainbow Nation" as a point of departure within the sport program in support to existing sport intervention programs that sport plays pivotal role in their lives, in particular, sport as 'pro-social force' (Hartmann and Kwaul, 2011). Observations in this study suggest that the current intervention sport programs seem to play a critical role in the lives of the youth. From the findings in this study, the education and volunteerism programs are a means to empower, build relationships and trust, and healthy relationships are conceived as narrowing differences

between ‘oneself’ and ‘the other’, which are fundamental in reconciliation process (Lederach, 2007).

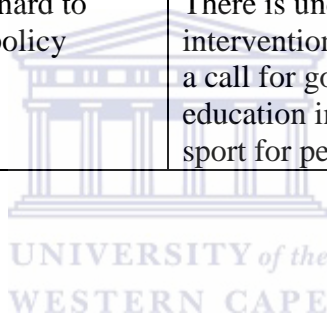
Most of the NGO led grassroots community sport organizations who manage and administer the intervention programs seem to have challenges in clarifying the logic of their programs in logical ways (in-put, out-put, impacts), and the monitoring and evaluation frame to analyse anticipated change.

7.5 Program Evaluation in the Context of the Sport Intervention

Many practitioners around the globe proposed differing methods to determine the efficiency of peace initiatives, and intervention programs aimed to resolve and transform conflict, achieve desirable change in communities. However, the methods of evaluation currently in use by the sport practitioners seem not fully developed. In fact, at the time of the data collection, most of the sport programs in this study relayed on traditional method of evaluation such as observational method to evaluate participants’ behaviour, attitude, and relational changes without any empirical justification. These aspects of evaluation cannot be undermined; they can be an additional or integral part in the broader evaluation and monitoring process. It is relevant to acknowledge that the success of an intervention programs are determined by the relative strength of the method or framework used to evaluate the program.

Table 7.1: *The theory of change and the status the current SIPs*

The Theory of Change, advantages	The Sport Intervention Programs' position
<i>Transparency and effective communication:</i> clear program design, evaluation and monitoring frame, and report	There seems good communications, and reports, but at the time of data collection, there was no clear program design, logic well as monitoring and evaluation in place to look at and assess (evaluation was mainly in traditional way)
<i>Shared understanding:</i> shared understanding on priority of the programs	There seems shred understanding on general goals, but program priorities seem to be determined by a coach in each team, less centralized
<i>Priority cantered:</i> resources and efforts to what matters the most	All programs within the intervention as priorities, no priorities classified as most
<i>Learning and Evaluation:</i> thinking through own theory, identifying key areas to enhance evaluation	No specific areas are identified to be evaluated, observation method of evaluation
<i>Advocacy and support:</i> working hard to achieve change, and influencing policy	There is undeniable hard work by intervention staff and networks, there is also a call for government (e.g., a call for physical education in school curriculum, policy on sport for peace)



The findings in this study suggests that success within the intervention programs are dependent on coaches and officials personal reports based on lessons delivered in each sessions and perceived outcomes. This method of evaluation seems to create challenges with clarifying and identifying each varying objectives on each program that requires different processes that can result with considerable implications about what comprise “success” across the programs. Notably, some of the sport intervention program goals are unattainable (e.g., attempting to achieve reconciliation and desirable social change a complex and long process, and unrealistic. Instead, an emphasis may be given on the little contribution, and outline some recognizable indicators within the broader context).

7.6 The Theory of Change for Successful SIPs

A theory of change brings a big deal of clarity to conceptions of impacts at different levels, and encourages relevant frameworks for tracking changes and analysing linkages such as the evaluation theory or program logic model. The findings in this study suggest that the SIPs conceptions of change do not reflect clarity of conception. For example, building relationship at inter-personal level is not clear whether it has an impact at the micro level. Generally, a theory of change is a learning lens (Lederach et al., 2007). For example, a theory-based evaluation complements theory of change assumptions of an intervention program. Yet, besides the impact at the individual level, the assumptions or anticipated impact at micro and cultural dimensions are not clear to articulate. However, testing theories of change with effective principles and standards may require a robust debate that enhances the existing knowledge. Nevertheless, from the responses, as discussed in the previous chapter, the sport intervention programs, and the collaborative effort among sport practitioners and stakeholders have positively influenced the target youth in many respects as follows.

7.6.1 Micro (personal)

From the findings, the effort of the sport intervention program at this level is to bring a change in rational thinking, which includes the youth's perceptual, emotional including personal beliefs of racial conflict, by creating awareness that lead to assimilation of non-violent resolution at intra-personal level. Majority of the youth participants in their discussions expressed that they no more worry about skin colour indicating they are human beings like any of their racial fellow, with different aspiration and objectives in life. From their own voice, sport and the additional programs within the sport intervention have made them individually to re-think and revise their racialized perceptions of one another in comparison before they joined the sport program. This exemplifies both the reconciliation and social change theories view, which consider the individual youth as a future leader, role

model, and peace practitioner who can play significant role in the quest of social change across communities. However, it is difficult to predict the mechanisms they have in place, in a manner on how the knowledge will be sustained and transferred their individual knowledge and skills acquired from the sport intervention program to their own peers and communities.

7.6.2 Meso (relational)

At this level, the intervention programs seem mainly to concentrate on changes of patterns of communications of racial and other social conflicts. The main focus of the intervention programs is to build healthy relationships, and environment through sporting activities (e.g., team cohesion as a tool). The continuous interaction among the youth within the program seem to manifest and stimulate discussions among racialized youth on existing racial and other social conflicts in relation to non-violent means of resolutions independently. The relational level within the sport programs seems to refer, particularly, to the youth who have face-to-face interaction and relationship within the program (see Appendix 1). From the findings, the main effort of the sport intervention program is to empower the youth to become influential and inspirational to their peers through the knowledge and skills learned in their respective communities. It is not clear on how the youth can transfer learned skills in their everyday life to other relational settings (e.g., own family, neighbourhoods, schools and own communities). Furthermore, the youth seem to be adequately included in decision making, express themselves in sessions of entire intervention programs (e.g., the educational sessions begin with sharing stories of issues like crime, rape etc...that took place in their own communities). However, it is difficult to determine their level of contacts and communications, as well as the degree of concern and sympathy they have for others.

7.6.3 Macro (Structural)

The structural discourse in this study seems beyond the scope of this study. Structural pattern comprises both past, present, more importantly, the political, social, economic, and moves beyond direct relationships (i.e., access to resources and power), which involve the wider institutions in society. However, the intervention programs seem to approach structural change indirectly through social issues and conditions (inequalities, disadvantaged racial/ethnic, and disparity), including institutional and procedural patterns (e.g., access, and transparency) that seek a quest to redress the sport sector, with the possibility to spreading it to other societal spheres.

The findings in this study suggest that structural change requires a critical eye, perhaps a radical change for the betterment of the vast majority (e.g. meeting human needs) in attempt to achieve a shared goal, and change. The respondents in this study explicitly consider intervention programs as a means to empower them to exercise equalities that will make them to look in to deeper structural and societal barriers to stimulate in a manner to make differences in the change they would like to see themselves, as future leaders.

7.6.4 Cultural

This dimension is much deeper in impacting the individual and groups on the above mentioned three levels of a society. Societal meanings are constructed, reconstructed, and deconstructed in response to social conflicts (e.g., meanings of race/ethnic, sport, reconciliation, identity etc... in both positive and negative lights). From the findings, the different cultures of the racialized youth within the sport intervention program seem to have both positive and negative traditions to racial conflict and/or reconciliation (Lederach, et al., 2007).

7.7 Challenges in Evaluating Sport Intervention: The context of SIPs

First, at the time of data collection, the sport intervention organizations did not have monitoring and evaluation in place to evaluate based the logic of their programs. Second, the finding in this study illustrates that measuring and evaluating the impact of sport intervention programs aimed for reconciliation is too complex for several reasons:

1. The face-to-face interviews clarifies that the sport practitioners (coaches/officials, administrators including the volunteers for the after-care program) get confronted with community issues which has indirect impact on the sport programs as well as in their own lives. Social and deeper change goals demand a long term approach (Lederach et al., 2007). It is challenging to evaluate the impacts given the scope of this study (requires longitudinal study).
2. All the current sport intervention programs (music, life skills, peace education, Hiking for Peace, volunteering including the aftercare) require building relationship, trust, and healthy environment, which are key factors, but also mainly intrinsic than extrinsic. It is difficult or never easy to measure precisely in qualitative or quantitative ways.
3. The findings demonstrate that the impact of the sport intervention on the youth seem to depend on situations of their broader communities. For example, ongoing inter-racial violent conflicts seem to interfere with participants' attendance in the sport intervention programs (e.g., due to fears and frustrations they miss sessions), and negatively impact in program processes.

4. The findings in this study illustrate that social issues that affect the lives of the youth and their communities seem interrelated to one another, which require broader structural change. For example, sport intervention programs aimed to combat crime may equally require to combat poverty, then alcohol and drug-abuse and so on. This echoes the 3Rs ('Resolution', 'Reconciliation', and 'Reconstruction' models, holistic approach for peace-building, they all require redress respectively, and with equal timeframe (Gultang, 1998). It is a broad social phenomenon to effectively monitor and evaluate impact of interrelated issues that require relational outcome in isolation, and within a short period.

Both evaluation and social change traditions originated the social change theory. Overwhelming development agencies utilized the theory of change for evaluation, more notably, for program design, including as implementation guide.

One of the major challenge in the current sport intervention programs seem the lack of clear strategic plan that can guide sport officials in implementing the intervention programs to achieve anticipated results and societal change. At the time of data collection for this study, there was no measurement and evaluation framework developed by the sport practitioners, instead personal and observational outcome are in use to evaluate program objectives and results. The methods used are innovative; they provide personal and cultural experiences, which can be an integral part of the broader program operation, and the monitoring and evaluation processes. However, it is important to identify a theory and evaluation method that can be viable to support and yield anticipated results. Furthermore, intensifying program outcome involves collaborative and integrated methods among, partners, sport practitioners, and beneficiaries, where monitoring, and good practices are transferred, and shared with and within the sport intervention programs.

The theory of change and evaluation in sport intervention may differ in providing detailed levels, but they present the same logic. While the theory of change explains how the sport officials and managers think in relation to the occurrence of anticipated changes, the logic of program accounts for resources, outlined activities, and their output and impacts at different levels (short, intermediate, and long-term impacts) that represent anticipated results. In the same token, within the sport intervention programs, while the logic program model illustrate the strategies of operation, the theory of change demonstrates the concepts of change within the context of the existing program.

In this study, most of the face-to-face interview with managers, coaches/officials and other stakeholders pertaining program operations/implementation, the type and structure of educational lessons which were taking place, the monitoring and evaluation methods used etc... were not consistent. From the findings, differing traditional methods and experiences to deliver programs cannot be undermined; they are innovative personal and cultural experiences when combined with programs such as the program delivery, and the broader evaluation process. However, from the findings, the lack of conceptions of the theory of change and program logic within the sport intervention programs seems to have resulted in the following observational weaknesses:

- Lack of program consistency among sport practitioners and the management. The educational program within the intervention programs differ one another, they are determined by individual coaches rather than the management (e.g., the style of coaching, delivery and content of lessons after sporting activities etc..., they are not efficiently structured and formal)Such decentralized methods of implementation may impact on the focus of the monitoring and evaluation, arguably in determining the collective impacts within a limited period of time (e.g., within the scope of the

present study). Furthermore, within the same program and group/teams, if activities and lessons differ per session, there may be more than one method of evaluation and monitoring process which were not in place to articulate on. Prioritizing agreed programs and articulating in the same fashion and time to deliver program may save time and resources.

- From observations, and personal perspective, the traditional approach, and experiences to monitor and evaluate impacts cannot be underestimated; they are key as they inform cultural patterns, they can be an integral part to the Monitoring and Evaluation Sport Intervention Programs (M & E SIPs). If applied in isolation to the program logic throughout, they may result in variation, and vague to see an impact. They also leave programs unpacked, and difficult to locate point of reference as well as justify what, and how the program will achieve anticipated outcomes. Generally, it is not recommended by potential funder organizations.
- From the face to face interviews, there seem misunderstanding between the sport intervention management and sport officials, particularly in relation to the selection of the youth beneficiaries (e.g., on age restrictions, only under 14 years old can only join the sport intervention program. In such, misunderstandings undermine coordination which ultimately led to failure in supporting organizational vision and goals and development, with more focus on program priorities. It is commendable that such decisions made right at the outset of the intervention programs.

Sport interventions that are not well-coordinated end-up unstained Identifying the overall vision of change, including the contextual needs of a targeted individual, group and communities within the programs are vital. The utility of social change theory as an approach within intervention programs can unlock broader packages of processes in very transparent

and relatively justifiable reasons that can strengthen the processes in required and more clearer direction.

From the current study perspective, deploying theory of change in sport intervention programs may not mean an end by itself, but a means to understand, an ongoing leanings of processes that can relatively justify as to why intended interventions are not working or otherwise within these programs. This can happen when the sport intervention programs review their general objectives, during the commencement of programs, more importantly before the evaluation.

7.8 Conclusion and Discussions

Sport has both uniting and dividing features, often manifesting contradictory outcomes in terms of conflict or co-operation. Sport as a social construct, its role and function depends on how it is consumed. The double-standard of sport is of highly important to unfold. As such, the divisive potential can be guarded against and the desired positive outcome can be furthered. This study has established relatively comprehensive interlinkages between sport reconciliation, in general peace-building. Most of the peace-building imperatives are no-n-sport objectives such as the objective of the SIPs in this study. From the fieldwork experience in this study, theory of change is not merely an academic conception but also a reflexive experience learning (Lederach, et. al., 1997).

Coalter's (2009) theoretical and conceptual framework provides significant direction on notions of '*sport plus*', and '*plus sport*' that can guide sport intervention practitioners who aspire to use sport as a platform to be able to combat social problems in communities. Coalter claims that the '*sport plus*' denotes on the development of sport organizations and their continuity, which is pathway before combating wider social issues. On the other hand '*plus*

sport' emphasizes on achieving objectives that are not related to sport (e.g., combating HIV/AIDS, crime, unemployment etc...through sport), which all have fundamental influence in the process of reconciliation and integration. Furthermore, these non- sport objectives, like in the SIPs programs, categorically, peace education programs such as dialogue for no-violent conflict resolution, culture of peace, volunteering and so on, are integrated with sporting activities to yield recognizable impact on participants/beneficiaries.

From the findings, Coalter's 'sport plus' and 'plus sport' frameworks have contributed significantly to the existing conceptions of theory of change and program logic as reflexive learning within the processes, in identifying the two boundaries during the change program design is critical for viable intervention programs. Furthermore, this study considers participation in sport in the intervention programs as central; it has provided the youth beneficiaries, an opportunity for healthy and conducive environment to articulate the non-sporting programs' and learning experience. Thus, the non-sport components within the intervention program seem to determine the success and strength of the sport initiative programs (Hartmann, et al., 2011).

The SIPs foci of learning by doing, such as team cohesion on the field, and peace education off the field were found instrumental in building relationship, networking, non-violent conflict resolution, and collaboration for shared goals, which were found impeccable in the lives the racialized youth at personal and relational level. However, the structural and cultural dimensions require multiple changes at all societal levels, the interconnection of the hierarchies of contextual problem and anticipated change in relation to SIPs program in-put, out-puts and outcomes, and the change logic, on how the attitudes and behaviours of the individual youth are expected to change, and how these personal changes are sought to

change the structural, and cultural practices, in the strategic program design, monitoring and evaluation of the SIPs were found unclear, and under-developed.

The SIPs for this study, created the drive of togetherness among the racialized South African racialized youth. While these programs provided the youth a 'sense of departure' at grassroots community level, sport's impact on reconciliation can only be realized when its programs are integrated with the broader social, political, and economy agenda in communities/society.

The narratives in this study suggest that the current NGO sport organizations use an innovative approach, and have proven effective in their intervention endeavours. Most notably, their efforts to build relationship and trust among the youth supports the notion that 'conflict as a beginning and an end of conflict Lederach (2007). However, from the comprehensive findings, the sport intervention organizations are too small comparing to the complex social issues they seek-out to redress. Majority of the sport practitioners agree that their programs are under resourced, with few volunteer coaches, and staff, including about the very limited power they have in communities.

Based on the findings, this study epitomizes the 'scaling up impact' method proposed by Lederach et al. (2007). The 'scaling up' strategy was developed for projects with small capacity aiming to peace-building, and suggests that they should expand and link their programs with broader initiatives for a wider impact, and necessary resources. Most of the sport initiative programs in the Western Cape Province do not link-up and expand their programs for wider scale impact at local level. However, they tackle different social issues through sport programs in communities as well as share long-term goals. This study suggests that, dispersed sport organizations can link together to 'scale up' in the following two dimensions:

- a) They can expand their environmental space and program from local to national level, as sport intervention programs are simulated in new places, either by new program of the same sport organization or by sport organization which are independent.
- b) They can also expand their target from individuals, to institutions, to the population at large.

The combination of the above two factors can provide a various alternatives for the sport intervention organizations to scale up for a wider societal impact (see Appendix 2).

The scaling up method is dependent on the sport organization's potential to link with similar organizations, government institutions, the media and other role players. Scaling up method can narrows the gap between efforts that focus, on personal/individual, and relational change, and the work for structural and cultural change in peace-building (Lederach, et al., 2007). The sport intervention organizations program impact seem very limited to a small areas. They can use various strategies; preferably, to take their programs to a new groups or communities in order to heighten their impact on broader scale (ibid).

Coalter (2006) made discrepancies between 'necessary' and 'sufficient' conditions that the sport intervention program practitioners and program intervention practitioners need to be aware. Similarly Hartmann identified some relevant factors in relation to the effectiveness of sport intervention programs particularly on recruitment, outreach, and retention of participants. She argues on the relevance of recruitment and retention for any social program, particularly those aimed at individual empowerment.

The reflexive learning within the current research process postulates that first and foremost, conflict resolution, racial integration and reconciliation within the SIPs endeavours are characterized by a complex set of factors and dynamic forces on the ground such as race

relations and social change. As such, a systems approach is necessary to approach this field in a comprehensive manner. Secondly, the SIPs may serve as a platform and provide contextual mechanism for conflict resolution, the theory of change approach is an effective tool to unpack the change process between the SIPs' activities and its ultimate goal.

From the findings, the SIPs foci of learning by doing, such as team cohesion on the field, and peace education off the field were found instrumental in building relationship. Networking, non-violent conflict resolution, and collaboration for communal or shared goals, have reduced, negative perceptions among the South African racialized youth, at personal and relational level. However, the structural and cultural dimensions require multiple changes at all societal levels. The interconnection of the hierarchies of change in relation to the program in-put, out-puts and outcomes, on how the attitudes and behaviours of the individual youth are expected to change by the SIPs, and how these personal changes are sought to change the structural, and cultural practices, within the programme design, monitoring and evaluation of the SIPs were found unclear, and under-developed.

7.9 The Strengths and Limitations of this study

The findings of this study support and acknowledge the ever growing debate and critics both in practice and literature in sport for reconciliation, in the field of sport for development. As such, this study has explored multi-dimensional theories, in particular, in the quest of new academic direction to illustrate the interlink ages between sport and peace. It is hoped that such an enquiry and the theory which this study is built on it, will contribute to anti-social change practices and contribute to the sport intervention programs, and promote reconciliation within the broader process of racial, and social reforms in South Africa, and indeed globally (Kidds, 2008; keim 2009, Reddy, 2005). Furthermore, this study's focus on SIPs, which aim to reduce negative perceptions of racial identities among the South African

youth with different racial background as to promote reconciliation, which is an important contribution to make to the growing body of literature. The fact that sport and identity are social constructs, open for change, which shifts in relation to the broader socio-political context (e.g., sport and identities during apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa). Thus, both sport, and identity offers a unique and invaluable method of examination in to the South Africa's current socio-political climate as well as the changes witnessed following the demise of apartheid, after the 1994 democratic elections. It is, therefore, this study's focus on sport and racialized identities is a notable strength.

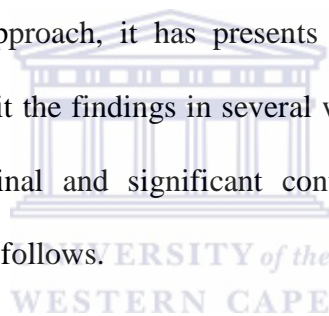
Similarly, the study's use of discourses/narratives is a possible strength, discourses provide with an intermediate mechanisms to explore sport and identities as well as other social constructs. Furthermore, discourses like sport and identities, offer exclusive way of studying the socio-political context. One of the major limitations of this study may be the fact that the researcher himself was a black male, thus, potentially partial to other South African racial group's cultural knowledge. This study, however, maintains, beside these inherent challenges, it is necessary for black scholars to also problematize racialized irregularities. From the broad literature enquiry for this study, it is felt that anti-racism and social change are not merely the area of white academics, and that black scholars are commended for their in-puts, and contribution in this regard.

The second major limitation in this study was that the samples were unfairly homogeneous, majority of the youth were blacks, some coloured, and very few whites, and all from lower class or from 'previously marginalized and disadvantaged communities. It would, therefore, may have been beneficial to include youth from the middle and high class, and communities. However, given the practical constraints (such as the scope, and resources) of this project, this was neither feasible nor achievable. Yet, besides the sampling distorted nature of the

participants, the data obtained from their responses were invaluable, as it invites continuous debates and discussions on post-apartheid sport, racialized identities, reconciliation and social change. Similarly, this study was conducted in the Western Cape Province; the results invite continued research in other South African communities and provinces.

The third limitation in this study relates to the focus of this study, ‘racial identities’, relatively no attention was given to other social constructs like class, gender, ethnic, and sexuality, which also could have substantial impact in achieving the broader and desirable social change in South African society.

Finally, the method of data analysis was a thematic content analysis, besides its values and advantage, as any theoretical approach, it has presents a number of disadvantages, and therefore has the potential to limit the findings in several ways. However, besides the above mentioned limitations, the original and significant contribution made by this study is discussed in the next sub topic as follows.



7.10 Main Contribution of this Study

From reflexive learning within the current research process, conflict resolution, racial integration and reconciliation within the SIPs endeavours is characterized by a complex set of factors and dynamic forces on the ground such as race relations and social change. As such, a systems approach is necessary (see Chapter Two) to approach this field in a comprehensive manner. The present research study illustrates that a model is required that needs to integrate the various elements in a comprehensive fashion to promote reconciliation, conflict resolution, peace and development. Secondly, the SIPs may serve as a platform and provide contextual mechanism for conflict resolution, and this study discovered that the ‘theory of change approach’ is an effective tool to unpack the change process between the SIPs’

activities and its ultimate goal. Thirdly the genuine effort of SIPs and its NGOs in the lives of the future leaders is well articulated; however, they seem to confront a problem bigger than their capacity, which involves power and massive resources. The fieldwork experience from the present study, commends the SIPs' culture of networking, and collaboration with sister organizations should expand (work together), using the 'scaling-up' strategy developed by Lederach et al. for wider social impact, and, sustainability. The above three imperatives are an original contribution and quest informed by the research process and findings.

7.11 Directions for Future Research

The above discussion in relation to limitations and weaknesses of this study, have provided the following direction for future research:

First, the 1995 and 2007 Rugby World Cups both won by the springbok, in many respect, have shown symbolic reconciliation and integration in many respect, of the fact that the events were combined with glorious moments. However, glorious moments in sport come and go quick, and their symbolic impact is rather short lived (e.g., President Mandela used the opportunity of the 1995 glorious Rugby World Cup, to unite South Africans). The question is: how can these uniting moments be sustained? What mechanisms and approaches can be used to sustain these moments for longer period in relation to social change; more focus, on how to sustain glorious symbolic moments in the field of sport for development.

Second, from the findings in this study, it was evident during the process of data collection and analysis that the data was produced within a very specific context, namely in the post-South Africa (post-1994), and that this undoubtedly has impacted on the data collected from the youth participants (Born Free), on its various meanings. For instance, the notion of the 'Rainbow Nation' and the narrative of reconciliation and racial equality seemed often to

contradict with what was being said and researched. It is sought that a further research need to be conducted on SIPs programs that include both the youth and adults or pre and post-apartheid South Africans, to determine the effectiveness of the sport intervention in combating racial conflict among communities, and its effect on social change.

7.12 Recommendations

During the current research process, a range of themes and theoretical principles emerged in relation to sport intervention practitioners, the youth, communities, as well as the SIPs programs. The following recommendations are provided:

- Before the commencement of the intervention programs, it is relevant for sport practitioners to build relationship with the target youth and their communities; it can provide them with more insights on the nature of communities and social lives which is first-hand information to test their perceptions on intended programs, the targeted youth, and communities. Furthermore, this process allow both the youth beneficiaries and their community to involve during the planning phase, and allows to integrate communities' societal challenges (need base) and expectations in program planning.
- From the findings, the sport intervention programs play pivotal role in the lives of the racialized youth and their communities. They programs are commended to assist in building healthy relationships and mobilize the resources necessary to extend their programs from local to provincial, and national level by using the 'Scaling up' strategy that links their programs with other sister organization for broader societal impact on reconciliation and change in society.
- Peace education and other additional program designed to achieve non-sport objectives seem an effective approach to combat interrelated issues in communities, and produce future leaders. Empowering individual youth by educating them such as

conflict resolution that made them stimulate the value of non-violent by using necessary knowledge and skills that lead for alternative methods to deal with many other forms social conflicts should be formulated and integrated as a curriculum in more profoundly formal ways within the sport programs (e.g., relatively more sessions, practical dialogue and resolution exercises, and, approaches to monitoring and evaluating these programs).

- Depending on resources, the sport intervention program needs to have branch offices in all the youth participants' communities rather than in one. This may assist sport practitioners to monitor participants as well as community's issues and needs to integrate within the sport program plans that can facilitate more opportunities to build relationship between sport practitioners and communities for exchange of information and to share experiences with many groups and members of communities.
- This intervention programs as a models of reconciliation and peace belongs to communities, and these programs should expand to adult men and women who first hand experienced apartheid brutality and exploitation. Empowering them within the intervention separate or appropriate programs would earn the necessary support and safeguard for the programs to succeed and bring intended results and change.

7.12.1 Cultural Resource Assessment

In assessing cultural resources and patterns, it is relevant for SIPs practitioners to:

5. Recognize perceived cultural aspects that seem to facilitate an impact, in both positive or negative, and the way in which conflict is recognized, handled and, approached.
6. Identifying aspects of intergroup conflict that probably affected by cultural and global view differences in within the intervention programs;

7. Developing and documenting groups and settings about what parts of a culture can influence positively to expression and handling of conflict and make worst within the intervention programs;
8. Identifying cultural aspects that have been and are affected by factors such as migration, conflict dynamics, and/or modernization, displacement with particular attention to what aspects or traditional culture are tainted by these elements, and what, if any, important traditions have been lost in the sport programs (ibid).

7.12.2 Program and Activities

Intervention practitioners must stimulate the following questions and in cooperating answers in to their intervention program activities:

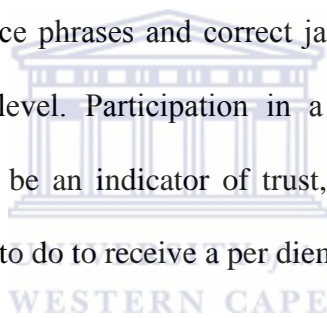
- C. Which aspects of intervention program activities for reconciliation or conflict transformation are partly or primary orientated towards changing a cultural patterns?
- D. What are realistic timeframe to think about the cultural shift desired? For example, are component of the intervention programs working with generational change?

7.12.3 Indicators Development and the SIPs

The following indicator development guidelines proposed by Lederach et al. (2007) are recommended for SIP practitioners, and scholars:

1. Be specific and clear about measurement imperatives of the SIPs, unclear outcomes are hard to see within the programs.
2. Identify the processes you want to learn about, and then think carefully about how you will see and track the process.
3. Develop more than one lens that involves several ways to understand the process, theory and outcome.

4. Use a variety of methods, from interviews, to tracking incidences of a phenomenon you are watching, to observing peoples' action and behaviours.
5. Think creatively about context and culture. Ask the people and partners you work with to help you develop indicators for the changes you are trying to promote.
6. Consider carefully the timeframes of change. Some changes may happen more quickly, others require a much longer time frame. You may need different indicators, or lenses, to see these short and longer term timeframes.
7. Watch for the unexpected. Just because something did not happen the way you expected does not mean that deep learning is not taking place.
8. Be careful with nice phrases and correct jargon. Probe what is “really going on” at a deeper level. Participation in a joint community workshop, for example, may not be an indicator of trust, but just an indicator that people have learned what to do to receive a per diem.



7.13 Reflexivity

7.13.1 In Context of the Researcher

It is believed that positivism holds that the researcher is a neutral, indifferent, detached, clinical bystander who merely observes apparent causes and effects, objects or phenomena being studied (Puttic, 2011). Thus, I, the researcher, understood as being implicitly involved myself in the research process of meaning making, which is inherently a collaborative process involving the teller, listener, analyst and reader. I further understand that as a researcher, I control meaning, to the extent to what features I will be subjected to analysis, and how the voice of the participants will be represented. Reality, as it is presented, can by itself be understood as a construction of the researcher.

Reflexivity refers to the self-awareness that the researcher has that they actively participate in the construction of knowledge and meaning, and that they hold power over the participant, affecting the overall data collected. The researcher will always hold the larger proportion of power, as he determines the research agenda as well as ultimately deciding on how best to analyse the data {e.g., cases to be included and excluded and so on} (Harvey, Rampton & Richardson, 1999; 2003; Mir and Watson, 2001; Riessman, 1993; Sarbin & Kitsuse, 1994).

As a researcher, I was aware of the above mentioned, and constantly endeavoured to test my assumptions on perceptions of the racialized youth, and the SIPs role for social change, and the worldviews, however, these too are social constructions and not natural truths. As a black and an Eritrean citizen, I was aware that my socio-historic context and social experiences are unique and that, unless they were constantly questioned, they may have unconsciously influenced and biased my findings. However, I was consulting with my supervisor, and colleagues on a regular basis to ensure that my assumptions were challenged and exposed to rigorous testing during the processes.

My physical involvement in eight grassroots sport initiatives in previously segregated communities, resulted in mixed feelings. On one hand, about the master narrative of apartheid (devastating segregation) that still remain to negatively impact the 'Born Frees' in many respect. On the other hand, the noble efforts by the NGO led SIPs to combat racial issues and bring a change (it is true, the SIPs are too small with no or small power to confront too complicated social issues in post-apartheid South African communities). Thus, I often experienced instances of racism, especially when analysing the data set, with indignation and annoyance. Similarly, I found it difficult to critically examine what was being said without becoming overly critical or unkind. There was a need for me to balance my academic integrity with empathy, compassion and understanding. This was particularly evident with the

adult black respondents (coaches, managers and volunteers and government officials). It was therefore, necessary for me to constantly remind myself that while there was often a mysteriously motive to what was said; there was also a strong motivational factor for why it was said.

The very nature of this research project made it necessary for me to immerse myself in the literature centred (multi-dimensional) inquiry on sport, peace and conflict, race and blackness studies, and the vital role sport can play in society. This engagement meant, I had to accept that I am a racial being and that my blackness, and being an athlete in my youth afforded me certain privileges. Thus, I often felt that I was negotiating my own identity as a black male during the research process. Indeed, it would seem that as a black male, my stance against racism, in and of itself, invited interpretation.

In addition to this, I am aware that anti-racism practices, and the sport intervention's strike was a particular chord within me. For instance, as a sport management and physical education lecturer in higher institutions in the past, my exposure and experience with young people from different racial/ethnic background meant, I am extremely sensitive to the devastating impact of racism on young people, the continued racialized asymmetries in South Africa, and the need in redressing these are central in my career. Studying identities of other youth and adult participants' within the SIPs has allowed me to gain greater insight into my own black identity. Thus, it deepened my-own self-understanding of utilizing sport programs as a platform to contribute in the long and complex process of reconciliation in post-conflict.

In the same way, it was challenging to acknowledge that my own race and professional background, impacted on my relationship with the participants/respondents, and that they reacted to it in a way which was uncontrollable, and not always desirable. This was most notable when some black respondents identified with me very quickly, and easily, compared

to the white respondents, it took them a bit longer to interact with me during my visits. For instance, the white discussion groups were not as articulate as the black once during group discussion. However, it also became apparent that I was reacting to my own assumptions regarding the participants, something which had to be carefully guarded against and understood.

7.13.2 In Context of the Data

South Africa has 11 official languages, and I only speak English which is one among the other South African official languages. Prior to the interview, I had to participate in the SIPs, not only to assess whether I need to recruit multi-lingual research assistant, but also to develop trust, mutual acceptance, create a non-threatening discussion and interview environment and the lack thereof. Through inquiry and interaction, I found out that all targeted participants had no problem to communicate in English. However, during the discussion groups, it was noted that some participants were not as articulate as their counterparts that I never anticipated. Thus, this might have hindered from extracting relevant information from participants (see chapter seven).

It was evident during the process of data collection and analysis that the data was produced within a very specific context, namely in the post-South Africa (post-1994), and that this undoubtedly impacted on the data collected from the youth participants (Born Free), on its various meanings. For instance, the notion of the 'Rainbow Nation' and the narrative of reconciliation and racial equality seemed often to contradict with what was being said and researched. Furthermore, the six male focus group discussions comprised Africans with different ethnic background (Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Ndebele etc...) which were controversial in their views. They discussed not only the racial differences they have with the white and coloured encounters, but also the difference among African ethnic itself. They did not possess

substantial knowledge of apartheid past, but history and experience learned from family, relatives, 'symbolic identity'.

The scope of this study is too broad and extremely challenging, it demanded not only the obvious procedures and method that were followed, but as peculiar objective of this study, the ongoing extensive search in attempting to inter-link various theories and approaches that may serve as a point of departure for future researchers. This is sought to encourage potential researchers to produce a better, comprehensive and reach relatively inclusive conclusions in future.



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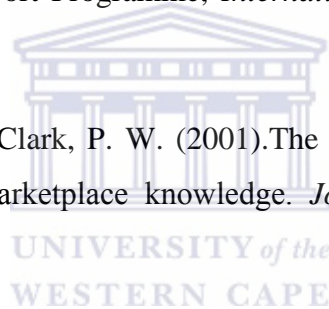
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Appendix 1: Sample assumptions

<p>Historical confrontation: If the youth from different racial backgrounds are taught peace education in the sport programs, they may be able to respond and readdress societal issues from the past, and they are likely to empower themselves thereby promote reconciliation.</p>	<p>Acknowledgement of the injustice of apartheid; reduced level of vengeance; forgiveness; peaceful coexistence.</p>
<p>Race relations: strategically, if the youth from different racial background in South Africa are educated about one race, which is the 'human race' during, within or after sport programs, they will reduce negative perceptions of one another, they may form good sporting relationships among teammate and other teams, and communities</p>	<p>Interracial contact, interracial pre conceptions, interracial tolerance,</p>
<p>Political culture: If the youth from different racial background understand, the sport institutions, its management and sporting culture as inclusive, and legitimate, reconciliation is likely to progress.</p>	<p>Confidence,, trust, respect coexistence, collaboration, volunteering, accountability etc...</p>
<p>Safety and Security: If the youth from different races are thought in the sport programs to collaborate, not to feel threatened, they are vulnerable to reconcile with each other, and the larger system.</p>	<p>Physical security; economic security; cultural security</p>
<p>Dialogue: If the youth are taught along sport activities and devoted to profound dialogue, reconciliation is more likely promoted.</p>	<p>Commitment to more dialogue, commitment to peaceful resolution, commitment to transformation.</p>

Appendix 2: Non-linear relationship at personal and relational level

<p>An overall goal of the sport intervention program: To educate, build relationships and trust, and reduce perceptions of racialized identities among the youth, and to ultimately contribute in the process of reconciliation and integration in post-apartheid South Africa.</p>				
<p>Mechanisms: Using sport as a platform, to educate, and empower the youth with the necessary knowledge and skills of racial conflict and its non-violent resolution that can be transferred in to their broader communities.</p>				
<p>Theories of change:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Most of the violent conflict in previously segregated communities is based on racial conflicts aggravated by social issues such as poverty, drug and alcohol abuse, HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancy and racism which are apparent. Parents, teachers, community leaders and sport coaches are strategically situated to know these youth to help in recruitment as well as act quickly when necessary. 2. Junior and High Schools are located in all Western Cape communities. It is assumed that there has been little interaction among the youth from different racial groups. The youth live in racially segregated communities, and majority of the schools are made of one racial group and this is aggravating tensions among the youth, and undermining the broader reconciliation process. 3. Through sport intervention programs, the youth can build healthy relationship, and maintain regular communications, and dialogue in non-threatening environment to peacefully coexist and promote reconciliation. 4. If the sport practitioners, sport role models, stakeholders and community leaders, including teachers form a strong bond, there is a possibility that they can influence the youth and make a difference in their respective communities. 5. Increased communication through sport intervention programs, and peace education programs on more focus on conflict resolution, and deep dialogue trainings which enable to prevent violent conflict and greater capacity to resolve conflicts pro-actively. 				
	<p>Personal</p>	<p>Relational</p>	<p>Structural</p>	<p>Cultural</p>
<p>Main Emphasis areas</p>	<p>Empowerment (skills for non-violent conflict resolution, racial conflict awareness, culture of deep dialogue)</p>	<p>Build relationship among the youth participants and broader communities to promote reconciliation.</p> <p>Creating cohesive teams and attractive programs for regular communication (e.g., volunteerism)</p>	<p>Build co-operative systems between racialized youth and community structures and schools that represent different racial group by providing good governance, law, and policy recommendations</p>	<p>Participation in sport intervention programs such as peace education, and volunteering will generate greater understanding of racial disparity, and advance reconciliation</p> <p>Avoidance of each other will be replaced with building networks and collaboration.</p>
<p>Guiding Theories</p>	<p>Increased awareness of conflict resolution and transformation skills will lead to greater capacity to resolve conflict constructively.</p> <p>Dialogue as early response for conflict, building relationships, and negotiation skills,</p> <p>Active participation can reduce perceptions of race and incidences of racial violence</p>	<p>Increased relationship, trust and, team building will facilitate greater cooperation</p> <p>Greater cooperation between participants will improve prevention of violence to promote reconciliation among the youth</p>	<p>Increased co-operation among participants through sporting activities that provide a wider and sustained capacity for conflict prevention among the youth and broader communities.</p>	<p>Increased collaboration, active participation and team work will lower level of racism.</p> <p>Tension and revenge replaced with dialogue, and coexistence that lead to reconciliation promotion.</p>

Appendix 3: The ‘Scaling Up’ strategy

Geographical	National	-Members of communities, SIPs Network coalition of small NGOs, CBOs, and groups	-Ministry of Sport and Recreation, Ministry of Education -National Federations, clubs and sport organizations -Truth commissions	-National Televisions -National radio stations and news papers -Civil societies -Cultural and sport events
	Local	-Community sport club members -Small NGOs, CBOs or groups	-Schools -Community recreation centres, sport clubs, neighbourhood watch and police -Community cultural and Religious congregations -Local business	-Local media and news papers -Community-broader sport event or mass sport -Advocacy campaigns
		Individuals	Institutions	Public

-Audience-

Adopted from Lederach et al. (2007)



Appendix A: Consent letter

Department of Sport, Recreation and Exercise Science, UWC

2nd September 2012

I am research student from the Department of Sport, Recreation and Exercise Science. I am inviting you to be a part of a study, which will be identifying the potential sports, may hold in societal reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. If you would like to be a participant in this project, you will be one of 200 other participants involved in a face to face interview and discussion group in which you will be able to share your own experience. There will even be an opportunity to make recommendations to improve the operational effectiveness of the sport directed to peace projects in South Africa (if you feel that is necessary).

The group discussion and face to face interview will be 1 and 2 hours long respectively and participation is voluntary. You may withdraw at any time. The discussion will be audio – tape-recorded, but you may ask the tape to be switched off at time during the discussion. Your name will not be recorded anywhere and no one will be able to link you to the research project.

If you have any questions or complaints about this study, you may contact Prof. Marion Keim Lees at 021 959 3137.

Statement of agreement to participate in the research study

I have read or it was read to me and fully understands the contents of the informed consent form. All questions regarding this study have been to my satisfaction in the language that I understand. I also understand that my rights are protected and the records will be kept confidential. I freely and voluntarily choose to be part of the research study.

Respondent's name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

Witness's name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

Thank you so very much

The extra copy of consent form is for you.



Appendix B: Consent form

Research Title:

‘An Exploration and Evaluation of mechanisms on the Role of Grassroots Sport Intervention Programs (SIPs), in the Process of Reconciliation and Integration: The Context of Post-apartheid South Africa’

The study has been described to me in language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and that I may withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time and this will not negatively affect me in any way.

Participant’s NameParticipant’s Signature _____

Date.....

Witness’s Name _____ Witness’s Signature _____ Date _____

Should you have any questions regarding this study or wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact the study coordinator:

Study Coordinator’s Name: Prof. Marion Keim Lees

University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17, Belville 7535

Fax: (021) 959 3688

Telephone: (021)959-3137, Cell: 082 2023 454, Email: mkeim@uwc.ac.za

Appendix C: Interview questionnaire

1. Please identify yourself, your background, and your role in this programme?
2. How long have you been involved?
3. What motivated you to take part?
4. Could you share some of the best and worst moments you have experienced since assuming your position?
5. How many youths are taking part in this programme?
6. Please give me the demographic details of the members of your team, and the procedures in recruiting those beneficiaries.
7. What is the retention rate (number of new recruits race-base and/or those jumping ship) has been like so far?
8. Would you say that the racialized group of youth in this program meets your idea of a well-balanced team? Why?
9. If no, which other racial group would you think could have been part of this initiative? And, why these particular individuals?
10. What do you think is currently barring these individuals from participating in your programme or other programmes of a similar nature?
11. What steps are you taking to rectify the situation?
12. As a staff and organizer what is the main objective that you hope to achieve with this initiative?
13. Do you and all the other relevant stakeholders share the same vision in this regard?
14. Are the participants aware of what the management expects of them in relation to the SIPs objectives? For example, on the social issues you are combating?
15. I can see the staff comprise different racial background, how do you think your racial background can help you facilitate the youth?
16. How do you see your racial background comparing to others and others?
17. Have you took any training such as on peace-education, racial conflict, reconciliation, and the methods of integrating these in to sporting activities?
18. How do you deliver apply and deliver these aspects to the youth within the SIP (such as in the field or off the field or in class sessions)?
19. What other or additional programs do you have, and why?
20. What benefits do you associate with these additional or non-sport programmes?
21. Do you network such as with sister organizations, government structures, community leadership, etc...? Please elaborate on how these arrangements work?

22. What other factors do you think would strengthen the impact of this initiative on the life of participants?
23. In your opinion what do parents and other community members think of this sport intervention program? Do you have means of communication?
24. Would you recommend such initiatives be included in the Sport and Recreation Policy as a practice in post-apartheid South Africa?
25. What are the main challenges you encountered thus far, and how do you plan to overcome?
26. How do you monitor, and evaluate your programs?
27. How often is the evaluation of these programme conducted, and for what purpose?

28. In your opinion how successful do you think your particular initiative in terms of success, and how do you monitor and evaluate your programs?
29. How do you measure success in terms of the current SIPs?
30. As someone who has been involved in sports you probably have some ideas of your own as to whether or not the current state of affairs (political and otherwise) could be said to be leaning more towards or away from notions of peace and/or nation-building. Could you share some of your views and insights on this matter?
31. What do you consider counter-productive in as far as this vision is concerned?
32. What role/s do you think it could play, that is/are being overlooked at the moment?
33. If you had the power and the means, what major changes would you introduce to the current sporting scene in this country?
34. Would you like to add anything that you want me to know about?

Thank you

Appendix D: Discussion group questionnaire

1. Can you introduce yourselves to the group, such as your name, school, and racial background including the community you come from?
2. Why and what motivated you to join the sport program?
3. Can we discuss our understand of race in relation to the following points:
 - a) How do you think you feel towards other groups or a black or white or coloured?
 - b) How does it make you feel to be a black/coloured/white?
 - c) How do you think other people from different racial background understand race?
 - d) How do you think to be black/coloured/white at this time?
 - e) Do you regret to be black/white/coloured? Why?
 - f) How do you think things could change for you if you were from another race?
4. Can we discuss the following from personal experiences:
 - a) Have you experienced anything (positive or negative) in relation to your race?
 - b) How have you been feeling to blacks/coloureds/whites?
 - c) How do you think a black/white/coloured person understand you?
- 5 All of you were born after apartheid, and you may not feel race as a big problem, if so let us discuss the following:
 - a) How would you think you would feel towards 'others' in that situation?
 - b) What do you think it would feel to be black/white/coloured in that situation?
 - c) What do you think you could about race if you would have been born during apartheid?
- 5) Can you discuss some racial incidents that you witnessed in relation to the following:
 - a) What racial incidents can you witness at your community, school etc...?
 - b) What do you think the problems that make fight on racial base, e.g., group of blacks against group of coloured people etc...?

- c) What do you think the solution for such problems
- 6) Let us now discuss about your sport programs in relation to the following:
- a) How do you feel towards one another within the sporting program? Why?
 - b) How does it feel to play in racially-mixed teammate as well as interact with other teams from different racial backgrounds?
 - c) What do you learn within the sport programs? How?
 - d) What other programs do you have besides the sport programs?
 - e) How do you think these can help you to collaborate one another regardless your skin colours?
 - f) How do you see your other racial fellows at this time comparing before you joined the program? Please elaborate based on the sport relationship you created in this program?
 - g) How does this affect your life in future?
 - h) What do you suggest to be included to strengthen you racial relationship to one another?
- 7) Please discuss some of the challenges you experience in the sport programs in relation to the following:
- a) What are some of the challenges you have in the sport programs?
 - b) What do you think are the solutions form these problems?
 - c) What would you consider as important within the programs?
 - d) What additional programs would you recommend
- 8) I think we are about to finish our discussions, would you like to add or discuss any other points that you think are relevant? Please do?

Thank you so very much.

Appendix E: Interview questionnaire SIPs non-staff

1. Would you introduce yourself including your sport background, work, and the motivation behind for your involvement in the SIPs?
2. What is your main role within the SIPs and in what capacity?
3. How do you think you or your organization can assist the SIPs in achieving their goals?
4. What would you like to see at grassroots such as the youth to achieve, and why?
5. Have you ever experienced any problems in relation to your racial identity? Please elaborate how these can be redressed by the current SIPs?
6. How do you see yourself and others in relation to racial identity during and after apartheid?
7. How do you think your experience, and your role can help the youth to collaborate and unite regardless of their skin colour, and how do you assist in this regard?
8. Many believe that racial division is the root cause of all societal issue (such as poverty, crime, inequality, unemployment et...) in South Africa. Do you agree? Why?
9. What would you like to achieve with your role, and what change would you like to see among the new generations from different racial backgrounds?
10. Do you think these programs are doing in the right way in achieving its broader goals? Why?
11. Do you believe government is doing very well in this regard? If yes how? If no, why not?
12. How can your experience and contribution influence the youth?
13. What additional programs would you like to see for intended goals within the SIP?
14. What challenges do you see or can you identify within the Sport intervention, and how can the SIP or others contribute to overcome these problems?
15. What other additional programs or how can existing programs can strengthen?
16. Would you like to add anything that you feel is important to raise?

Thank you

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