BRIDGING THE DIVIDE:

THE ROLE OF SPORT EVENTS IN
CONTRIBUTING TO
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN
DISPARATE COMMUNITIES

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TO A.G.S.E.P.

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to the Asian-German Sports Exchange Programme (A.G.S.E.P) and its CEO Dr. Dietmar Döring, for giving me the opportunity to conduct my research in the fascinating Sri Lanka. Since my first involvement with the organisation long before this study was conducted, I have been continually impressed with the dedication and enthusiasm all staff and volunteer members demonstrated for the different sport-for-development projects. They strive so hard and give so freely of their time to bring the most disparate and disadvantaged communities together in joyful celebration. As active 'change agents' in an ethnically divided country they are doing a tremendous job in creating experiences, sustaining memories, and providing a peaceful legacy through sport.

A sincere *istuti*, *nandri* and thank you for your time, honesty and insights, and the willingness to share your experiences and ideas with me. I hope that A.G.S.E.P. will continue its inspiring work in post-war Sri Lanka, and that you are all rewarded with future success!

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PREAMBLE

Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire.
It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does.
Sport can awaken hope where there was previously only despair.
(Nelson Mandela 2000)

While peace is a policy goal that receives almost universal endorsement, it has proven to be extremely hard to achieve, even if it is understood in terms of its most limited meaning, namely the absence of war. If peace is given a broader definition, to include connotations of personal and community wellbeing as well as the absence of intergroup conflict and tension, it is an even more elusive goal. However, I believe that there is at least a fair chance for a peaceful togetherness between people of different backgrounds and possibly a stronger potential for generosity and justice in our world today. To actualise this potential, people have to actively participate, break through prescribed realities, connect with others, and dare to hope that the great diversity of human talents is capable of building the kind of communities we want to live in. Side by side with different, *positively different* people.

I could not have written this thesis if I did not believe that more and better is possible – in thinking, enacting, relating, feeling, belonging and... celebrating!

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the role of sport events in contributing to social development between disparate communities in a developing world context. In particular, it explores the socio-cultural experiences that arise from inter-community sport events; how social identities and group categorisations are impacted; the roles and responsibilities of a change agent in facilitating community development projects; and the opportunities for sustaining and leveraging positive intergroup relations beyond events.

The thesis draws on literature from three distinct but interrelated areas: Community Participation and Social Capital, Intergroup Relations and Social Identities, and Event Management and Impacts. The sociological concepts of community participation and social capital provide key benefits for community empowerment and sustainable social development within divided societies. The social psychological study of intergroup relations forms the theoretical basis for the analysis of social identities and group categorisation processes at inter-community sport events. The research conducted on socio-cultural impacts and leveraging opportunities of sport events highlights that most existing 'evidence' of sport events' potential in uniting disparate communities is anecdotal, and that inter-community sport events in divided societies is an under-researched phenomenon.

To address this gap and understand sport events' role in community and identity building, two inter-community sport events in war-torn Sri Lanka were chosen for an in-depth investigation. Using an interpretive mode of inquiry, qualitative data was collected from disparate Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim communities

and international sportspeople through focus groups, in-depth interviews and participant observation.

The data revealed that people experience both positive and negative socio-cultural impacts at events, which influence the stock of social capital available to communities. On the positive side opportunities to socialise, interact and cooperate with 'others' contribute to cultural learning, feelings of increased comfort and trust, and the establishment of networks. On the negative side, social development can be undermined by pessimistic attitudes and management tensions. Different experiences were found to influence the way people see and categorise 'others' in group identity terms. When positive experiences dominate and social connections are enabled, the creation of multiple inclusive social identities can be achieved along national and organisational lines, common interests, and imagined factors. This supports the claim that inter-community events can contribute to inclusive social change and a sense of togetherness and belonging.

It was found that change agents are required to find the right balance between guiding sport event projects and allowing communities to engage and participate. They need to be innovative and responsible advocates for social capital and capacity building by facilitating the creation of trust and networks between local communities. Indeed, change agents are required to gradually transfer event responsibilities and control to assist the communities in developing resources and achieving local empowerment.

The findings indicate a need to focus on a strategic approach in order to generate, maximise and sustain the benefits of events. Pre event, the change agent and communities are encouraged to engage in 'bonding sessions' to get to know each other, and to decide on event leveraging strategies. During the event,

ethnically mixed team sport activities and the event-related socio-cultural experiences allow participants and spectators to achieve 'togetherness in diversity'. Post event, a combination of community partnerships, regular sport programs and 'highlight events' can secure ongoing opportunities for both bonding and bridging social capital.

A framework for social inter-community event management was developed in light of this study. Its aim is to assist communities, change agents and event managers to plan for positive social outcomes and sustainable community development. Overall, this thesis provides a deeper understanding of the role of sport events in contributing to social development among disparate groups. It suggests a number of theoretical and practical implications for the management of future inter-community sport events, in respect to building social capital, achieving positive social change, and advancing local capacity building.

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CHAPTER ONE:

SPORT EVENTS FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

> [In Sri Lanka], along with the concern for human rights is the imperative of reconciliation between and within communities after two decades of armed conflict. ... Before the establishment of formal Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, if this is the route chosen, community-based peace and reconciliation [projects] are an urgent need. (Saravanamuttu 2006, pp. 16-17)

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

Sport is indisputably one of the world's most popular leisure activities, and it describes a fascinating phenomenon: people from all over the world play, attend, watch, listen to, talk about, experience and even *feel* sport at all levels of performance. Local community sporting events are regularly attended by friends and family, and national and international sporting competitions such as World Cups encourage fans to follow sport teams all around the globe. At the 2006 Football World Cup, for example, tens of thousands of Australian and Japanese supporters travelled up to 30 hours to cheer for their teams in Germany. Apart from the usual rivalries, it was reported that fans of different nations celebrated together in style before, during and after the matches (Ohmann, Jones and Wilkes 2006; Smith-Spark 2006). For these reasons, sport has been described as a language which all people in the world understand and speak and which is able to emotionally combine and unite groups (Dyreson 2003). Clearly, sport events offer valuable experiences to participants, supporters, and other event stakeholders while its impacts are of significant economical, political, social and psychological importance.

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In 2002 I experienced the power of sport events to connect and unite people when I spent three months conducting sport for development projects in Sri Lanka. In a country where 25 years of civil war and political struggle have shattered the relations between different ethnic communities, it was a ladies football tournament in the war-torn city of Vavuniya which for the first time in decades brought Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim sportspeople to connect and celebrate with each other (Gammanpila 2002). The sport event highlighted to me that many Sri Lankans – regardless of their social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds – were willing to overcome political rivalries in order to interact and bridge intergroup divides.

According to Arai and Pedlar (2003), three interrelated crises are apparent at the commencement of the twenty-first century: a political crisis, a social crisis, and an identity crisis. On the political level, in multicultural societies, governments have to deal with demands and requirements from different groups representing specific cultures, values and ideas. On a social level – particularly within divided countries – communities struggle to live in peace and harmony with their neighbours, which can result in intergroup conflict and in extreme cases, civil war. On the identity level, people are having difficulties in connecting emotionally with others, their communities, ethnic groups or homeland. In dealing with these crises, the United Nations and Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have been promoting social development programs and community participation ideals to engage people, to give them a voice, and to connect them with others in a meaningful way.

Within the realm of social development there are three major, interrelated constructs: 'social capital', 'social change' and 'capacity building' (Moscardo 2007). Social capital refers to the development of trust, networks and reciprocity among people; social change describes the establishment of emotional

connections and bonds between communities, such as the creation of common ingroup feelings; and capacity building means the enhancement of particular skills, talent and knowledge that contribute to community empowerment. To achieve social development, active community participation in social development projects is required (Orjuela 2008; United Nations 2006; Midgley 1986). However, in a developing world context communities often do not possess the skills, knowledge and expertise to conduct social development projects themselves. Therefore, external 'change agents' have been introduced to support local activities under the principle of 'guided self-help'.

One of those change agents is the Sri Lankan based *Asian-German Sports Exchange Programme* (A.G.S.E.P.), the sports NGO I worked for in 2002. A.G.S.E.P. supports local ethnic communities in conducting sport event development projects to improve intergroup relations and to contribute to social development through active participation. A.G.S.E.P. has introduced inter-community sport events as a new and potentially significant medium to foster community interaction and intercultural togetherness. Inter-community events are referred to as events that purposely bring disparate communities together, and they are defined for this research as

> participatory celebrations with a socio-cultural focus, where two or more communities cooperate and link festivity with leisure activities, cultural diversity and the wider community to achieve positive social development. (A.G.S.E.P. Website 2005)

Despite the increased recognition and use of community building programs as important contributors to the social fabric of multicultural societies (Höglund and Sundberg 2008; Kidd 2008; Stidder and Haasner 2007; Lea-Howarth 2006; Sugden 2006; Gasser and Levinsen 2004; Sugden and Bairner 2000), evaluations of inter-community sport events for the purposes of social

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development have largely been overlooked. Most 'evidence' in the event area is based on anecdotes and symbolic gestures suggesting that sport events can contribute to reconciliation and social development (Chalip 2006). My experiences from Sri Lanka confirm this claim. While the participating communities presented many anecdotal reports that the ladies football tournament in 2002 resulted in positive socio-cultural development, no empirical evidence was collected to identify the direct impacts and longer term outcomes that were generated by the event.

Empirical investigations of inter-community sport events are needed to identify if events can be strategically used as a tool for social development. Only when reliable evidence is available can decision makers and NGOs, such as A.G.S.E.P., advance policies and practical measures that build on events as vehicles for social capital, social change and capacity building. This thesis provides such evidence by investigating the ability of inter-community sport events to contribute to social development in the ethnically divided Sri Lanka. The direct socio-cultural experiences at inter-community sport events are investigated, and the impacts of sport events on people's social identities and group categorisations are analysed. Further, the roles and responsibilities of a change agent within sport event development projects are examined, and the means by which to capitalise on positive impacts and leverage events to the wider community are explored.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

This thesis reports on an empirical investigation set out to answer the primary research question:

What is the role of inter-community sport events in contributing to social development?

To answer this question a number of objectives were framed:

1. Understand the socio-cultural experiences that arise from inter-community sport events.
2. Investigate how inter-community events impact on people's social identities and group categorisations.
3. Identify the roles and responsibilities of a change agent in facilitating community development projects.
4. Understand how positive relations can be sustained and leveraged beyond the event.
5. Identify the implications for social development through sport events resulting from this research.

In responding to the research question this study seeks to make a number of contributions to the body of knowledge. Overall, the research will demonstrate what role sport events can take in achieving social development between disparate communities. It will highlight sport events' potential in bringing together people of adverse groups for a joint celebration, and also discuss the limits of staging inter-community sport events. Further, against the overall trend of event assessments *ex post*, this thesis will present a process orientated *ex ante* framework for the strategic study of social utility of sport events. This change in

perspective has implications for event researchers and educators, as the primary focus shifts from merely evaluating event impacts towards planning, designing and managing events for desired long-term outcomes.

In particular, this research will contribute to the academic literature on event experiences, impacts and outcomes. The identification of the direct social, cultural and psychological impacts and potential long-term outcomes of inter-community sport events and community-based peace-making campaigns will have implications for event managers and policymakers. Findings from this thesis can inform the development and the establishment of guidelines for the planning, developing, managing and implementing of future development projects with a sporting focus. A deeper understanding of event experiences and opportunities for event leverage can assist event organisers and stakeholders in developing strategies aimed at minimising negative impacts and maximising event benefits. Such knowledge can help to ensure that inter-community sport events reach their potential as vehicles for social capital and inclusive social change.

Furthermore, this research will provide a deeper understanding for event organisers, change agents and stakeholders into the roles and responsibilities of the organising company, program or organisation facilitating inter-community development projects. Currently, there is a lack of practical information about the most suitable management approaches for change agents in developing countries, and a limited understanding about which sport activities and sport processes produce the most positive outcomes for different groups of participants (Coalter 2007). A detailed understanding of the communities' and organisers' views on the role of a change agent will greatly assist in the management and strategic design of future inter-community events. Findings will allow event organisers and change agents to assess their position in

supporting community-based events more clearly, which has implications for their work with local communities.

Finally, this research may be used to raise awareness around the appropriateness and significance of inter-community events in achieving social development and a festive celebration between disparate communities. This has implications for governments, which may include inter-community events as a strategic element within their wider social and cultural policies and programs. In particular, the Sri Lankan Government's current development focus remains on combating terrorism on the one hand and achieving economic growth on the other (Daily News 17.01.2009). This research may provide evidence that social development projects are the missing ingredient in the overall development agenda aimed at strengthening Sri Lanka's ethnic communities.

1.3 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS

This research is underpinned by three distinct but interrelated conceptual areas: Community Participation and Social Capital, Intergroup Relations and Social Identities, and Event Management and Impacts. First, the sociological concepts of community participation and in particular social capital building are discussed. From the relevant literature (Burnett 2006; Verweel and Anthonissen 2006; Dale and Onyx 2005; Putnam 2003; Burnett 2001; Falk and Kilpatrick 2000; Onyx and Bullen 2000a, 2000b; Putnam 1993a) social capital elements are highlighted, which inform and support the discussion of the social potential of inter-community sport events in divided societies.

Second, the social psychological study of Intergroup Relations and Social Identity Theory (SIT) is examined. The focus in the study of intergroup relations

is on the positive and negative behaviour and feelings between groups and their individual members. The Contact Hypothesis (Allport 1954) and different conflict reduction approaches (Hogg and Abrams 2001; Pettigrew 1998; Austin and Worchel 1986, 1979; Sherif 1967) form the central part of this section. Attention is then directed towards Tajfel and Turner's (1986; 1979) SIT, which focuses on the ways in which people in an *ingroup* perceive, categorise and compare themselves against an *outgroup*. In particular, four categorisation models for mediating the effects of intergroup comparison and contact are presented. These are the De-Categorised Contact Model (DCM) (Brewer and Miller 1984), the Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model (MIDM) (Vivian, Hewstone and Brown 1997), the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) (Gaertner, Dovidio, Rust, Nier, Banker, Ward, Houlettte and Loux 2000) and the Dual Identity Model (DIM) (González and Brown 2003; Hornsey and Hogg 2000). These four models help to understand how inter-community events may impact on the social categorisation of 'others'.

Third, research in the management area of socio-cultural event impacts will be presented, placing a particular focus on inter-community sport events and sport programs as a special form of intergroup contact (Höglund and Sundberg 2008; Kellett, Hede and Chalip 2008; Kidd 2008; Stidder and Haasner 2007; Misener and Mason 2006; Sugden 2006; Lawson 2005; Sherwood, Jago and Deery 2005b; Mastermann 2004; Arai and Pedlar 2003; Sugden and Bairner 2000). Building on event impact research, the concept of event leverage will be explored, which describes the strategic planning used in order to maximise event benefits for long-term positive outcomes (O'Brien and Chalip 2008; Chalip 2006, 2004).

This research is located within an interpretive paradigm informed by qualitative methods – an approach to research that portrays a world in which reality is

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viewed as socially constructed, complex, and ever changing (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Glesne 1999). Interpretive studies aim to *understand* the context of a case or a phenomenon through the meanings that people assign to it. As expert knowledge is often situated in local cultures and imbedded in interactional sites (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Crotty 1998), qualitative researchers interact and talk with participants about their perceptions and take an 'inside view' from participants' perspectives. Through careful interpretation and analysis of their experiences, feelings, ideas and concerns new knowledge can be created.

1.4 THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis is organised into six chapters. The following Chapter Two reviews the literature related to the three conceptual areas of Community Participation and Social Capital, Intergroup Relations and SIT, and Event Management and Impacts. The community participation literature focuses on social development approaches, in particular community empowerment, the building of social capital, and inter-community wellbeing. The social psychological study of intergroup relations presents the background to the concept of SIT and social group categorisation models. Inter-community sport events are introduced as a special type of event, building on studies and findings from the areas of event management and socio-cultural event impacts.

Chapter Three outlines the research methodology. Guided by an interpretive paradigm, the chapter discusses the qualitative case study approach employed and presents the research design and methods. Further, the chapter outlines the data analysis process as well as the ethical considerations undertaken to protect the research participants and the researcher from undue distress and harm.

Chapter Four provides the social context of the particular case that is examined in this research – Sri Lanka. It presents a geographic and demographic overview of the country, its historical development, its prevailing problems with violence and terrorism, and the current socio-political circumstances on the island. Furthermore, the chapter describes the change agent A.G.S.E.P. and summarises the two inter-community sport events analysed for this research: the International Run for Peace (IR4P) in Sri Lanka's capital Colombo and the Intercultural Sports Meeting (ISM) in the rural western Sri Lankan community Nattandiya.

Chapter Five presents the findings from the data collection and reports them in accordance with the research question and objectives. The chapter begins by outlining the findings on socio-cultural event impacts and experiences. Then, the research participants' experiences of intergroup relations, social identities and group categorisations are presented. This is followed by an outline of the specific roles and responsibilities of the change agent in facilitating community development projects. The chapter concludes by presenting the suggested strategies for sustaining and leveraging event benefits beyond event borders.

Chapter Six discusses the findings of this study in relation to previous research and theories in the areas of Community Participation, Social Capital, Intergroup Relations, SIT, and Event Impacts. This final chapter provides an overview of what has been achieved in respect to answering the overriding research question. In particular, the potential of inter-community events in building social capital, social change and capacity building is discussed. Finally, the Strategic Inter-Community Event Management (SICEM) framework is presented, which combines findings of the empirical research with the different literature areas investigated. In conclusion, the theoretical contributions and practical

implications of this research are highlighted, and suggestions for further research are proposed based on the developments made in this thesis.

1.5 DELIMITATIONS

There are four delimiting factors in this inquiry. First, the island of Sri Lanka is home to several ethnic and religious groups including Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, Christians, and smaller populations of Eurasians, Burgher, Malays, Parsis and the indigenous inhabitants the Veddas (Nyrop 2005; Dunung 1995). This research is however limited to the three largest ethnic groups – the Sinhalese, the Tamils, and the Muslims. Ongoing conflicts in Sri Lanka are currently been fought between the Sinhalese dominated Sri Lankan Government and the rebelling Tamil separatist underground movement *Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam* (LTTE). Together with the influential Muslim community, these groups were therefore seen as the most significant in the context of this research. While members of other minority ethnic groups were able to take part in the two events analysed for this thesis, they present culturally specific cases that do not play a decisive role in Sri Lanka's current inter-ethnic tensions.

The second delimitation concerns the tense political situation in Sri Lanka, which restricted my travel and interview options. At the time of data collection, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs (DFAT) strongly advised not to travel to the north and east of Sri Lanka. In recent years these LTTE controlled areas have seen politically motivated violence, including assassinations and bombings. Despite a ceasefire agreement prevailing at the time, civil unrest was widespread and communal and inter-ethnic tensions were expected to lead to further violent outbreaks. Therefore, I avoided all travel to the LTTE controlled areas and conducted my fieldwork in the western parts of Sri Lanka. The restrictions resulted in lower participation rates for Tamil interviewees, who a)

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could not be approached in their homeland, and b) were unwilling or restricted to travel to Sri Lanka's west coast.

Third, I experienced a language barrier when conversing with people in Sri Lanka. The three official languages spoken in the country are Sinhala, Tamil and English. However, only ten percent of the population speaks English well (SCOOP 2006), and in rural areas this percentage is even lower (SLSA 2006). In order to overcome problems in language and communication I conducted interviews with the assistance of a translator where appropriate. The use of a translator provided me with the benefits of capturing the voices of different community members – including those from lower socio-economic backgrounds – and it had the added benefit of both minimising misunderstandings and increasing transparency.

Fourth, this research employs a qualitative case study approach to understand and to explain a specific social real-world phenomenon. This approach is delimited by its subjective nature, yet it is empowered by the same as it captures the uniqueness of a particular situation from an insider's perspective (Neuman 2003). While the findings of this study cannot be generalised across all ethnic 'hot-spots' the principle of extrapolation should be useful when applying specific findings and concepts to other scenarios. Supporting this claim, Walton (1992, p. 129) notes that when knowledge generated from specific contemporary cases is extrapolated rather than generalised, then "case studies are likely to produce the best theory". This means that key findings, concepts and ideas presented in case studies may be used to inform both future research and the management of similar development projects.

1.6 LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

The potential of sport events to achieve positive social and cultural impacts has increasingly been recognised by communities, NGOs and governments. Sport events provide opportunities for entertainment, socialisation and the establishment of contacts and networks between people and groups. However, sport events have only recently been used as a method for fostering inter-community togetherness and delivering reconciliation between ethnic groups. We have yet to explore the strategic means by which to capitalise on intergroup togetherness and celebration in order to contribute to social development in divided societies. Also, the question remains whether there is any lasting social value to be retained from the positive social impacts of inter-community sport events and how 'feel good momenta' can be sustained and leveraged beyond event borders.

This thesis will investigate the role of inter-community sport events in contributing to social development between disparate communities in the ethnically divided Sri Lanka. In particular, this research will present the socio-cultural impacts experienced by the different event stakeholders; it will discuss the impacts on people's social identities and categorisation resulting from participating in the events; it will investigate the roles and responsibilities of the change agent in the event management process; and it will suggest strategies for sustaining and leveraging positive social development outcomes beyond the event. This research is expected to provide a greater understanding of the potential for inter-community sport events in the fostering of inclusive social development that will be relevant to event organisers, policymakers, NGOs and governmental institutions.

In summary, Chapter One has provided a background to the research and has introduced the research question and objectives. The theories underpinning this research and the contributions expected by this thesis were provided. This chapter also presented an overview of the structure of the thesis and pointed out the delimitations and scope of the research. With the foundation laid, Chapter Two will now present a comprehensive review of the relevant literature relating to the underlying theories and concepts of Community Participation and Social Capital, Intergroup Relations and SIT, and Event Management and Impacts.

CHAPTER TWO:
LITERATURE REVIEW

Large human movements spring from individual human
initiatives. If we feel that we cannot have much of an effect,
the next person may become discouraged, and a great opportunity
will be lost. On the other hand, simply by working to develop
our own altruistic motive, each of us can inspire others.
(His Holiness The Dalai Lama 2007)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As noted in Chapter One, social development refers to the creation of social capital, achieving social change and building community capacity (Moscardo 2007). Social development through inter-community sport events is the focus of this research. Inter-community events are described as participatory celebrations with a socio-cultural focus, where two or more communities cooperate and link festivity with leisure activities, cultural diversity and the wider community to achieve positive social development (A.G.S.E.P. Website 2005).

This chapter provides a review of the literature relevant to the development of this research. It begins with a discussion of the concepts, benefits and challenges of community participation for social development, and in particular the building of social capital. The social psychology of intergroup relations is then presented, which explains how people in a group perceive and behave towards people in other groups. The emphasis here will be on the concept of intergroup conflict and the different approaches for reducing social distance between groups. Attention is then directed to SIT, which is discussed with a strong focus on the four categorisation models for mediating the effects of intergroup contact

– particularly for large-scale groups such as ethnic communities. The literature review concludes by discussing the impacts of events, including a focus on the sports factor in events and the socio-cultural impacts of community celebrations. As the main focus of this thesis is on the role of sport events in contributing to social development between Sri Lanka's ethnic groups, the preconditions and strategies for reducing intergroup tension, achieving social change and developing community capacity are elaborated in detail.

2.2 COMMUNITY

The term community comes from the Latin *communis*, which means common, public, shared by all or many. Williams (1976, p. 76), in his famous *Keywords*, describes community as a "warmly persuasive word", which can be applied either to an existing set of relationships or alternatively a new set which may be realised in the future. He adds that the term community "seems never to be used unfavourably". Similarly, Elias (1974, p. xiii) points out that "the use of the term community has remained to some extent associated with the hope and the wish of reviving once more the closer, warmer, more harmonious type of bonds between people vaguely attributed to past ages". Nisbet (1969) describes community as a fusion of feeling, tradition, commitment, membership and psychological strength, which leads to a shared feeling of togetherness and a sense of belonging. A community is seen as a place where solidarity, participation and coherence can be found (Taylor 2003; Purdue, Razzaque, Hambleton, Stewart, Huxham and Vangen 2000) and may be described as a network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds amongst its members.

In the literature there is an overall agreement about the distinction between *geographical* and *interest* communities. The former refers to the population of a particular geographical area – a territorial community, whereas the latter does not require physical proximity but rather focuses on people who share something in common – a functional community (Ingham and McDonald 2003; Willmott 1988; Anderson 1983). Interest communities often include people from different local regions or geographical communities, and can therefore be described as dispersed interest groups. What is shared in such collective ensembles is a combination of 'interest' and specific characteristics such as ethnicity, religion, political ideology, occupation, sexuality or leisure pursuit (Ife 1995; Bender 1991; Willmott 1988). Examples are the Latino community, the Jewish community, the military, academic or sports communities. Dedicated interest groups often show interaction and a common sense of identity even if the relationships amongst members are less personal and/or frequent than those between friends or relatives. Anderson (1983) describes this phenomenon as the 'imagined community', where people share deep sentiments or beliefs and through this make sense of their lives in what may otherwise seem a complex and anonymous world.

Community is essentially a subjective experience; it is felt and experienced rather than measured and clearly defined (Ife 1995). Some aspects of community are, however, omnipresent, which prompted Shaffer and Anundsen (1993) to develop a five-point definition which suggests that a community is a dynamic whole that emerges when people in a group:

1. participate in common practices;
2. depend upon one another;
3. make decisions together;

4. identify themselves as part of something larger than the sum of their individual relationships; and
5. commit themselves for the long term to their own, one another's, and the group's wellbeing.

The five-point definition shows that the essence of the term 'community' is the idea of having something in common, or being in *Gemeinschaft* [togetherness] with others. According to Taylor (2003), these commonalities allow members to commit and identify with their community, which might include or be based on the following:

- A common cultural heritage (a common tradition or identity, a sense of continuity, of belonging and loyalty, perhaps in faith communities or ethnic communities).
- Social relationships (the social ties of family, neighbours, mutual support and social interaction derived from kinship, sense of feeling of belonging).
- Common economic interests (class, common or potential use of a products or services by owners and customers; provision of goods or services by businesses, traders, service providers, workers).
- Common experiences of power or oppression (for instance, refugees, asylum seekers, minority groups).

It is the combination of these commonalities which give people a feeling of belonging and safety, and contribute to their social identities. In multicultural societies ethnic communities are good examples of this, as people often share a common background, have strong group ties within the community, and experience power or oppression in similar ways.

In order to be a functional and dynamic community, Shaffer and Anundsen (1993) argue that communities need to work towards community development. Christenson, Fendley and Robinson (1989, p. 14) define community development as "a group of people in a locality initiating a social action process (i.e. an intervention) to change their economic, social, cultural, or environmental situation". To achieve positive development, community members have to engage and make decisions in cooperation with each other (Chalmers and Bramadat 1996; Anyanwu 1988). Furthermore, in cases where external parties are involved in community development processes, these parties need to respect local traditions and avoid paternalistic behaviour in an attempt to share control and power with the communities (Ife 1995; Warren 1978). Overall, community development needs to be understood as an ongoing process, in which commitment and active participation are the preconditions for achieving positive outcomes.

2.2.1 Community Participation

Community development through participation is a community process seen as an important key to the advancement of group lives within societies (Stiglitz 2002; Ross 2000; Chalmers and Bramadat 1996). The United Nations Economic and Social Council resolution 1929 (LVIII) states that participation requires the voluntary and democratic involvement of people in (a) contributing to the development effort, (b) sharing equitably in the benefits derived there from, and (c) decision-making in respect of setting goals, formulating policies and planning and implementing economic and social development programs. Building on these requirements, the United Nations (cited in Midgley 1986, p. 24) define *community participation* as "the creation of opportunities to enable all members of a community and the larger society to actively contribute to and influence the development process and to share equitably in the fruits of

development". Fundamental to the idea of community participation is an emphasis on 'building from below' or – in other words – a development which is initiated within communities. Sanoff (2000, pp. 9-10) outlines the overriding purpose of participation as follows:

- to involve people in design and decision-making processes and, as a result, increase their trust and confidence in organisations.
- to provide people with a voice in design and decision-making in order to improve plans, decisions, and service delivery; and to promote a sense of community by bringing people together who share common goals.

Widespread recognition has further defined community participation in planning and development as a partnership built upon the basis of a dialogue among the various actors (stakeholders), during which the agenda is set jointly, and local views and knowledge are deliberately sought and respected (Reid 2006; Uruena 2004; Sanoff 2000; Schneider and Libercier 1995). This means that for any type of community development projects, communities should be actively involved in the participation *process*, rather than only looking at the final outcome of community development projects. The careful exploration of common problems and subsequently their gradual elimination may well be of more value to participating communities than the final result itself, as participation in (inter-) community projects allows for mutual understanding and appreciation of one another (Orjuela 2008, 2003; Botes and van Rensburg 2000; Ross 2000; Fitzduff 1993).

While proponents of the concept claim that participation can foster a sense of belonging and the integration of different communities, critics argue that the community participation process is often ineffective and overwhelming for communities. For a holistic and realistic overview of community projects and

their management, it is important to analyse both the opportunities and the limitations of the concept.

The Benefits of Community Participation

Participation aims at empowering local people. As a result the people, their communities and organisations gain mastery over their affairs, which means that 'people centred' empowerment strategies emphasise human and social development (Florin and Wandermann 1990). Empowerment – as a collaborative process – should for example enhance individual and collective capacities, improve efficacy, address inequities and, where poverty is implicated, promote social and economic justice and wellbeing (Skinner, Zakus and Cowell 2008; Reid 2006). Wellbeing has been described as "an optimal quality of healthy community life which meets the needs of people living together in communities" (Rural Assist Information Network 2006). According to Lawson (2005, p. 147) community participation and empowerment contribute to wellbeing, as it can help individuals and groups to (1) gain a critical understanding of themselves and their environments, (2) develop collective identities and social solidarity, (3) gain resources and power, enabling them to achieve individual and collective goals, (4) achieve greater equity, and (5) enhance individual and collective capacities to sustain their achievements.

Participatory and co-operational community approaches further promise to advance intergroup relations and may result in a shared feeling of togetherness (Schulenkorf 2008b, 2005; Gasser and Levinsen 2004). Involvement and integration of different community members into joint projects may result in increased dedication of individuals and groups, and participation can thus be described as the "engine of community life" (Kenny 1999, p. 64). Livermore and Midgley (1998) show in their study of the racially divided southern U.S. city of Baton Rouge that a *genuine* partnership between dedicated groups is a

successful way of bridging and overcoming differences and creating inter-community wellbeing. If genuine partnerships are achieved, communities can experience the benefits of active participation by suggesting or receiving ideas, discussing problems, engaging with others and providing recommendations, which contribute to the capacity to function as one unit or team. Livermore and Midgley (1998) argue that genuine partnerships result in active involvement of all participants and final agreement of all principal parties to an issue, which increases the likelihood of successful identification of people with the projects and community life in general.

Participation also promises disadvantaged communities the capacity to help themselves through newly established connections or networks (Uruena 2004; O'Keefe and Hogg 1999). The experience of being actively involved in community projects is for example important for acquiring the confidence to act and the skill to work, and for feelings of being included as a respected member of society. To achieve the desired positive outcomes of community participation projects, people have to be encouraged to work with each other – they need to develop structures and a network in which everyone has a specific place and in which every person can contribute and be genuinely valued by others (Ife 1995; Sugden 1991). Inclusiveness, the building of trust and appreciation, as well as a common sense of purpose are of critical importance, and should be fostered within all community development projects (Skinner *et al.* 2008; Uruena 2004; Ife 1995). This does not mean that critical discussions, disagreements and arguing are to be avoided; they should even be encouraged, as long as efforts are productive and allow for development towards collective decision making, compromising and eventually problem solving. According to Peck (1988, p. 88), "genuine communities may experience lovely and sometimes lengthy periods free from conflict. But that is because they have learned how to deal with conflict, rather than avoid it".

The Challenges of Community Participation

The proponents of community participation make a powerful and emotionally appealing case, and the process of community participation receives strong theoretical support in the literature (Reid 2006; Cuthill 2003; Reid 2003; Botes and van Rensburg 2000; Sanoff 2000; O'Keefe and Hogg 1999; Ife 1995). In practice, however, the community participation approach has its problems and challenges.

Theoretically, community participation means participation of *all* people. However, Ife (1995) argues that in all but the smallest and simplest societies is impractical to expect that all members of a community will be actively involved in the decision-making and participation that is required. Creighton (1995) believes that there are always people in a community who do not care about social projects, while there are others who do not have the time to participate. This is particularly relevant for community projects in developing countries, where individuals and groups often do not possess the resources to take over time-intensive community roles, as they are primarily concerned with their own survival (Orjuela 2003). This restriction leads to another problem that arises in community development work, which is a lack of participation of lower socio-economic groups in the organisation and implementation of community projects (Skinner *et al.* 2008; Campbell and McLean 2002; Gittell 1980; Almond and Verba 1965). When disadvantaged people or groups cannot or do not participate, this results in a skewed representation of the overall community in development projects. Botes and van Rensburg (2000) therefore consider the integration of people who initially do not have the capacity to participate as one of the biggest challenges in the community development process.

A community's norms also have an influence on people's willingness to participate in community projects. Specific customs and traditional ways of

behaving in the community can determine whether people and groups will participate actively and cooperatively in community affairs (Reid 2006). At the same time, norms and values determine to a great extent the manner in which individuals and groups cooperate or resist. In cases where people or groups with different socio-cultural or ethnic backgrounds come together for joint projects, cultural misunderstandings and differences in perceived group status may occur. Particularly when people are disenfranchised by government approaches and feel inferior in comparison to the mainstream community, there may be suspicion and resistance to participate in government supported projects.

The community participation process is often considered time-consuming and costly, and the outcomes of participation can be uncertain and ineffective (Botes and van Rensburg 2000). Gow and van Sant (1983) for example state that the requirements needed to communicate with and coordinate all stakeholders are often beyond the limits of the number of project staff, governmental personnel and local residents involved in the process. These challenges can lead to a lack of clarity in allocated management roles, hierarchy orders or staff responsibilities, which makes the management of community projects inefficient. Reid (2006) argues that if the project team does not guide the community participation process appropriately, expectations of citizens in the participation process may not achieved, which can lead to disillusionment among the community and a reduced number of people wanting to be involved in future projects.

Overall, many experts believe that communities – particularly those in developing countries – cannot function autonomously without the support of external agencies. In order to overcome the risk of communities being overwhelmed by development projects, governments and policymakers have

increasingly advocated external support from aid agencies, facilitators or 'change agents' in community projects.

2.2.2 The Change Agent

The concept of community participation has been introduced as a promising strategy for stimulating project initiation, community empowerment and overall social development (Gschwend and Selvaranju 2007; Reid 2006; Henley 2005; Reid 2003; Sanoff 2000; Ife 1995). However, in order to avoid the problems of overwhelming communities with the staging of development projects, several authors highlight the importance of establishing creative and cooperative partnerships with external institutions or change agents which are able to guide and support the process (Lawson 2005; Naparstek, Dooley and Smith 1997). Midgley (1986) suggests that change agents are a crucial factor in the planning and implementation phases of community projects, as they can facilitate contact and help creating a common platform for cooperation within and between communities. Adapted from Mitchell's (1990) definition of 'third parties', change agents are defined for the purpose of this research as:

> external parties who help adversaries establish contact, open negotiations and develop projects for cooperation and sustainable development to end a dispute in a mutually satisfactory agreement.

To achieve these aims, aid organisations, development agencies and NGOs have recently advanced a middle path that emphasises the obligation of the state to ensure the wellbeing of the communities by creating an enabling environment for private initiative, and the right of the people to decision-making power (Schulenkorf 2008b; Burnett 2006). Change agents have become more and more involved and successful in community development work, as they can mobilise

support and inculcate an attitude of confidence and co-operation amongst participating community groups and their respective members.

Skilled change agents are supposed to guide and teach communities how to use their capacities and to cooperate effectively (Lawson 2005; Uruena 2004; Ife 1995). External knowledge can thus be combined with local input, and communities are expected to benefit from the newly acquired methods, skills and activities. The importance of an external change agent within the strategic community development process is highlighted by Kramer and Specht (1975, p. 14), who explain that a change agent helps the community "to engage in planned collective action in order to deal with social problems ... aimed at social change." They go on to explain that of particular importance are both the interpersonal processes of working with communities, and the technical tasks of "identifying problem areas, analysing causes, formulating plans, developing strategies, and mobilising the resources necessary to effect action." The assistance of a change agent is therefore particularly helpful in intergroup settings where inter-community relations have historically been fraught with difficulties, and where communities have only limited human and financial skills and resources (Uruena 2004; Stiefel and Pearse 1982).

When projects are initiated or guided by outsiders there is, however, the danger that they may employ a dominant paternalistic approach to management (Stiglitz 2002; Botes and van Rensburg 2000). The change agent may unconsciously or consciously have the feeling of 'knowing what's best' for communities, which may result in local input being undervalued (Willmott 1988; Midgley 1986). The misuse of power and the drift from a 'bottom up' towards a 'top-down' approach may prohibit communities to show and experience their own full potential, which might lead to community uncertainty and resistance. This problem often arises when international change agents employ a 'Western

approach' to leadership and management, and focus on using human capital and the commitment of workers to a predetermined plan (Skinner *et al.* 2008; Vail 2007). Avery (2004) identifies this management approach as 'classical leadership', which aims at rapid returns on investment, mostly in the form of economic development.

Classical leadership approaches are often not sensitive to the developing world context and to sustainable socio-cultural development within and between communities in particular. Western change agents do not always have the requisite 'cultural work' skills within or among given communities, which means that their work can benefit substantially from local input and participation. It is argued that only a fruitful cooperation between communities and change agents can lead to the empowerment of people and groups that enhances individual and collective capacities, efficacy, as well as social and economic justice and wellbeing.

To achieve these aims, the change agent should not be serving as a dictating force but as a supportive enabler and facilitator for projects and network of partnerships between residents, management, and community organisations (Schulenkorf 2008b; Skinner *et al.* 2008; Sanoff 2000; Kramer and Specht 1975). A change agent is expected to foster grass-roots participation and integrate people and communities from different backgrounds, so that they 'rub shoulders' in common tasks and seek common goals. As a supporting contact, the change agent has to try and foster collective solidarity by respecting and using the individual characteristics of each community in a way that every group is satisfied (Lawson 2005; Uruena 2004; Midgley 1986). Further, change agents need to be aware of different forms of intergroup intolerance, discrimination and prejudice which may be prevailing. They need to be proactive in challenging negative stereotypes and also give others the confidence to do so (Taylor 2003).

To date, there is limited empirical research that analyses the specific roles and responsibilities of change agents within sport event projects in the developing world (Coalter 2007; Hariharan 2006). So far, the focus has been on the evaluation of sport development programs that are supported by change agents (Skinner *et al.* 2008; Gschwend and Selvaranju 2007; Stidder and Haasner 2007; Burnett 2006; Sugden 2006; Gasser and Levinsen 2004), rather than on identifying the specific roles performed by the change agent in contributing to a project's success. Nevertheless, some of these program evaluations have found that facilitating change agents are of great value in preventing conflicts and coordinating community projects. For example, in their sport reconciliation projects in Israel's Galilee region, Sugden (2006) and Stidder and Haasner (2007) found that sport and education activities between international sport experts and local community leaders can make a valuable contribution to reconciliation and co-existence in deeply divided communities. Sport and education activities included *inter alia* work shops, collaborative group work such as routine planning, expedition, orienteering, raft building, trust games, team building, problem-solving and joint decision-making tasks. Importantly, external management knowledge was transferred from the change agent to the local communities, who were encouraged to continue the reconciliation and social development work with the newly acquired methods, skills and activities.

Two examples from sport programs in South Africa further demonstrate the success of 'bottom-up' community programs which are supported by an external NGO as the change agent. The "Australia-South Africa Junior Sport Programme" and the "Active Community Clubs Initiative" were introduced by the South African Government in cooperation with Australian experts acting as change agents (Burnett 2006, 2001). Both projects centred on the principle of 'building development around people' and provided equitable sports opportunities for disadvantaged youth in an attempt to develop a broad

participation base. Burnett argues that the leisure context of the projects was conducive to community participation and the establishment of a positive intergroup atmosphere. She believes that an even bigger success factor was the inclusion of the external change agents who acted as impartial supporters within both programs. Burnett concludes that the change agent's presence and involvement contributed to an enhancement of community through establishing reciprocal trust, respect, self-esteem, and overall wellbeing within communities.

In order to achieve lasting outcomes, both South African sport development projects implemented cascade structures to 'train the trainers', whereby the change agent trained local coaches to train others as part of a 'training network' (Burnett and Uys 2000). This network guaranteed a combination of innovative external and internal experiences, strategies and content to meaningfully address the needs of the local communities. Cooperation between the change agent and participating communities was a central factor in establishing a positive and trustworthy relationship necessary for sustainable development. This suggests that once change agents receive trust from all sides, the newly established trust can lead to a feeling of safety and security within and between communities; that is, if the change agents manage to use and return the trust they receive (Burnett 2006). Therefore, jointly working on a community project promises clear benefits for everyone involved in constant reciprocal processes.

While the analyses of these sport programs highlight sport's capacity to impact positively on people and groups, they fail to discuss the specific roles and responsibilities of the change agent within the projects. Further, all of these studies look at longer-term sport *programs*, while the management of inter-community *events* has not been discussed. An empirical analysis of the roles and responsibilities of a change agent in inter-community sport event development

projects is however important, to find a balance between the wants and needs of the local groups and the external change agent.

2.2.3 Leisure and Sport Activities as a Community Building Strategy

If community development must stimulate participation and initiative, then Auld and Case (1997) argue that the overriding goal is the integration of people within a community in a context in which they can interact with each other, nurture each other, and participate together in decision-making. Borgmann (1992) claims that the coming together of people around a meaningful leisure activity presents such a positive context. He argues that a 'community of celebration' can be established through leisure activities. Within this context, sport events are often seen as a promising way to encourage communication and communal celebration, as they have a certain 'intrinsic power' to activate people, remove barriers between groups, and change people's attitudes and behaviour (Brown, Brown, Jackson, Sellers and Manuel 2003; Frye 1995).

This psychological change process is described in Figure 1 below. Antecedents such as past experiences and social norms describe the starting point for an individual's decision process of attending an event. According to Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), people form their (cognitive) beliefs about an event based on these antecedents. They expect an event to be successful or unsuccessful depending on their past experiences. People's beliefs influence their attitude (affect) towards participation in a particular event, where attitude can be described as a 'mental readiness' that is not a *fixum* but subject to change (Zimbardo, Ebbesen and Maslach 1977). In relation to inter-community events, a positive change of people's attitudes is desired as the outcome of a genuine community participation process, where participation in the planning and development provides an important stimulus for people to change their outlook

and expectations on events. This stimulus is likely to affect their intention to attend or participate at events. According to Iso-Ahola (1980) these intentions are the best predictors of people's future behaviour.

Figure 1: Conceptualisation of sport and event attitudes and behaviour (diagram adapted from Fishbein and Ajzen 1975)

Antecedents	*Belief*	*Attitude*	*Intention*	*Behaviour*
- Social norms and influences - Past leisure experiences and individual and group differences	- Attending an inter-community sport event will create feelings of togetherness and positive social change - Event will be crowded and dangerous	- General attitude towards inter-group projects - Particular attitude towards inter-community sport event, i.e. amount of affect for event	- To attend (or not to attend) the event - To actively contribute to inter-community event and its mission	- Being and acting at the event

Once people participate and certain behaviour is shown, their experiences will feed back into the different psychological stages. For example, the past event becomes an antecedent and good experiences at the event may positively influence the belief about the success of future events. This will contribute towards an improved attitude towards future events and will impact positively on the intention to attend or participate again.

However, in his critical review on sport-based community building activities Coalter (2007) highlights that sport is not *a priori* good or bad, but has the potential to be conducive of personal and group development. He argues that to achieve positive beliefs, attitudes, intentions and behaviour, the social context and people's experiences with 'others' need to be pleasant and/or beneficial.

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2002b), participation in leisure and cultural activities can provide such positive experiences, as people and groups can gain a sense of togetherness, belonging and support during interaction. Participation in leisure may then assist in the forming of community networks and bonds important for social cohesion.

In her research on leisure activities in the context of a 4-week international youth camp, Yuen (2005) explored the possibility of building community and social cohesion in a group of children from various countries. The camp allowed for participating in leisure as a shared experience. It was found that social learning as a form of reciprocal exchange was an important factor for connecting with others. Some children participated in the camp community by adopting facilitative and supportive roles during skill development activities, while others benefited from 'learning by doing' exercises. Overall, the leisure activities enabled the creation of common ground and interests for an engagement in reciprocal relationships, and children with different historical, linguistic and cultural backgrounds experienced a sense of belonging and a *taste* of community.

Government agencies as well as NGOs have long been conscious of the role which sport and leisure might play in reducing barriers, building capacities, subduing inter-community strife and helping to give a semblance of normality to an otherwise abnormal and intermittently violent society (Kidd 2008; United Nations 2006, 2003; Bairner and Darby 2000). The 2006 United Nations Report of the Secretary-General titled *Sport for Development and Peace: The Way Forward* outlines that even the world leaders have now realised that leisure activities not only contribute to creating wellbeing, but they "can foster peace and development and can contribute to an atmosphere of tolerance and

understanding" (pp. 7-8). Some of the recommendations noted in this report related to the use of sport for development and peace initiatives include:

- Develop community ownership and sustainability rather than 'one-off' projects
- Design sustainable strategies by Governments in development cooperation on sport
- Reverse priority given to elite sport with the focus on community sport activities instead
- Better collaboration between government agencies, sports organisations, the private sector and NGOs
- Emphasise the value of physical education for improving health, holistic development, peace and national harmony
- Increase participation in sport with the assistance of international organisations.

The UN understands that a strong focus on inclusive and sustainable community development projects paired with professional expertise is necessary to create, sustain and leverage long-term impacts of leisure activities (Kidd 2008; United Nations 2006, 2003). However, despite the strong theoretical support of sports and the general agreement that sport events can have a positive impact on communities, little empirical evidence supports this claim – particularly in relation to divided societies (Kellett *et al.* 2008; Nicholson and Hoye 2008; Coalter 2007; O'Brien 2007; Chalip 2006, 2004). It still needs to be explored which management strategies can be employed by communities and change agents to build and leverage positive social impacts in an attempt to contribute to capacity building, social change and the creation of social capital.

2.2.4 Social Capital

Research on social capital dates back to the early twentieth century and its roots are well embedded in the Durkheimian, Weberian and Marxist traditions of classic sociology. Researching community involvement for schools in Chigaco, Hanifan (1916) in one of the earliest studies on social capital referred to it as good will, sympathy, fellowship and sociability. Since then, much debate has surrounded the social capital concept, which for substantive and ideological reasons does not have one clear, common, undisputed meaning or definition (Burnett 2006; Dolfsma and Dannreuther 2003; Foley and Edwards 1997; Putnam 1993a; Coleman 1988; Bordieu 1986). Sabatini (2005) and Robinson, Schmid and Siles (2002) argue that the social capital definition used by a certain study will depend on the discipline and level of investigation, as different frameworks look at the production and consumption of social capital in different ways.

Kilpatrick and her colleagues (1999, p. 123) describe social capital as "the oil that lubricates social processes so as to enhance the outcomes of those processes", whereas Adler and Kwon (2002, p. 23) call it the "goodwill available to individuals or groups". Inevitably, social capital is accumulated through interactions: interactions between individuals, between individuals and groups, and between groups (Dekker and Uslaner 2001). When focusing on inter-community relationships and social development, the definition suggested by Baum and his colleagues (cited in Australian Bureau of Statistics 2002a, p. 3) is valuable. It states that social capital is "the building of healthy communities through collective, mutually beneficial interactions and accomplishments, particularly those demonstrated through social and civic participation."

The definition developed for this thesis builds on Baum *et al.*'s formulation. Against the background of sport events in an ethnically divided country – which

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are used as a community building and social development strategy – the definition of social capital building reads:

> Social Capital building is the voluntary process by which social actors create and participate in community cooperation to utilise combined strengths and resources directed at the building of trust, networks, reciprocity, appreciation of diversity, lasting shared memories, and ultimately social cohesion.

This definition highlights the importance of participatory processes and cooperation needed to achieve desired social outcomes. These are crucial elements for building social capital, as according to Putnam (2000) social capital is not merely a function of nominal membership in a network, but rather active engagement there. In other words, social capital is based on inherent personal and community resources, which need to be activated and combined to achieve tangible and intangible socio-cultural development within and between groups.

Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

Social capital is best studied in the context of the contribution it makes to social community development (Doherty and Misener 2008; Nicholson and Hoye 2008; Skinner *et al.* 2008; Coalter 2007; Misener and Mason 2006; Dale and Onyx 2005; Rydin and Holman 2004; Isham, Kelly and Ramaswamy 2002). Putnam (2007; 2003; 2000; 1993a) proposes two main components of social capital, *bonding social capital* and *bridging social capital*. Bonding refers to the value assigned to intragroup connections or social networks between homogeneous groups of people. It is described as strong ties within a community or among people who live in the same or adjacent communities (Dolfsma and Dannreuther 2003; Narayan 2002). Putnam specifically highlights links and connections within families and ethnic groups as key examples for bonding social capital. While the intra-community concept of bonding social capital is often of great value to group members, an entire 'closing' of the group

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to outsiders may actually be ineffective for its overall development (Oh, Chung and Labianca 2004). For example, a group that focuses entirely on bonding social capital (e.g. the Klu Klux Clan) is inward looking and tends to reinforce exclusive identities (Skinner *et al.* 2008). By not expanding to wider circles of society, a group might be seen as reprehensible, which risks social exclusion, isolation or stagnation.

The expansion to wider circles can be described as the bridging element of social capital, as bridging happens between communities and extends to individuals and groups that are more removed (Wallis, Crocker and Schechter 1998). The bridging element of social capital tends to be weaker but more diverse and inclusive of people of different backgrounds. Bridging describes a proactive approach of 'getting ahead' and expanding networks to outer circles (Loza and Ogilvie 2005; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2002a). According to Mattsson (2005, p. 2) "bridging social capital is based on an emotional process where trust is generalised and mediated through social norms and directed towards other people that we do not know very well". Bridging social capital is therefore essential for both enhancing social inclusion and improving a society's ability to develop.

One of the great challenges for creating social capital is the development of links and networks between different people and groups. It is apparent that in (ethnically) divided societies, people are closing the communities to outsiders and prevent the creation of bridging social capital (Taylor 2003; Maguire 2002). Cooperation is generally missing, tolerance and trust cannot be created as face-to-face interaction and association is often impossible, and therefore the development of positive social 'spill over' effects into society at large is denied (Lowndes and Wilson 2001). Within such contexts, change agents can support

the creation of bridging social capital, as they are in a position to facilitate connections between communities to achieve engagement and cooperation.

Recently, studies have questioned whether a distinction between bonding and bridging is sufficient to capture the value of different types of social capital. A third component *linking social capital* has been advocated by several authors (Skidmore, Bound and Lownsborough 2006; Rydin and Holman 2004; Aldridge, Halpern and Fitzpatrick 2002; Molinas 2002; Woolcock 2001). Linking refers to the relationships of individuals and groups with people in positions of influence within formal institutions. It is the idea to draw resources, ideas and information from these formal institutions into communities or groups, in an attempt to 'getting things done' and leveraging valuable resources. More colloquially, the key point of linking social capital is that "it's not what you know, it's who you know" (Woolcock 2001, p. 13). Linking with trustworthy and supportive people in positions of institutional power can help to avoid problems and secure essential community support. Such social links can assist in the social development process to establish connections and provide resources such as money, support or political leverage (Skidmore *et al.* 2006; Casswell 2001).

While proponents of the linking component in social capital have argued that the vertical links to formal institutions should be formally distinguished from horizontal connections to other groups, they ignore the fact that linking is an essential part of the bridging concept. Bridging means connecting communities to others, which includes both other communities and institutions. Where there are no connections or links available, bridges need to be built to facilitate contact and engagement on all levels.

Fresh Spaces for Social Capital

Governments, policymakers and communities around the world have begun to look into different ways in which social capital can be created and advanced (Coalter 2007; Cote and Healy 2001). It has been argued that in addition to traditional social institutions (i.e. churches, community centres, schools etc.) 'fresh spaces' for encounters and social networking are required (Nicholson and Hoye 2008; Coalter 2007; Maguire 2002). Fresh and proactive spaces could, for example, be leisure activities comprising inter-cultural programs, youth camps, or sport events, as overall positive feelings are associated with most leisure experiences (Misener and Mason 2006; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2002b). Active involvement in community projects such as sport events can help people to establish new friendships, networks and links, which add to the overall stock of social capital.

Two empirical studies have focused specifically on the creation of social capital through community sport. First, Verweel and Anthonissen (2006) analysed social capital building by Dutch immigrants in multicultural sport clubs. Their study revealed four key dimensions of bonding and bridging social capital: the development of social and emotional skills (e.g. honouring agreements); reciprocal service provision (offering help and receiving advice or support in other areas); forming of social relationships (including confident and open discussion of ethnic boundaries and differences between people); and social participation (which can lead to learning about one self and others, which can then enhance socially acceptance). The second study conducted by Seippel (2006) in Norway, showed that the initial bonding among members of a voluntary sport organisation mobilised enthusiasm and trust within the group. As a next step, members linked their club with authorities and decision makers, who provided information, support and eventually funding for the organisation. Both studies suggest that social capital can be generated and advanced via 'fresh

spaces' such as sport clubs, leisure programs or inter-community projects. However, both studies evaluated social capital in long-term programs within a developed world context, and currently there are no empiric studies available that look at the generation of social capital from inter-community events in the developing world.

It can be concluded that social capital refers to the opportunity to create added value through communicating, participating, cooperating and coordinating. Whereas *bonding* social capital can strengthen relationships of people within a group, *bridging* social capital can connect people and their communities to others – including institutions such as government agencies. If social capital is created, it can facilitate coordination within and between communities for mutual benefit, as the integration of social and cultural diversity can lead to synergy effects and benefits of reciprocal learning (Nicholson and Hoye 2008; Coalter 2007; Arai and Pedlar 2003; Taylor 2003; Kenny 1999; Newton 1997; Putnam 1993a, 1993b). The challenge for multicultural societies is to design opportunities and strategies which will foster elements of bonding and bridging social capital within and across diverse communities living within one country.

2.2.5 Elements of Social Capital

Following Coalter's (2007) and Burnett's (2006) recommendation, the focus of social capital within this thesis is less on the measuring of socio-economic factors or numbers, but on *understanding* the elements and benefits gained through social participation and connectivity. From the growing literature on social capital (Dale and Onyx 2005; Putnam 2003; Falk and Kilpatrick 2000; Onyx and Bullen 2000a; Putnam 2000, 1993a), and community leisure activities (Nicholson and Hoye 2008; Coalter 2007; Stidder and Haasner 2007; Misener and Mason 2006; Yuen 2005; Arai and Pedlar 2003, 1997) five key elements of

social capital have been identified. These help with understanding how inter-community sport events can be used as a tool for creating and developing bonding and bridging social capital. These elements are Trust, Networks, Reciprocity, Appreciation of Diversity, and Shared Memories, which are all in line with the definition of social capital used in this research (see section 2.2.4).

Trust

Trust is described as "the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of that community" (Fukuyama 1995, p. 26). In other words, people are taking risks in a social context based on a sense of confidence that others will respond as expected and will act in mutually supportive ways. There is general consensus that trust is the decisive and all important element to be established for the creation and development of social capital in society (Hughes, Bellamy and Black 2000; Putnam 1998, 1993a). In intergroup settings, particularly when cultural elements and different norms and values are involved, trust serves as the foundation that social participants depend on in the production of meaningful communication and understanding. Trust is therefore both a source and an outcome of social processes among groups of people.

There are three different types of trust: personalised trust, generalised trust, and institutional trust. *Personalised* trust is trust of familiars within established relationships and social networks, and therefore links to the concept of bonding social capital (Putnam 1998; Dasgupta 1988). *Generalised* trust describes trust extended to strangers, and therefore links to the concept of bridging social capital (Stone 2001). The third type of trust is *institutional* trust, which refers to basic trust in formal institutions including fairness of rules, official procedures, dispute resolution and resource allocation (Taylor 2003; Skelcher, McCabe,

Lowndes and Nanton 1996). Institutional trust is of interest for communities' relationships with the change agent, the local government and other event stakeholders.

Networks

Networks are described as the 'structural' element of social capital (Stone 2001). Networks are the voluntary interlocking of relationships between individuals and groups and include newly established or fostered contacts, ties, connections, group attachment, meetings or friendship circles. Wartburton (1998, p. 35) states that in regards to lasting social development "one way forward is through new forms of collective action which are based less on the shared characteristics of specific groups and more on coalition building, networks and alliances between different groups who recognise a common cause."

Networks between people who have something in common – such as a hobby, sport, occupation, or common interest – facilitate coordination and communication, amplify reputations, and allow dilemmas of collective action to be resolved (Wallis *et al.* 1998). At an inter-community event the various contributing institutions and groups are interconnected through a 'social event network', which Hoff (1998) predicts can be used as a deliberate social development or change strategy for connections beyond the event. Loose and overlapping networks help to establish trust among groups, which firstly increases the understanding within and between groups, and secondly allows boundaries to be crossed without loss of identity (Taylor 2003; Skelcher *et al.* 1996).

Reciprocity

Reciprocity is described as the process of exchange within social relationships, whereby favours and goodwill given by one party are repaid to that party by the initial receiver some time in the future (Stone 2001). Putnam (2000, p. 20) describes the concept as "I'll do this for you now, in the expectations that you (or perhaps someone else) will return the favour". Reciprocal acts mainly facilitate access to resources at an individual and collective level and within a social network reciprocal expectations are the social glue that binds groups and communities together. For instance, people gain access to physical resources by borrowing from each other or receiving equipment. Another example is community groups that teach their members skills and knowledge, which are displayed, shared or exchanged with others (Burnett 2006). Social relationships among individuals and reciprocal relations between communities can then lead to the creation of social capital, as the building and sharing of ideas and resources plus the actual fulfilment of expectations and intercultural learning can contribute to a development of mutual understanding, respect and trust during and beyond an event.

Appreciation of Diversity

Appreciation of diversity describes the willingness to engage with 'others' and being open for their specific norms and values, traditions and customs. For inter-community development to thrive, it is argued that an appreciation and open discussion with others is important, in order to determine what patterns of behaviour are expected in a given social context, and for defining what norms are valued or socially approved (Onyx and Bullen 2000a). Some common social norms for example include abiding by the law, not littering and showing respect for the elderly. Applied to an inter-community event context, this means abiding to the event rules, not disturbing the course of action, and respecting people

from all different backgrounds. Appreciation of diversity is an important factor also outside the event, as societies are not single entities, but rather are characterised by their groups' different viewpoints, culture, traditions and ideas. Appreciating different customs and approaches are important steps towards learning and benefiting socially and psychologically from an inclusive, heterogeneous society.

Shared Memories

A shared memory stems from the practical knowledge, skill, emotional excitement and connectedness derived from direct observation of or participation in events, which is later 're-lived' and shared with others. Shared memories can range from the interpersonal level (two people playing with each other), over the intergroup level (fan groups experiencing the performance of their favourite team), to the macro-level (a country experiencing oppression by another country). There is an important difference between shared memories and shared experiences. Within an inter-community event context, shared experiences can for example be generated by organisers and volunteers in the pre-event phase or by participants and spectators during the event. However, in order to become part of the stock of social capital, these experiences need to be sustained and remembered beyond the event. Those shared memories of the 'event momentum' are important, as these can reinforce positive social feelings.

Overall, the analysis of the five key elements will provide a comprehensive picture regarding inter-community sport events and their potential to contribute to social capital building within and between groups. Societies are made up of individuals and groups who have to trust and appreciate each other to achieve positive social development. Reciprocal relations and networks may be created or advanced through an event, and shared memories are likely to increase the

overall stock of social capital. In the following section the study of intergroup relations and social identities will be explored, which forms the background to the analysis of social event impacts in the context of participatory inter-community sport events.

2.3 INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND SOCIAL IDENTITIES

Before analysing intergroup relations and SIT in greater depth, it is important that the term 'group' is defined. According to Brown (1988, pp. 2-3), who undertook an extensive review of the literature, a group exists when "two or more people define themselves as members of it and when its existence is recognised by at least one other". Lewin (1997) adds that a social group is a set of human beings whose behaviour is partially patterned, interdependent, and cooperative. Often people are orientated towards something that motivates them and they form groups according to their shared interests – football fans of the same team or self-help groups are examples of this. Importantly, both Brown's (1988) and Lewin's (1997) definitions are inclusive of indirect contact or relationships with other members of the group, which means that no constant face-to-face contact is needed and relationships can be established on the basis of indirect or imagined factors. This is particularly relevant for large-scale groups such as ethnic communities, as their members primarily identify with the groups through factors such as interests, faith, or shared values.

2.3.1 Social Identity Theory (SIT)

SIT explores how people come to see themselves as members of one group (ingroup) in comparison with another (outgroup). Henri Tajfel and John Taylor, the founders of SIT, define social identity as "that part of an individual's self

concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1978, p. 63). Having a particular social identity means being at one with a particular group or groups, being like others in the group, identifying with the group and seeing things from the ingroup's perspective. SIT therefore combines both psychological and sociological aspects of group behaviour (Hogg 1992).

SIT argues that people see, define and evaluate themselves according to the groups to which they belong, so their social identity is the self-concept derived from perceived membership of social groups (Jacobson 2003; Hogg and Vaughan 2002). Here, the process of self-categorisation turns 'Me' into 'Us'. Once identified with their group, one of the first things people do when they meet others is to 'locate them on their social map'; in other words categorise and identify them in terms of the group or groups they may belong to. This categorisation then accentuates the contrast between 'Us' and 'Them' (Simon 1999). Overall, the categorisation process can be seen as a navigation system which helps to create and define the individual's place in a group and in society in general. When social distance is small, there is a feeling of common identity, closeness, and shared experiences. But when social distance is large, people perceive and treat 'others' as belonging to a different group or category (Alba and Nee 2003).

In general, SIT rests on three main assumptions (Tajfel and Turner 1986, 1979):
1. Individuals define and evaluate themselves in terms of their social groups. Social groups provide a social identity for their members, who strive for a positive self-concept and self-esteem.

2. An individual's social identity is associated with positive or negative value connotations, according to the subjective status of the groups which contribute to it.

3. Other groups in the social environment constitute the frame for evaluating one's own group's prestige. The ingroup's prestige depends on the outcome of comparisons between ingroup and relevant outgroups. The comparisons take place in terms of valued characteristics and behaviours (e.g. wealth, skin colour, power, language, abilities, achievements).

SIT serves to link an individual's self-concept with group membership, intergroup relations and behaviour. Due to the fact that a social identity defines, prescribes and evaluates who one is and how one should think, feel and act people often have a strong desire to establish or maintain superiority of their own group in comparison to other relevant groups (Jetten, Spears and Manstead 1999; Hogg and Abrams 1988; Tajfel and Turner 1986). The underlying process proposed to maintain group distinctiveness is therefore (socio)motivational in character. As positive value attached to category membership is achieved through favourable comparisons with other relevant groups, the desire for superiority can lead to intergroup competition and rivalry, as the struggle for a positive group distinctiveness increases. Ingroup favouritism or bias and outgroup derogation can be the consequence (Galinsky 2002; Jetten *et al.* 1999; Fein and Spencer 1997), particularly when identity salience is high (Wann and Grieve 2005; Hogg and Abrams 2001).

2.3.2 Seminal Studies on Intergroup Relations

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the forebears and progenitors of social psychology (Durkheim [1898] 1953; Lewin 1948; Mead 1934; Allport 1924; Le Bon 1896) believed that what delineated a distinct scientific role for

the new discipline of social psychology was a focus on collective phenomena such as culture, crowds, communities, and in particular the relations among groups and categories in society. Le Bon's book *The Crowd* (1896) was the first important work on intergroup behaviour describing collective behaviour as an expression of the 'popular mind'. Le Bon examined French revolutionary crowds and described the distinctive characteristics of crowds as the similarity or homogeneity of their members. His basic proposition was that people were psychologically transformed in the crowd and their individual personalities were brought together in a collective 'group mind'.

From Le Bon's initial findings several authors elaborated on the relationship between the individual and the group, determining that there is more to groups than the simple aggregate of the individual group members and their behaviour. Two of the most influential books are Allport's (1924) *Social Psychology* and Sherif's (1936) *The Psychology of Social Norms*, both of which question the concept of the 'group mind'. Whereas Allport suggests that the individual is the sole psychological reality and the group merely a nominal fallacy, Sherif argues that individuals are changed in the group context and he insists on the reality and distinctiveness of social groups. For Sherif, groups have a phenomenological reality for its members which cannot be reduced to the sum of its parts.

After WWII group dynamics became a major area in social psychology studies, and intergroup research continued to develop. The war encouraged studies on fascism, racism, anti-semitism and social conflict (see e.g. Amir 1969; Allport 1954; Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford 1950) and following Sherifs' (1953) field experiments on intergroup conflict, a major theoretical interest was raised to research the conditions under which prejudiced attitudes and negative intergroup behaviour could be influenced and eventually changed. Explanations for these issues could not have been more different. Adorno *et al.*

(1950) describes prejudice as a pathological personality syndrome, which represents the externalisation of unconscious hostilities and fears. For Allport (1954) prejudice is not a matter of wrong individual behaviour but a social group phenomenon, which can be reduced or eliminated through intergroup contact under four conditions: (1) equal status within the contact situation, (2) intergroup cooperation, (3) common goals, and (4) support of authorities, law, or custom. These prerequisite features are still considered central to intergroup research in the present (see Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawakami 2003; Gaertner and Brown 2002; Pettigrew 1998), and they will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

2.3.3 Intergroup Relations, Behaviour and Conflict

The theoretical explanations of 'intergroup relations' vary. The seminal definition developed by one of the pioneers of the general model of intergroup conflict, Muzafer Sherif (1967, p. 12), states that "intergroup relations refer to relations between two or more groups and their respective members. Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identifications we have an instance of intergroup behaviour". Only those behaviours and associated attitudes which derive from the belonging to a human group are seen as cases of intergroup relations. Therefore, not every friendly or unfriendly act towards another person is a case of group behaviour, as it might simply be a case of interpersonal behaviour. In essence, the social psychological study of intergroup relations examines the way in which individuals in groups perceive, think about, feel about and act towards people in other groups. When describing and analysing intergroup relations and behaviour, three central themes help to indicate the character of the issues studied in this field:

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1. the division of human society into different social groups and their interrelations: the actions of members of one social group (ingroup) towards or in relation to the members of other social groups (outgroups);

2. the collective actions of large numbers of people; as well as

3. the emotions, conflicts, tensions, and antipathies in society related to group membership (see Hogg and Abrams 2001; Sherif and Sherif 1979, 1966).

Based on these points, Sherif and Sherif (1969) developed the Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RCT). RCT focuses on conflict of interest, its sources, the development of outgroup bias, and suitable means to reduce intergroup conflict. It is argued that to a great extent the positive and negative nature of interaction between groups is determined by their reciprocal interests and overall goals. Intergroup hostilities stem from incompatible interests between groups – with the incompatibility fostered by scarcity of resources (such as money, an area of land, or status and prestige) – and intergroup friendships stem from work or belief in a common good (Sherif and Sherif 1979, 1966). In other words, Sherif and Sherif propose that intergroup attitudes and behaviour reflect the interdependence relations between groups. Where there is a conflict of interest one is likely to find intergroup tension, prejudice and discrimination against the outgroup. Where there are shared interests and common goals, one is likely to find tolerance, fairness and appreciation. Intergroup relations therefore range from states of friendship to hostility, from alliance to enmity, or from peace to war between groups their respective members (Galinsky 2002; Hogg and Abrams 2001).

2.3.4 Reduction of Intergroup Distance and Conflict

Ultimately, the goal for researchers was to theorise ways of reducing intergroup conflict, negative stereotyping, and social distance between groups (for a

detailed summary of Conflict Resolution approaches see Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall (2005)). Allport's (1954) highly influential Contact Hypothesis is usually taken as the starting point for theories on conflict reduction. It holds that contact between opposing groups is not automatically sufficient to improve intergroup relations. Rather, for contact between groups to reduce conflict and achieve intergroup harmony, four conditions must be present: (1) equal status within the contact situation, (2) intergroup cooperation, (3) common goals, and (4) support of authorities, law, or custom. Allport (1958, p. 489) suggests that "to be maximally effective, contact and acquaintance programs should lead to a sense of equality in social status ... and if possible enjoy the sanction of the community in which they occur. The deeper and more genuine the association, the greater its effect."

Allport's theory has received extensive empirical attention over the years (see Brown *et al.* 2003; Dovidio *et al.* 2003; Hogg and Abrams 2001; Brewer 2000; Pettigrew 1998; Vivian *et al.* 1997; Wilder and Thompson 1980; Amir 1969). Four group-based approaches for conflict reduction have been presented in the literature. These can be summarised as a) the common-enemy approach, b) the group leaders approach, c) labour division, and d) superordinate goals. The first three conflict reduction approaches are briefly described next, followed by a more detailed discussion of the superordinate goals approach. The superordinate goals approach is seen as particularly significant for this research, as it focuses on active group cooperation and allows for the inclusion of a facilitating third party such as a change agent.

The Common-Enemy Approach

The common-enemy approach is a strategy for dealing with intergroup conflict reduction, which tries to unite rival groups by pulling them together and making them combine against the newly created 'enemy' outgroup. This approach is

based on the argument that an external threat leads to increased intragroup cohesion and a setting aside of initial group differences (Galinsky 2002). This implies that when trying to bring two groups together into one larger ingroup, an external threat or common enemy – such as a third group – needs to be introduced. While the common-enemy approach has achieved some effective results in bringing disparate groups closer together and establish trust between them, it comes at the expense of a newly constructed intergroup conflict (Gorawara-Bhat, Gallagher and Levinson 2003). When two groups combine their efforts to overcome the external threat, this cooperation is likely to result in larger and more devastating societal tensions in the long run, as conflict is not eliminated but simply redirected towards a new 'enemy' in the formation of a new outgroup. Furthermore, the common-enemy approach may only reduce tensions temporarily, as the initial conflict potential between the rival groups remains (Gorawara-Bhat *et al.* 2003; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif 1961).

The Group Leaders Approach

At times community leaders or group representatives are in a position to take bolder steps towards bringing about understanding and more harmonious relations between groups (Holmes and Lamm 1986; Kelman and Cohen 1986). Resolving intergroup conflict through one or few leaders is a common strategy used in politics and the business arena, where heads of state or leading managers represent their whole group. Leaders meet apart from their group around a conference table and discuss critical issues in order to find compromises and solutions to problems. However, the group leaders approach inherits a certain risk: only if leaders manage to reach solutions acceptable for the members of their groups will people embrace the compromises leading to reduced conflict between the groups. If leaders are out of step in their negotiations and arrangements, members of their group will stop supporting and following them.

They might even be considered 'traitors' by their own group, if their moves are not accepted.

Alternatively, external independent leaders or negotiators who occupy key positions between two groups may be used for mediating or settling disagreements between the effected parties. Contemporary examples from the political world include Tony Blair's engagement as a mideast envoy, Kofi Annan's mediation between Kenya's political rival parties, or Bill Clinton's efforts at bringing together Israelis and Palestinians in order to find a comprehensive peace settlement regarding the status of the divided capital Jerusalem. It should be noted, however, that relying on third parties can be a risky strategy. Studies have shown that that resolving problems between warring groups is likely to be more successful when carried out with the participation and collaboration of the groups involved, rather than being imposed by individuals or outsiders (Botes and van Rensburg 2000; Worchel 1986; Blake and Mouton 1968). Finally, the group leaders approach is considered a 'top-down' approach which contradicts with the idea of empowering communities through participatory action.

Division of Labour

Certain goals and objectives may be achieved by dividing the labour between participating groups. For this approach to be successful, the participating parties need to be willing to work towards the same final goal and share the overall work in separate but complementary work-roles (Deutsch 2002; van Oudenhoven, Prins and Buunk 1998; Turner 1981). As an advantage of the division of labour approach Turner (1981) points out that groups could capitalise from a boost of self-esteem from their own superiorities, as well as benefit from the special talents of the other group. Arguably, these experiences allow for specialisation and the development of mutual respect for the efforts of members

of the other group. However, a division of labour represents a parallel rather than an integrated approach to conflict reduction, as it does not allow groups to directly engage and develop an understanding for each other. This means that opportunities for interpersonal and intergroup contact, reciprocal learning, mutual exchange and social identity building are not utilised to their full potential.

Superordinate Goals

Superordinate goals are defined as overarching aims "that have a compelling appeal for members of each group, but that neither group can achieve without participation of the other" (Sherif 1966, p. 89). This means that superordinate goals need to be of vital importance for all groups involved and cannot be ignored by any of their members. Further, they cannot be achieved by the efforts and resources of one group individually as they require coordinated efforts (Brown *et al.* 2003; Dovidio, Gaertner and Validzic 1998; Deschamps and Brown 1983). Being hierarchically positioned above individual or group goals, superordinate goals provide reasons and motivation for acting together (Canova, Manganelli Rattazzi and Webley 2005). Research has shown that groups who come into contact with each other for such compelling overriding goals tend to cooperate irrespective of their group memberships (Deutsch 2002; Brewer 2000; Turner and Giles 1981). At the same time, engagement in superordinate goals can result in a change of the functional relations between groups from actual or symbolic competition to cooperation, making future intergroup conflicts less likely.

The superordinate goals approach argues that in order to improve intergroup attitudes and behaviour, contact *per se* is not a suitable strategy. Contact without a common goal does not lead to cooperation and might result in a worsening of relationships between groups (Bobo and Tuan 2006; Brown *et al.* 2003; Sherif

1988, 1966; Allport 1954). To achieve cooperation and an improved intergroup status among communities, there is an overall consensus that positive and constructive contact situations need to be established (see Hogg and Abrams 2001; Brewer 2000; Sherif 1988, 1979, 1967). Active participation and most importantly the sharing of information and cooperation towards superordinate goals are the most promising approach towards reducing social distance between different groups.

Allport (1958; 1954) found that the conditions which promised the most favourable climate between groups were a) common goals in an atmosphere of social and institutional support, and b) the type of contact during interaction. Using the example of a multi-ethnic sport team, Allport emphasised that only when people *do things together* is a change of attitude and behaviour likely to result:

> While it may help somewhat to place members of different ethnic background side by side on a job, the gain is greater if these members regard themselves as part of a *team*. (Allport 1958, p. 454)

In Allport's example, the overall goal of winning a sports match is the all-important factor and ethnic composition of the sports team becomes irrelevant. His findings suggest that cooperative action for a common goal leads to solidarity, and if contact can be characterised in 'group' terms – which means close interaction between individuals as group members – then genuine changes at the intergroup level may be expected (Brown *et al.* 2003; van Oudenhoven *et al.* 1998; Brown and Turner 1981). These findings have been the justification for social policy decisions such as the promotion and continuous support of international sporting programs and events organised by NGOs, or intercultural exchange programs introduced by schools and local governments around the

world (Coalter 2007; Stidder and Haasner 2007; Sugden 2006; Schulenkorf 2005; Yuen 2005; Amir 1969).

The idea of introducing superordinate goals as a strategy to overcome intergroup conflict has received widespread support in the literature. Sherif and Sherif's (1988; 1961) now famous Robbers Cave experiment is often used as a starting point. In this study Sherif and Sherif examined intergroup behaviour of school boys at a summer camp in Oklahoma. Once two distinct groups were assigned during the initial 'in-group formation phase', both groups were brought together for the 'friction phase', which included first intergroup contact during activity and sporting competitions. The boys started to show ingroup favouritism and hostility against the outgroup within days of first contact. During competitive win-lose situations this attitude increased further towards an escalation of hostilities including name calling and physical fights. These findings demonstrate that competition not only enhanced ingroup solidarity and cooperativeness, but more importantly it increased stereotyping and hostility against the outgroup (see also Galinsky 2002; Austin and Worchel 1979).

In order to lessen friction and promote solidarity between the groups, the Sherifs instituted the third 'integration phase', which introduced the concept of superordinate goals. Input and cooperation from both groups was required to solve a water shortage problem and a 'broken down' camp truck that needed enough manpower to be pulled back to the camp. During the third phase name calling and hostility began to reverse itself and intergroup bonding started. The Robbers Cave experiment successfully showed that superordinate goals can transcend intergroup conflict.

There have been several other studies reported in which Sherifs' basic field experiment was replicated in its original form (Ageev cited in Andreeva 1984;

Tyerman and Spencer 1983; Blake and Mouton 1979; Diab 1970). Each study supported Sherifs' main findings that competitive activities result in ingroup favouring, whereas cooperation decreases intergroup conflict and negative intergroup attitudes. The quality of intergroup contact and the potential for comradeship prove to be important factors to enhance intergroup relations. Applied to an inter-community sport event context, Sherifs' findings highlight the importance of providing opportunities for positive social engagement and cooperation towards a superordinate goal when trying to improve intergroup relations. As sport has the potential to combine but also to divide groups, this suggests that fierce competition between different groups and teams needs to be avoided.

2.3.5 The Four Categorisation Models of Intergroup Contact

Building on Sherifs' RCT and the use of superordinate goals, one of the main foci of SIT has been the exploration of the 'negative' aspects of intergroup relations and on finding psychologically based categorisation approaches directed at minimising intergroup conflict and improving intergroup togetherness. According to Alba and Nee (2003) a change of social identity can lead to a change in behaviour, as people's sense of 'who they are' makes them behave and act accordingly. Thus, social identities and social categories are not a *fixum* but can be actively influenced and socially de-constructed and re-constructed (Putnam 2007; Alba and Nee 2003). In order to influence people's social identities, SIT has provided the basis for four modifications of Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis, which aim at improving intergroup relations, perceptions and attitudes (see Figure 2 below).

The four categorisation models are the De-Categorised Contact Model (DCM), the Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model (MIDM), the Common Ingroup

Identity Model (CIIM) and the Dual Identity Model (DIM). The models take different and, in some cases, contrasting approaches concerning how cooperative contact and categorisation can improve intergroup relations (Vivian *et al.* 1997). Under different circumstances all of the categorisation strategies have proven to be beneficial in a cooperative setting; not only for advancing sympathetic intergroup relations in the interaction itself, but at times also for reducing intergroup bias beyond the direct encounter (Dovidio *et al.* 2003; González and Brown 2003; Vivian *et al.* 1997).

Figure 2: The four different group categorisation models

Separate individuals De-categorisation (Me / You)	Two groups Mutual categorisation (We / They)
One group Re-categorisation (We)	Two subgroups in one group Dual Identity (Us / Them + We)

The De-Categorised Contact Model (DCM)

Brewer and Miller's (1984) DCM suggests that by reducing the salience – the relative importance – of group categorisation, the ingroup-outgroup category-based judgements decrease and intergroup bias is minimised. In other words, the DCM approach promotes the opportunity for getting to know and appreciate outgroup members as individuals through weakening categories and making them less useful as socio-psychological tools (González and Brown 2003; Vivian *et al.* 1997). This implies that group stereotype disconfirmation can be achieved via a 'personalisation' and 'differentiation' of the contact situation (Miller and Brewer 1986; Brewer and Miller 1984). Personalisation means an increase in personal contact, communication, and direct exchange, while

differentiation requires a distinction amongst members of a given outgroup category, who are then no longer stereotyped with a larger superordinate category. As a consequence of these processes, individuals experience a reduction in category-based perception of outgroup members in homogeneous or stereotypical terms (Dovidio and Gaertner 1999).

For example, the category 'Rwandans' could be subdivided into 'Tutsis', 'Hutus' or 'Pygmy Twa'. As these sub-categories are still considered large social groups, Brewer and Miller (1984) believe that differentiation is necessary but not sufficient to eliminate category based judgements. They suggest that contact between members of different groups needs to be personalised. In the personalisation process, individuals only attend to information that is relevant to the individual and is not correlated with group membership. It is argued that if interpersonal conversations, experiences or activities are encouraged, then negative feelings relating to the group membership will become less important, while positive feelings towards the individual become the salient factor. To continue with the previous example, at a sport event a participant would see some foreign competitor not in terms of his nationality (Rwandan) or ethnic background (Tutsi / Hutu / Pygmy Twa), but as an individual athlete. Vivian *et al.* (1997) conclude that if the personalisation process is successful, then unique personalities, styles, attributes and preferences are more important within the contact situation than the foreign person's nationality, skin colour or ethnic background. The attitude towards the individual may therefore differ from stereotypical attitudes towards his or her social group.

Several laboratory experiments have supported the DCM as a valuable approach towards the reduction of intergroup bias (Brewer, Weber and Carin 1995; Marcus-Newhall, Miller, Holtz and Brewer 1993; Bettencourt, Brewer, Croak and Miller 1992), The DCM was particularly useful in minimal group settings

under a favourable environment, where people can get into direct, personal contact with each other and have the chance to establish friendships. For example, under conditions which promoted interpersonal exchange, individuals showed less ingroup bias than participants who faced situations in which group distinctions were kept salient (González and Brown 2003). However, González and Brown (2003; 2000) note that the DCM describes a difficult route for real-life large scale studies, as the model requires the dissolution of category boundaries and consequently the abandonment of subgroup identities. Further, within an inter-ethnic sport event context, the DCM approach presents a great challenge, as it is difficult to achieve opportunities for differentiation and personalisation of *all* individuals involved. Finally, individuals may interpret positive interpersonal encounters with particular outgroup members as an 'exception to the rule' and not as representative of the outgroup as a whole, which complicates the concept of generalisation.

The Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model (MIID)

The MIDM was first proposed by Hewstone and Brown (1986) and later reformulated by Vivian *et al.* (1997). In contrast to the DCM model, this approach suggests that equal status interaction can reduce intergroup bias even if the original group identities remain salient and each group keeps its distinctiveness in the direct contact situation. As long as groups have differentiated areas of expertise and do not threaten each other by contact, this 'paralleled process' can be beneficial as each group will be able to admire the distinctive superiorities of the outgroup and derive positive self-esteem from their own (see González and Brown 2003; Brown 2000). The MIDM links with the 'division of labour' approach to conflict reduction presented before, as it argues that complementary (status) differences help to combine positive distinctiveness with positive intergroup attitudes.

The MIDM has received some empirical support in regards to the generalisation of positive attitude and behaviour and the reduction of intergroup conflict from the contact situation. For example, Wilder and Shapiro (1989) and later Greenland and Brown (1999) varied both the typicality of outgroup members and the nature of intergroup contact (pleasant / unpleasant), and their studies revealed that the reduction of intergroup bias was successful when keeping groups separate, particularly for participants who 'interacted' with the typical-pleasant member of the outgroup. Learning from each other's strengths as well as gaining self esteem were found as key benefits within the studies. Further immediate evidence in support of the MIDM was carried out by van Oudenhoven, Groenewoud and Hewstone (1998), who worked with immigrant and mainstream groups and found that experimentally increased ethnic salience during a cooperative learning experience led to a generalised positive attitude towards the outgroup (see also Wolsko, Park, Judd and Wittenbrink 2000; Maras and Brown 1996).

Despite these positive research results, the MIDM also inherits problems. Oh, Chung and Labianca (2004) argue that a strong intragroup focus is likely to be ineffective in intergroup contact settings. Evidently, the MIDM model avoids contact more than it encourages it, as groups in 'contact situations' are paralleled and further separated rather than combined. This may well lead to negative effects on attitude generalisation, and the heightened group salience may be associated with increased intergroup difference and anxiety. Other studies confirm that anxiety or angst itself can lead to negative attitudes and behaviour towards outgroup members, which undermines opportunities for positive intergroup development (Greenland and Brown 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez-Martinez, Schwarzwald and Tur-Kaspa 1998; Islam and Hewstone 1993).

The Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM)

The CIIM was first proposed by Gaertner *et al.* (1989) and later reformulated by Gaertner *et al.* (2000). This approach emphasises that strategies should be implemented to re-categorise rather than de-categorise the intergroup situation, and to redraw the group boundaries with the final aim of subsuming the in- and outgroup into an inclusive overriding superordinate category. To achieve re-categorisation into a common ingroup, intergroup interaction needs to be directed towards a change of members' perception of group boundaries, which may be achieved by using superordinate goals. If groups work together towards a superordinate goal, the newly created team of former ingroup and outgroup members has a connecting point, which allows people to count 'others' as ingroup members. This strategy allows some of the cognitive and motivational processes – which initially contributed to ingroup bias - to be redirected towards the development of more positive relations between groups (González and Brown 2003; Gaertner and Dovidio 2000; Dovidio *et al.* 1998). Hence, group boundaries may be degraded and former outgroup members can be considered part of the common ingroup of a newly established superordinate category.

One reason why superordinate goals are effective in reducing intergroup hostility is that they minimise attention on group differences by creating a new inclusive social group identity. For instance, during Rugby World Cups both black and white South African fans may combine as supporters of their national team. For the duration of the tournament the sub-group memberships become unimportant, as people identify with the overarching identity of being South African. In other words, the development of a common ingroup identity reduces bias by increasing the attractiveness of former outgroup members due to their revised group status (Gaertner and Dovidio 2000; Gaertner *et al.* 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman and Rust 1993).

Support for this hypothesis has been demonstrated through research in field studies and small group experiments (see Gaertner, Dovidio, Rust, Nier, Banker, Ward, Mottola and Houlette 1999; Dovidio *et al.* 1998; Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Matoka, Johnson and Frazier 1997). Experimental manipulations in these studies changed situational variables that enhanced or reduced the salience of subgroup identities during combined team experiences. For example, symbolic features such as group names and colours, or seating patterns that influenced proximity and who interacted with whom, were varied to control salience (Gaertner *et al.* 1989). Consistently, group members' representations of the situation as one large group rather than two or more subgroups was causally and correlationally associated with the reduction of bias during the direct encounter (González and Brown 2003). The transformation of the cognitive representations of memberships from 'Us' and 'Them' to an inclusive 'We' proved to be a very positive outcome in intergroup relations experiments, as forms of discrimination, hostility and anxiety could be reduced.

There are, however, limitations of the CIIM. Critics of the model point out that a *full* re-categorisation of groups in real intergroup contexts can be difficult to achieve. At times, the establishment of a newly formed common ingroup identity may politically or psychologically not be feasible, as it involves the abandonment of important (sub)group identities (van Oudenhoven *et al.* 1998; Huo, Smith, Tyler and Lind 1996). Gaertner *et al.* (2000), for example, predict that racial or ethnic identities are such fundamental aspects of individuals' self-concept and esteem they are unlikely to be abandoned. Another important factor to be considered is the longevity of the newly created common ingroup feelings (Dovidio *et al.* 1997; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman and Anastasio 1994). It still needs to be explored if common ingroup feelings can be sustained beyond the actual encounter, and how this may be achieved.

The Dual Identity Model (DIM)

The most contemporary strategy proposed by researchers to reduce intergroup distance is the DIM (González and Brown 2003; Hornsey and Hogg 2000; Gaertner *et al.* 1999; Dovidio *et al.* 1998). Under consideration of the restrictions and advantages of all models, the DIM represents a rapprochement of the CIIM and MIDM, obtaining the benefits of both. It is argued that simultaneous maintenance of both the ingroup-outgroup distinction and a superordinate identity in a cooperative setting is useful for the generalisation of positive intergroup attitudes (Gaertner *et al.* 1999). Referring back to the example of black and white South African fans at the Rugby World Cup finals, this means that people would describe their social identities not only as 'Black' or 'White' but also as 'South African'. This form of keeping the original and superordinate group memberships simultaneously salient suggests that even when racial, ethnic or religious identity is strong, the perceptions of superordinate connection can enhance acceptance, trust and harmony.

To allow for dual identity feelings to develop, groups need to have the desire to take up an additional social identity, while being able to keep their original identity. In experiments involving minority groups, this has proven to be a successful and promising solution to establish intergroup attraction and appreciation between communities – particularly if initial bias among groups was high (Eller and Abrams 2006; Dovidio *et al.* 1998). Henry's (2006) study on the Derby Bosnia-Herzegovina Community Association shows that football events were successful in establishing a dual identity for Bosnian and Serbian people. Analysing the behaviour of asylum seekers and refugees in the UK, Henry reports that the two ex-Yugoslavian nationalist groups tended to focus less on their nationalist and religious differences and concentrated more on their new, shared identity, that of refugees in Britain. The study supports the assumption that rival groups can be psychologically combined under a dual

identity status. However, the study was conducted in a politically neutral environment and included groups who have already had the common social identity of 'foreigners' in Britain. It remains to be seen if dual identity feelings among groups can be achieved through sport events in a divided country.

Overall, there are at least three reasons why the DIM is beneficial for the resolution of conflict and the reduction of bias in intergroup situations. First, the DIM has emerged as an integrative theoretical 'superordinate approach': it adheres to the condition of Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis; it provides the opportunity to achieve and maintain a positive group identity proposed by SIT (Tajfel and Turner 1986, 1979); and it uses the benefits of re-categorisation processes to advance and promote more positive intergroup relations in an inclusive common identity (Gaertner and Dovidio 2000). Second, the DIM permits the generalisation of positive intergroup attitudes beyond the contact situation without the risk of losing group distinctiveness, which is particularly beneficial for the application to large-scale real-world groups such as ethnic communities (Vivian *et al.* 1997). The third benefit is its consistency with multiculturalism policies. Due to the fact that the DIM includes and accommodates group differences, it provides mechanisms to reduce the exclusion of disadvantaged groups and encourages the integration of their distinct characteristics (González and Brown 2003; Wolsko *et al.* 2000). By doing so, sub-groups' distinctive social identities are neither threatened nor lost (Gaertner *et al.* 2000; Dovidio *et al.* 1998; Huo *et al.* 1996) which is likely to increase the willingness of sub-groups to add themselves as members of a superordinate inclusive category.

2.3.6 CIIM and DIM Applied to Large-Scale Intergroup Research

Various intergroup studies have shown that individuals will favour their ingroup along dimensions such as nationality (Vezzali 2008; Eller and Abrams 2006, 2003; Greenland and Brown 1999; Branscombe and Wann 1994), ethnicity (Meindl and Lerner 1984; Tajfel 1981), or sporting allegiances (Wann and Grieve 2005; Wann 2001) in order to achieve and/or maintain positive feelings about their own social identity. National and ethnic identities provide a rich testing ground for studies on social identity and categorisation. Not only is it the place where Tajfel began his theorising, but it is also an area of contemporary significance. In the case of today's multicultural societies people are no longer dealing with homogeneous societies where 'Us' differentiates from 'Them' by the political boundaries of the Nation-State (Chryssochoou 2000). Ongoing civil struggle and violence in countries with different cultural or ethnic groups such as Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia, Cyprus or Israel and Palestine attest to the significance of emotions in the socio-cultural and political context.

According to Putnam (2007), one of the most important challenges facing societies, and at the same time one of the most significant opportunities, is the steady increase in ethnic and social diversity around the world. He believes that "the central challenge for modern, diversifying societies is to create a new, broader sense of 'we'" (2007, p. 139). To achieve the aim of an inclusive 'we' community, Brown (2000), Campbell (2000) and McGlynn, Niens, Cairns and Hewstone (2004) suggest that the most promising direction to take is a redefinition of identities through the redrawing of social and psychological boundaries to incorporate more overlapping or inclusive categories. The authors argue that identity construction is a rather fluid process and that various social contexts can make an individual think, feel and behave on the basis of the dominant social identity at that time.

Providing empirical evidence for this claim, Eller and Abrams (2004) show in their longitudinal study on Mexican and American employees of a multicultural corporation, that the dual identity approach is valuable when dealing with intergroup contexts which have been historically fraught with difficulties. The authors found that intergroup anxiety and social distance between groups can be minimised when the environment allows for intercultural learning and the development of friendships. People's views on 'the other' were positively influenced when combined under the superordinate 'corporation' level, yet learning and benefiting from different (national) backgrounds. It was concluded that the dual identity level of categorisation is most beneficial in producing positive, long-lasting intergroup attitudes, emotions and behaviour. This is also Brown *et al.*'s (2003) view, who argue that within a team sport context, players see the team as a single unit and accept the necessity of cooperation with 'others' for an overall successful performance. White students conceived their Black team mates as being more a part of rather than separate from their in-group, although this common identification did not lead students to lose awareness of racial differences amongst the groups – a categorisation process which confirms the DIM approach.

Research has also shown that the reduction into one *single* overarching group can be difficult to establish when focusing on ethnic or multicultural groups (Gaertner *et al.* 1999; Dovidio *et al.* 1998; Vivian *et al.* 1997). This is particularly so in multicultural societies, where individuals and groups are often confronted with two important issues: the first one pertains to the maintenance and development of one's ethnic distinctiveness in society, deciding whether one's own cultural identity, traditions and customs are of value and to be retained. The other issue involves the desirability of inter-ethnic contact, deciding whether positive relations with the larger society are of value and to be sought (Berry 1984). Huo and his colleagues (1996), for example, concluded

from their multicultural studies that the DIM – and not the CIIM – is the most promising categorisation approach in a multicultural environment, as it does not hinge on people feeling less loyal to subgroups. Having (emotional) attachments to both the superordinate group and a subgroup is not only healthy and adaptive for the individual, but having dual identities is also beneficial for the larger multicultural society, as intergroup conflict (potential) is minimised.

Anecdotal evidence from football fans further suggests that the successful performance at a sport event can contribute to the establishment of an additional social identity, resulting in dual identity feelings of people and groups. A Spanish football supporter, who describes himself as a strong nationalistic Catalan, stated after the Spain's triumph at the 2008 Euro Football Cup that in his heart he still felt primarily Catalan, but at the same time he felt more Spanish and European than ever before (Klinger 30.06.2008). This statement suggests that a sport event assisted in the creation of inclusive identity feelings among sport supporters. Similarly, previous sport event research in Sri Lanka predicts that members of all ethnic groups in the country are longing for both; the keeping of their distinct cultural values as well as an opening towards intergroup contact and the feeling of 'Sri Lankanness' (Schulenkorf 2005, 2004). These findings support the argument that inter-community sport events may well be a promising form of intergroup contact, as dual identity associations may develop.

Overall, SIT, RCT and the concept of superordinate goals have great relevance for the analysis of contemporary conflict-based ethnic relations in multicultural societies. The lesson of the psychological analysis of RCT and SIT is that creating a context in which groups successfully cooperate and identify will lead to the reduction of hostility, prejudice and stereotyping. According to Little and Farrell (1989), leisure services and activities have exceptional characteristics to serve as positive superordinate contexts, as they provide arenas for communities

to a) work together, b) understand the value of cooperation, good-will and commitment, c) increase the potential for mutual problem solving and open communication, d) reduce perceptions of differences, and e) assist with more trusting attitudes about the motives of others. This research will explore if inter-community sport events as a particular type of leisure activity can be used to generate positive impacts on intergroup relations in a divided society, and if they can encourage a sense of collective social identity for disparate ethnic groups.

2.4 SPORT EVENTS AND THEIR IMPACTS

Over the last two decades the area of event management has established itself as an academic field of contemporary relevance. Events are defined as unique forms of celebration which range in size from mega events to small community festivals, and they generally describe specific rituals, presentations, performances or celebrations which are consciously planned and created to achieve particular social, cultural or corporate goals (Allen, O'Toole, Harris and McDonnell 2008). A diverse range of themes including arts, music, sport and multicultural celebrations is displayed at events which share common characteristics including the celebration or display of the theme, participation, a predetermined length, and an infrequent occurrence (Getz 2008, 1991).

The management and staging of events leads to different types of direct and indirect event impacts. In one of the first event management texts, Ritchie (1984) proposed a classification of six broad areas under which impacts can be categorised. These included: economic, tourism/commercial, physical, socio-cultural, psychological and political. Since this time, many studies have identified a range of impacts that come under these broad areas, which *inter alia* led to the provision of an additional environmental factor to the existing impact

areas (see e.g. Allen *et al.* 2008; 2005, Preuss and Solberg 2006, and Hall 1992 for detailed overviews of the impact areas).

Initially, much of the research undertaken in the sport event area was on economic impacts, as these were considered the central point for evaluating an event's performance (Böinghoff 2006; Gratton 2006; Preuss 2006; Gratton, Shibli and Coleman 2005; Preuss 2003; Stettler 2000). Dimmock and Tiyce (2001, p. 364) for example stated "the success of a festival or event is commonly measured in terms of its economic contribution to event stakeholders, the community and the region". More recently, however, studies have also focused on the often intangible social, cultural, psychological, political and environmental impacts, which are now considered just as important in assessing the overall success or failure of sport events (Allen *et al.* 2008; Kellett *et al.* 2008; Gschwend and Selvaranju 2007; Chalip 2006; Preuss 2006). Even leading event economists such as Preuss and Solberg (2006, p. 392) agree that "economic analyses alone cannot reflect the true social value of sports events".

An in-depth analysis of every possible event impact is beyond the scope and purpose of this research. However, it is possible to determine at this stage that socio-cultural (including socio-psychological) impacts are most relevant to understanding inter-community development between different ethnic groups in the context of community sport events. Therefore, the following review of the sport events impact literature will focus more specifically on these aspects.

2.4.1 Socio-Cultural Impacts of Community Sport Events

Socio-cultural impacts have been defined from different perspectives and some researchers distinguish between what they describe as short term and immediate *social* impacts, and longer term *cultural* impacts (Ohmann *et al.* 2006; Brunt and

Courtney 1999). Socio-cultural impacts are therefore understood as consequences in the form of immediate changes in people's quality of life and ongoing impacts based on the changes of a community's social relationships, norms and values. The Institute for Environmental Studies (1995) describes socio-cultural impacts as:

> the consequences to human populations of any public or private actions – that alter the ways in which people live, work, play, relate to one another, organise to meet their needs, and generally cope as members of society. The term also includes ... changes to the norms, values, and beliefs that guide and rationalise their cognition of themselves and their society. (p.11)

This definition is inclusive of potential positive and negative socio-cultural impacts, as well as personal and group behaviour. For example, friendships or riots experienced at an event can influence the way in which people value and treat each other after the event. Similarly, the experience of performances or exhibitions of traditional customs may have consequences on people's perception of sub-cultures in society.

Typically organised by the community – with the help of local volunteers and organising committees – *community events* can be described as "themed public occasions designed to occur for a limited duration that celebrate valued aspects of a community's way of life" (Dimmock and Tiyce 2001, p. 358). A high degree of community involvement in the event's planning process is a vital factor for the public's acceptance of the event and for the building of community ties. Getz and Frisby (1988) argue that events with no roots in the community and without 'public ownership' risk failure. In other words, a 'top-down approach' to community event management risks feelings of exclusion and dissatisfaction among the community (Dunstan 1994; Hall 1989). A community event should reflect the values, interests and talents of the community, and given the sensitive nature of celebration in general and socio-cultural festivals in

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particular, it is suggested that the event industry encourages 'bottom-up' community control at events (Moscardo 2007; Bossen 2000; Brunt and Courtney 1999; Hinch and Delamere 1993; Murphy 1988).

As socio-cultural event impacts are less tangible than physical or economic ones, they are more difficult to identify, understand and evaluate (Kellett *et al.* 2008; Preuss 2006; Richards and Wilson 2004; Getz 1991). However, since the year 2000 socio-cultural event impact studies have become an area increasingly of interest to researchers (see Sherwood *et al.* 2005b). A number of research projects have been conducted on the social and cultural consequences of special community events and festivals (Small 2007; Reid 2006; Small and Edwards 2006; Hilbers 2005; Sherwood, Jago and Deery 2005a, 2004; Xiao and Smith 2004; Fredline, Jago and Deery 2003; Small and Edwards 2003; Delamere, Wankel and Hinch 2001) and community sport events in particular (Filo, Funk and O'Brien 2008; O'Brien 2007; Fairley and Gammon 2006; Misener and Mason 2006; Schulenkorf 2005, 2004; Collins and Kay 2003; Fredline 2000; Fredline and Faulkner 2000; Green and Chalip 1998).

Many of these studies have focused on the experiences and perceptions of host communities and visitors and have identified a range of impacts, which are often grouped into overriding social impact factors, dimensions or categories such as "social costs / social benefits" or "positive / negative social consequences".

Positive socio-cultural event impacts

Communities around the world now host sport events and festivals to offer social and cultural opportunities to the local population. Positive impacts from sport events are opportunities for people to come together to socialise and be entertained, and to develop contacts, friendships and networks. Other key socio-cultural benefits resulting from sport events and particularly community

festivals are improved community spirit and pride; enhancement of cultural traditions, attitudes, beliefs and values; intercultural learning; capacity to control development; as well as improvements to social and health amenities (O'Brien 2007; Fairley and Gammon 2006; Misener and Mason 2006; Schulenkorf 2005, 2004; Collins and Kay 2003; Green and Chalip 1998).

Sport events and particularly non-competitive community celebrations with a 'sport for all' focus can act as boosters for social inclusion, community development and social identity, and as such they are increasingly recognised as a national priority in many countries (Kidd 2008; United Nations 2006; Collins and Kay 2003). Chalip (2006, p. 110) highlights the importance of community togetherness at events by stating "the sporting outcomes may matter to some, but there is a sense that something more important – something that transcends the sport – is going on. It feels as if new energy has been injected into the communal atmosphere – an energy that can be shared by all. Social rules and social distinctions seem less important, and are sometimes suspended altogether." What follows from this is that non-competitive sporting encounters may indeed be the key to social development, and a celebrative atmosphere in a supportive social environment may be the best way towards community building. Chalip supports such a cooperative and integrative approach to sporting events when he emphasises the special ability and strength of sport as a community building instrument. Arguably, sport is an experience with an intrinsic quality, through which individuals rise above material and normative structures that regulate their daily lives and that unite people across the boundaries of structure, rank, and socio-economic status (Sugden 2006; Verweel and Anthonissen 2006; Ingham and McDonald 2003; Harris 1998).

A special sense of community and togetherness can be created and demonstrated through the participation, connections, belonging and empowerment

experienced at events. For example, Green and Chalip's (1998) study of women athletes determined that an event was able to achieve feelings of 'communitas' among participants, who celebrated and expressed their sub-cultural values and pride. Fairley and Gammon (2006) identified the importance of building fan communities, which provide individuals with certain social values and a meaning in their daily lives. Community spirit – which is closely aligned with the sense of pride that people experience as a consequence of events – can grow and develop out of such 'feel good momenta'. Feel good momenta can contribute to a perceived safety and mental readiness to approach others, and Onyx and Bullen (2000a) argue that issues such as safety, trust, and a sense of 'personal and collective efficacy' form part of the social capital which may be generated through participating at special events.

Recently, sport events have been described as catalysts for community development *between* communities. However, there is currently little practical research evidence to support the claim that inter-community sporting events can increase social cohesion, intergroup liking and intergroup friendship potential (Kellett *et al.* 2008; Chalip 2006; Lea-Howarth 2006). The majority of 'evidence' in the sport event area is based on anecdotes and symbolic gestures suggesting that sport and recreation can contribute to nation building and peace between communities in divided societies. For example, the so-called 'ping-pong-diplomacy' used by US President Nixon to establish positive contact with China; North and South Korea marching together under one flag at the 2000 Sydney Olympics; or the jointly hosted 2002 Football World Cup in Japan and Korea all serve as symbolic models for sporting events' power in overcoming political antagonisms. Kellett *et al.* (2008) and Chalip (2006) therefore argue that there is a strong need for empirical studies that analyse the social utility of intergroup sport events, as these may contribute to the renewal or enhancement of communities. If inter-community sport events indeed prove to strengthen

communal ties, they can and should be strategically used by governments, development agencies, NGOs and communities to unite different groups of people.

The belief that sport events can contribute to community development between groups, stems from research on regularly scheduled 'sport for development' programs in the developing world. These 'melting pot' programs have proven to be successful in promoting longer term cross-cultural understanding and 'normalising' in societies as deeply divided as Israel (Stidder and Haasner 2007; Sugden 2006), Bosnia / Herzegovina (Gasser and Levinsen 2006, 2004), Sierra Leone (Lea-Howarth 2006), Liberia (Armstrong 2004), South Africa (Höglund and Sundberg 2008; Guelke and Sugden 2000) and Northern Ireland (Bairner and Darby 2000; Sugden 1991). In these examples it has been shown that regularly scheduled sport activities can contribute to people regaining a step by step sense of security and confidence when approaching new people groups, and even politically opposed communities. The studies have shown that community sport projects can be a successful means in which communities can encourage social interaction, a sense of belonging and togetherness, and trusting social relationships with others. Particularly within difficult social environments, participation in sport has been granted the potential as a conflict-prevention mechanism, helping to forestall processes that generate aggression, hatred and fear (Lea-Howarth 2006). It provides people with an alternative to their daily routine, encourages a different form of thinking, and creates an opportunity for people to forget the hardships of daily life, even if only for a short period of time.

The potential of small-scale inter-community sport projects in educating and uniting deeply divided groups is highlighted in studies by Stidder and Haasner (2007) and Sugden (2006) in Israel's Galilee region. The authors found that

sport-based social interventions – if they are locally grounded but professionally managed – can make a modest contribution to wider efforts to promote conflict resolution and a peaceful togetherness between Jewish and Arab children in Israel. By having children experience fair play through sport activities core values such as trust, respect, responsibility and equity can be developed. These core values are then expected to spill over in daily life where children are empowered by the ability to draw on alternative ways of thinking and behaviour. It is argued that against the background of political support purposefully directed sporting programs have the power to contribute to the establishment of peaceful, harmonious relationships and community wellbeing (Stidder and Haasner 2007; Sugden 2006; Lawson 2005). They do so by providing the opportunity to learn from each other, and by developing sport-specific interventions for promoting positive intergroup relations.

Stidder and Haasner (2007) stress the importance of motivating sport participants from different backgrounds through enthusiastic verbal and physical actions such as high fives, team or individualised handshakes, team cheers, group huddles, buddy systems or team talks. Such combining activities have the capacity to develop tolerance and reduce racism, as people connect emotionally and share their pride in achieving superordinate goals together. If verbal and non-verbal communication skills are enhanced and joint decision-making and problem-solving are encouraged, collective identities may be developed which are important for the bridging of intergroup differences and conflicts, the facilitation of social integration and solidarity, and the enabling of collective action as *one team*.

The team factor is of great significance, as sport is often characterised by cooperation between team mates. While some minor level of competition may be present among individuals on the same team, cooperation is the dominant

winning factor. In order to achieve overall team success, players generally do not engage in activities that would disrupt team harmony but instead look beyond differences and problems on the team. They engage, discuss, learn from others, help and show solidarity towards others. Brown *et al.* (2003) have shown in their contact study on racial attitudes between black and white team mates, that interracial contact through team sports satisfies all of the conditions necessary to promote positive racial attitudes. The authors argue that sport serves to reinforce an overarching image that ultimately downplays the role of ethnic groups or nations as separate entities, and combining sub-groups into one superordinate sport team might thus be possible and a promising vehicle for integration.

If cooperation and feelings of togetherness transcend the actual sporting encounter, sport events have the potential to function as a tool for reconciliation and might even avert or alter undesirable behaviours outside the sport program or event. It has been argued that sport can generate a 'socio-psychic income' in the form of a community collective conscience, community self esteem and wellbeing, which can have a lasting effect on community cohesion (Crompton 2004; Eckstein and Delaney 2002). Kidd (2008) argues that such psychological and identity impacts have only recently received attention by development agencies and policy makers, and currently not much empirical evidence is available in this area.

A notable exception is the Swiss Academy for Development (SAD), which has analysed psycho-social sport programs around the world. SAD has set up a web-based international platform on sport and development (www.sportanddev.org), which features events, projects, and sport programs directed towards the management of social change and cultural diversity. Their theoretical and practice based analyses of sport programs highlight sports' potential for personal

as well as group development, empowerment, social inclusion and peace-building (Henley 2005). In 2007, SAD assessed the overall quality of organisations involved in using psychological sport programs as a tool for overcoming trauma in post-disaster interventions (Gschwend and Selvaranju 2007) and found that sport projects – if managed strategically – can be used as an effective vehicle for trauma relief and inclusion among populations affected by disasters, civil unrest or war.

Overall, studies on community sport events and sport for development programs make a strong point that the involvement and participation at sport based activities can lead to positive social, cultural and psychological development on a personal, intragroup and intergroup level. However, sport events may also result in negative impacts, which need to be considered by event organisers and communities during the planning and management stages of an event.

Negative socio-cultural event impacts

Different event impacts, both positive and negative, may be evidenced at certain events, yet not at others. Ohmann *et al.* (2006) and Barker (2004) argue that social impacts vary considerably according to the nature, scale, location and duration of events. For example, studies have found that events can potentially reduce the quality of life of residents who are directly or indirectly affected by their existence (Small 2007; Sherwood *et al.* 2005b; Fredline *et al.* 2003; Delamere *et al.* 2001; Dwyer, Mellor, Mistilis and Mules 2000). Negative social impacts such as disruptions can take the form of amenity loss due to noise, traffic, litter and crowds, decreased access to public recreation and leisure facilities as well as changes in community social and leisure habits (Sherwood *et al.* 2005b). Most of these negative social impacts have however been recorded from events with a significant number of visitors and tourists entering and 'overwhelming' a community for a certain period of time.

Nevertheless, the staging of smaller community events may also reduce the stock of social capital available in a community, if the events impact negatively on participants and other stakeholders. For example, failure to include local groups in the event planning may lead to community alienation, as described in Kelly's (2002) study on the Adelaide Festival of the Arts. The organisers of the festival followed a 'top down approach' and did not consult the public when promoting the arts event around the question: "What difference would it have made if Adolf Hitler had not been rejected by the art college in which he had attempted to enrol as a student?" While the intention of this controversial theme was positive, it did not receive public acceptance and parts of the community accused the organisers of glorifying Hitler. The event resulted in dividing rather than unifying the Adelaide community.

In a sport context, the competitive nature and rivalry at sport events with emphasis on winners and losers can lead to negative social impacts such as hooliganism, vandalism or stampedes. Several authors have identified an increase in anti-social behaviour, criminal activity, violence and arrests during the period of sport events (Xiao and Smith 2004; Armstrong and Giulianotti 2001; Sack and Suster 2000; Higham 1999; Hall, Selwood and McKewon 1995; Kelly 1993). Anti-social behaviour may lead to a revival and 'recycling' of historical and prejudicial stereotypes (Dimeo and Kay 2004), which are capable of worsening intergroup relations (Amirtash 2005; Dimeo 2001; Hay 2001). Thomas and Dyall (1999) argue that spectator sports are often interpreted by those who watch them as dramatising ongoing cultural and political differences. For example, at the Australian Open in 2007, more than 150 Serbs, Croats and Greeks clashed and threatened further ethnic warfare at upcoming tennis events (Halloran 2007). Scuffles broke out, bottles and tennis balls were thrown between groups, and flags were used as weapons.

These examples support arguments by Smith and Ingham (2003) and Ingham and McDonald (2003), who believe that spectator sport events are not an effective means for establishing or re-building any lasting sense of community, as they may unintentionally serve as a platform for worsening intergroup relations and contribute to a divide between sportspeople, residents and interest groups. Their argument is that the creation of 'community-feeling' involves activity, social commitment, and the investment of trust and obligation. In many cases professional sport offers no basis for cohesion and sustainable social development. The passive consumption of (professional) sport is considered less beneficial in contributing to community cohesion than actively organised and implemented (amateur) community sport events, which are less likely to reveal drastic negative consequences.

However, if managed unprofessionally, participatory sports events may also impact negatively on the social and emotional development of people. Coalter (2007) argues that sport has both the potential to improve and inhibit an individual's personal growth and that presumed positive social event outcomes are only a possibility. He suggests that direct linear effect between simple participation and effect cannot be assumed. Hickey (2006) highlights that behind the great opportunities for connection that sports and events can create, there exists a dark shadow of alienation and oppression. In his ethnographic study of students' valuing of different sports in Australia, he found that the 'tough and manly' footballers (rugby) often cajoled and teased the 'weak and feminine' soccer enthusiasts, which at times resulted in discrimination and bullying of (former) friends. The study shows that sport can potentially divide and separate people, split groups into insiders and outsiders, where people are rejected, excluded or discriminated. Here, it is important that the coaches, teachers, leaders, community representatives or organisers contribute towards social inclusion and are a part of the solution to interpersonal and intergroup problems.

It can be concluded that in the field of sport event management, the size, style and management of an event can have a decisive impact on event participants and stakeholders. In a politically delicate environment, it may be particularly beneficial to avoid fierce competition and instead set the focus on participatory, friendly and integrative sport encounters of ethnic communities (Stidder and Haasner 2007; Lea-Howarth 2006; Sugden 2006). These allow for a 'no one loses' situation as opposed to fiercely spirited competitions, which can make a great difference in the way the special event is perceived and experienced.

2.4.2 Event Leverage

In the last decade a shift has taken place in parts of the event management community which has seen a move beyond the planning of direct event impacts to focusing on paths towards achieving lasting outcomes for host communities (O'Brien and Chalip 2008; O'Brien 2007; Chalip 2006, 2004). An emerging body of work argues that long-term event outcomes depend on the *ex ante* strategies of event organisers and stakeholders that are implemented prior or during an event to obtain desired outcomes (Kellett *et al.* 2008; Kidd 2008; Schulenkorf 2008a; O'Brien 2007; O'Brien and Chalip 2007; Chalip 2006; O'Brien 2006; O'Brien and Gardiner 2006; Chalip and Leyns 2002; Green 2001). This phenomenon of strategically planning for the maximisation of tourism, business, social, environmental or other types of event benefits is referred to as event leveraging.

Chalip (2004) argues that event planners need to embrace and capitalise on the long-term opportunities that events present to maximise events' potential. While previously event managers and researcher have taken an *ex post* perspective on evaluating events according to the direct impacts that they generated, the recent trend goes towards planning for sustainable event outcomes, which may be

further developed and used beyond event borders. In other words, this *ex ante* strategy presents a focus on growing impacts and 'making things happen', rather than leaving them to chance. According to O'Brien and Chalip (2007), since the year 2000 leveraging programs have become an integral part of the event management agendas of mega events such as the Olympic Games, Commonwealth Games and Rugby World Cups. Here, organisers and stakeholders have tried to leverage longer-term outcomes such as repeat visitation to host regions, the fostering of longer-term business relationships and the encouragement of continuous trade, sustainable investment and employment.

Event leverage is a relatively new phenomenon in the academic world, and empirical work on the concept is scant (O'Brien and Chalip 2008, 2007). When reviewing the available studies conducted on event leverage, two aspects become obvious. First, the large majority of research has been conducted on or referred to leveraging opportunities stemming from large-scale or mega events (Kellett *et al.* 2008; Chalip 2006; O'Brien 2006; O'Brien and Gardiner 2006; Chalip 2004). Second, tourism and business opportunities for leveraging dominate social aspects (O'Brien 2006; Chalip and McGuirty 2004; Chalip and Leyns 2002). Further, there is little empirical evidence supporting the claim that smaller community events have used and benefited from social event leveraging. The only exception is the work of O'Brien (2007), which shows that a community surfing event has the *potential* to be leveraged for economic and social benefits.

Currently there is no empirical research available on leveraging programs that facilitate sustainable social development and peaceful togetherness in a developing world context. It still needs to be identified which strategies, partnerships and support programs are the most suitable to maximise social event benefits for communities in general, and interest communities in

particular. From a theoretical perspective, Chalip (2006) argues that if strategically planned, inter-community events are likely to foster celebration, camaraderie and lasting benefits for participants and groups. He suggests five *ex ante* strategies to prompt a feeling of celebration and to foster social interaction beyond the event. These include enabling sociability (around the venue and beyond the event site); create event-related events (around the main highlight of the day); facilitate informal social opportunities (before, during and after the event); produce ancillary events (of complementary nature); and provide appropriate theming (using special event symbols, colours, and decorations). However, it remains to be seen if these recommendations can indeed advance positive impacts and sustain lasting outcomes beyond the borders of an inter-community event – particularly if it is staged among rival ethnic communities in a war-torn country. Sound empirical research needs to evaluate the leveraging potential of inter-community sport events and identify the most suitable strategies for event leverage in a developing world context.

2.5 LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

This second chapter has reviewed and discussed the literature from three different areas relevant to the development of this study. First, the sociological concept of community was reviewed, highlighting its relevance in the study of sport events which are co-organised by ethnic groups and an external change agent. In particular, the concept of social capital was discussed, which provides key benefits for community empowerment and sustainable social development within divided societies. Then, the social psychological study of intergroup relations was introduced, as it forms the theoretical basis for the analysis of social identities and group categorisation processes at inter-community sport events. This was followed by a review of research conducted on socio-cultural impacts of community sport events, which highlighted both the social potential

of sport events and the need for further empirical research on the social utility of inter-community sport events in a developing world context.

Next, Chapter Three presents the underpinning methodology, the research design and methods employed to answer the question "What is the role of inter-community sport events in contributing to social development?"

CHAPTER THREE:

METHODOLOGY

Research organisations and academia are requested to
study the use of sport as a vehicle of peace and present
findings to encourage peacebuilding through sport.
(United Nations 2006, p. 21)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two provided the theoretical and empirical background for this study from the literature in the areas of Community Participation and Social Capital, Intergroup Relations and SIT, and Event Management and Impacts. The review of literature established the limited understanding of the social utility of inter-community sport events which are staged in ethnically divided societies. This chapter describes the methodology used to investigate the research question "What is the role of inter-community sport events in contributing to social development?"

The chapter comprises two interrelated sections: (1) research methodology, and (2) research methods. The methodology section provides the theoretical and philosophical concepts that underpin this research and outlines the research design which is based on a case study approach. The methods section details the three qualitative methods used for data collection: focus groups, participant observation and semi-structured in-depth interviews. The chapter further describes the thematic analysis process, acknowledges potential bias, and highlights the ethical considerations undertaken to ensure that no harm came to the participants and researcher.

3.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM

The term 'paradigm' is typically defined as a philosophical and theoretical framework that underpins scientific inquiry (Kuhn 1970). All research should be situated within a philosophical paradigm which informs and guides research methodology, design, data collection and analysis, and that identifies the role of the researcher (Rice and Ezzy 1999). According to Usher (1996, p. 15) "paradigms are frameworks that function as maps or guides for scientific communities, determining important problems or issues for its members to address and defining acceptable theories or explanations, methods and techniques to solve defined problems." Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991) discuss the main differences between two different dominant types of paradigms, which are based on the underlying epistemology: positivist and interpretive.

Positivist research assumes that reality is objectively given and that it can be described by measurable properties which are independent of observers and their methods. In contrast, interpretive research – with its origins in phenomenology – is based on the philosophy that reality is socially constructed and interpreted through language, consciousness and shared meanings. According to Crotty (1998, p. 67), the interpretive approach "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world", and interpretive studies aim to understand the context of a phenomenon through the meanings that people assign to it (Myers 1997). When it comes to analysing human and social phenomena, interpretivists therefore "insist on rejecting the very idea of any foundational, mind-independent, and permanently fixed reality that could be grasped or even sensibly thought of without the mediation of human structuring" (Shustermann 1991, p. 103).

Table 1 below presents a detailed comparison between the positivist and interpretive paradigms by a) highlighting the differences in assumptions and purposes guiding the research, b) comparing the underlying approaches to research, and c) clarifying the researcher's role within the process.

Table 1: Comparison of research paradigms (adapted from Glesne 1999)

Characteristics of Positivist and Interpretive Paradigms

Positivist Mode of Inquiry	vs.	Interpretive Mode of Inquiry

Assumptions:

- Social facts have an objective reality
- Variables can be identified and relationships measured

Research purposes:

- Generalisability
- Causal explanations
- Prediction

Research approach:

- Begins with hypotheses and theory
- Uses formal instruments
- Experimental
- Deductive
- Component Analysis
- Seeks the norm
- Reduces data to numerical indices
- Uses abstract language in write-up

Researcher role:

- Passive involvement
- Objective portrayal
- Detachment

Assumptions:

- Reality is socially constructed
- Variables are complex, interwoven, and difficult to measure

Research purposes:

- Contextualisation
- Understanding
- Interpretation

Research approach:

- May result in hypotheses and theory
- Researcher as instrument
- Naturalistic
- Inductive
- Searches for patterns
- Seeks pluralism, complexity
- Minor use of numerical indices
- Descriptive write-up

Researcher role:

- Personal involvement
- Empathic understanding
- Close connection and concern

This research is located within an interpretive paradigm informed by qualitative methods – an approach to research that portrays a world in which reality is socially constructed, complex, and ever changing. This approach allows the research respondents to narrate their own experiences of life and decide for themselves what is significant and meaningful to them. This relates to their sense of self-identity and the socio-cultural context of which they are a part. The interpretive approach is therefore in contrast to positivist approaches which normally impose a preconceived structure on the respondents' experiences.

The underlying assumption guiding this research is the ontological belief that social realities are constructed and all knowledge is relative to the knower (Gabriel 1990). "Ontology is the concern about whether the world exists, and if so, in what form. ... Because we cannot experience the world directly (unfiltered through our senses), we will never know for sure what the world really is. ... It is a matter of belief" (Potter 1996, p. 36). For example, depending on the context, a smile can be interpreted as cynical or loving. The raising of someone's arm can be interpreted by different people in different ways, for example as voting, hailing a taxi, waving goodbye, making people stop doing something, or – within a sport context – as asking for the ball to be passed, or indicating that a player is in a good position to score a goal.

According to Glesne (1999), interpretivists assume that they deal with *multiple*, socially constructed realities or 'qualities' that are not only complex, but often indivisible into discrete variables. Consequently researchers regard their projects as coming to understand and interpret how the various participants in a social setting construct the world around them. As expert knowledge is often situated in local cultures and imbedded in interactional sites (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Crotty 1998), qualitative researchers interact and talk with participants about their perceptions. To understand the nature of constructed realities the researcher

takes an 'inside view' from participants' perspectives and interprets their various inputs. Neuman (2003) concludes that an interpretive researcher wants to learn what is meaningful or relevant to the people being studied, and how individuals experience and manage daily life.

The research methodology and methods used by the researcher communicate their views as to what qualifies as valuable knowledge and their perspective on the nature of reality or ontology. Glesne (1999) believes, that people are attracted to and shape research problems that match their personal view of seeing and understanding the world. Schwandt (1989) is of the same opinion and argues that:

> Our constructions of the world, our values, and our ideas about how to inquire into those constructions, are mutually self-reinforcing. We conduct inquiry via a particular paradigm because it embodies assumptions about the world that we believe and values that we hold, and because we hold those assumptions and values we conduct inquiry according to the precepts of that paradigm. (p. 399)

The research methodology adopted for a study is therefore not only influenced by the specific nature of the research questions, but also by the ontological and epistemological positions chosen by the researcher. For this research, rich data and deep meaning is sought from the perspective of ethnic communities integrated in inter-community sport events in Sri Lanka, where the different groups and individuals studied are expected to have multiple experiences, understandings and ideas about intergroup relations and socio-cultural event impacts and outcomes. The qualitative approach underpinning this research consequently aligns with a relativist ontology which is not a *fixum* but a construction of social settings allowing for multiple constructed realities.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design involves a clear focus on the purpose of the study, on the research question, and on "what information most appropriately will answer specific research questions and which strategies are most effective for obtaining it" (LeCompte, Preissle Goetz and Tesch 1993, p. 30). The design for this research is depicted in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Research design
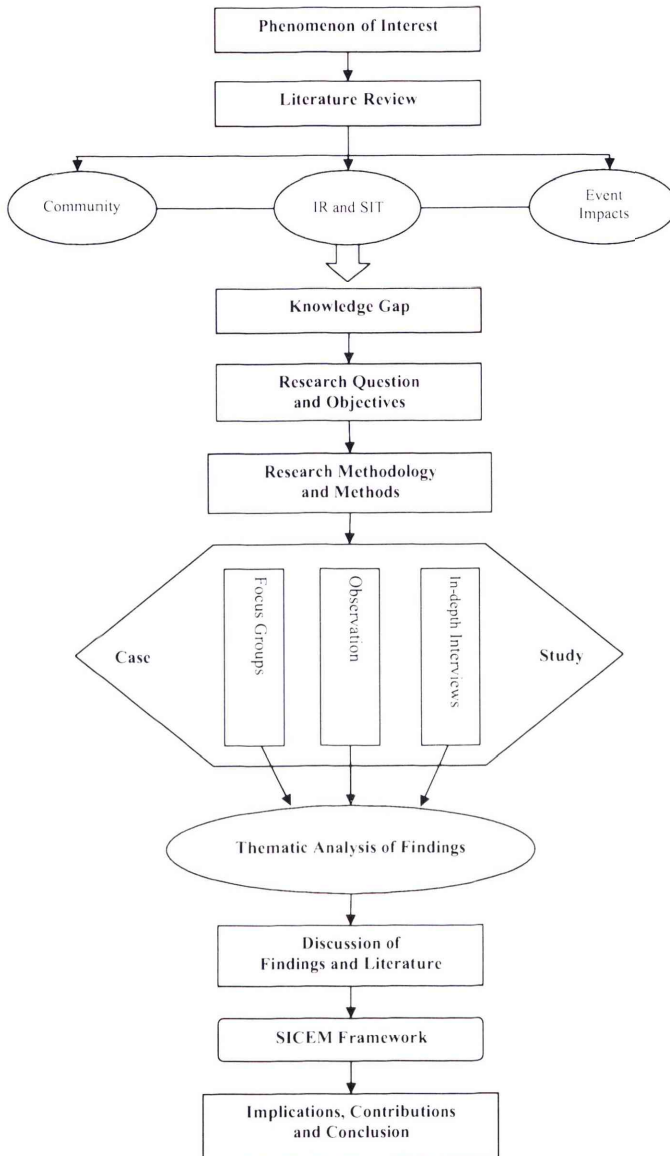
The research design outlined above begins with the researcher's interest in a certain issue or a social phenomenon, which becomes the topic for the research project. From here, the first active stage of the research involves a literature review to identify the research gaps and areas for further investigation. For this research, gaps within the literature incorporating community participation and social capital, intergroup relations and social identities, as well as sporting events and their social impacts were identified. From this, the research question and objectives are developed. Guided by an underpinning paradigm, the most suitable research methods are identified, which allow for the collection of information needed to address the research questions. When the data collection process is completed, the thematic analysis of findings begins. After that, findings are presented, followed by a discussion of emerging key themes. Finally, implications are made, contributions are outlined and conclusions are drawn.

3.4 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

> To know a rose by its Latin name and yet to miss its fragrance is to miss much of the rose's meaning. Artistic approaches to research are very much interested in helping people experience that fragrance. (Eisner 1985, p. 198)

In the quotation above, Eisner uses the metaphor of a rose to explain the advantage of qualitative research in exploring the deeper meaning of a phenomenon. For Eisner, truth can only be achieved through flexibility; prioritising the subjective over the objective, intuition over the rational, evaluation and interpretation over measurement, and surprise over the predictable. The qualitative researcher is seen very much like an artist at various stages in the research process, who situates and recontextualises the research project within the shared experience of the researcher and the research participants (Janesick 1998).

The methodology chosen for this research is directly linked to the interpretive paradigm, which is supported by a relativist approach to ontology and subjectivism (epistemology). The added depth of qualitative investigation allows the researcher to achieve *Verstehen*, or empathetic 'understanding'. Weber's concept of *Verstehen* forms the basis for a critique of quantitative research designs with their empiric emphasis, which mainly focus on *Erklären* or 'explaining' (Neuman 2003; Schwandt 2000). Focusing on *Verstehen*, qualitative research approaches are based on a holistic world view which believes that there is no one single reality or truth to be discovered but different realities and multiple truths based upon perceptions that are different for each person and that change over time.

For example, in the case of Sri Lanka the intergroup relations between the different ethnic groups are deeply influenced by historical and cultural antecedents. Sinhalese and Tamil viewpoints therefore need to be examined in detail and the researcher has to construct an overall portrait through close analysis of the links between many different aspects of the Sri Lankan case study (Ragin 1994). In other words, the reasoning process used in qualitative research involves perceptually putting pieces together to make wholes (Burns and Grove 1993). From this process meaning is produced. However, because perception varies with the individual, many different meanings are possible. This is an important issue in this case study context, as the ethnic groups' views on the current Sri Lankan environment are expected to be divergent, conflicting, contested and controversial. At the same time different individual attitudes towards sporting events as community peace projects are likely to be identified, and the interpretations of terms such as 'social development' or 'success' may vary.

To date, most studies on social development have used quantitative methods to assess impacts and to explain the phenomenon of social development, social capital and change within groups or societies (Baum, Palmer, Modra, Murray and Bush 2000; Onyx and Bullen 2000a, 2000b; Baum, Cooke and Murray 1998). However Stone (2001), in her study on measuring social capital, highlights the fact that alternate qualitative approaches to researching social capital – via participant observation, document collection and analysis, and individual consultation – would make a valuable contribution to the *understanding* of social development (see also Loza and Ogilvie 2005; Onyx and Bullen 1997). Following Stone's (2001) suggestions, this thesis analyses the contribution that sport events can make to social development between ethnic groups from a qualitative in-depth point of view, focusing on understanding the direct key social and psychological states such as attitudes, expectations, feelings, aspirations, and values expressed at the event, as well as intergroup experiences made.

3.5 THE CULTURAL CASE STUDY AS THE STRATEGIC APPROACH

Within social science, a case study is not simply a single, coherent form of research. According to Stark and Torrance (2006), a case study is an 'approach' to research which is supported by a theoretical base consisting of social interaction and social construction of meaning. A case study approach towards the interpretation of a specific and contemporary case is generally used to cover contextual conditions which are highly pertinent to the investigated phenomenon. Yin (2002) describes it as an empirical investigation of a phenomenon within its natural context, where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clear.

Qualitative case study work is generally characterised by the researcher spending an extended period of time on site and in personal contact with the participants, activities, and operations of the case (Golafshani 2003; Stake 2000). Some scholars adopt the stance of a participant carrying out research in 'partnership' with informants; others act as facilitators within a given setting (Somekh, Burman, Delamont, Meyer, Payne and Thorpe 2006). Thus, the case study approach is a flexible and appropriate methodology when an in-depth, holistic study of a contemporary phenomenon is required, and where the viewpoints of the participants are important and ambiguous. For example, the examination of inter-community sport events in Sri Lanka describes a case study in a specific socio-cultural environment.

The in-depth examination of a case provides a systematic way of looking at events, collecting data, analysing information, and reporting the results (Stake 2000). Often, the case study approach relies on different but complementary methods to analyse a phenomenon, which mainly include interviews, observation, and document analysis (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). The purpose is to gain a clearer understanding of the 'why' and 'how' of a contemporary situation (Yin 2002; Gubrium and Holstein 2000). McCormick (1996) outlined four key advantages of the case study approach within leisure research:

First, the case study approach allows the grounding of social processes within their natural settings. A significant advantage for this research is that the case study allows the researcher "to see in contextualized action how theories... are enacted" (p. 367). It presumes that 'social reality' is created through social interaction, albeit situated in particular contexts and histories (Stark and Torrance 2006; Patton 2002). This means that an inside-view into the lives, experiences and understandings of various participating forces is possible. Specific phenomena and peculiar circumstances can be actively analysed before,

during, and after the event – rather than investigating event impacts from outside a real-life context.

Second, case study research offers multiple lines of action to the investigator, who can continually develop and refine parts of the research to deal with unexpected findings, and changes in research objectives. Gall *et al*. (1996) note that case studies have an 'emergent' quality, that larger, more quantitative studies do not possess. This suggests that themes or categories of event impacts, social identities, and community participation do not need to be fully predetermined but may arise from the fieldwork.

Third, the case study allows a sense of time and history to develop. One assumption of the case study is that it is not possible to develop a deeper understanding by looking only at the contemporary situation (Stark and Torrance 2006; Stake 2000). The history and development that has led to the current situation need to be examined as well. This is of great importance within the Sri Lankan context, as the intergroup conflict between the ethnic groups has developed over a long period of time and plays an important part in understanding contemporary hostilities.

Finally, the case study permits the confirmation and/or disconfirmation, or the refinement, of existing theory (as, of course, do other methods) as well as the extrapolation and, less commonly, the generation of new theory (Flyvbjerg 2006; Stake 2000). This suggests that simple generalisation from case specific knowledge should not be undertaken (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Nevertheless, researchers can and should carefully extrapolate information from the studies conducted and make modest forecasts on the likely applicability of findings to other situations under similar conditions (Golafshani 2003; Patton 2002; Hoepfl 1997).

3.6 RESEARCH METHODS

The interpretive approach to research is characterised by the intention to hear and think about what people say in a given context. The qualitative researcher aims at gaining a deep understanding of the meaning of what people are saying, to picture how the area or the case he is interested in looks to them (Gabriel 1990). In order to understand the entire picture of a so far partially known case, several researchers have suggested collecting information from different areas and angles, and combining more than one research method in one study (Neuman 2003; Mingers 2001; Stake 2000; Gable 1994; Kaplan and Maxwell 1994; Ragin 1994, 1987). In particular, event management researchers have recently called for a deeper investigation of the feelings and emotions evoked through events, which cannot be captured with one single method (Getz 2008; Chalip 2006; Ohmann *et al.* 2006; Reid 2006). In a similar vein, Coalter (2007), Slack (1996) and Olafson (1990) criticised the overall quality of research in sport management fields. They all identify a need for more rigorous research designs and analysis, and the need for a more robust evaluation of sport events and programs.

There is a variety of qualitative data collection techniques available to researchers including observation, interviewing, the use of telephone, mail, email, or internet questionnaires, the collection of official statistics or historical archives, records of historical events, the use of census materials and other evidence collected by governments or expert institutions (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Ragin 1994). The choice of data gathering techniques is to a great extent influenced by the nature of the research problem and questions. In order to achieve a realistic and rich description and exploration of the Sri Lankan case, I employed three qualitative methods:

1. Focus group discussions
2. Participant observation
3. Semi-structured in-depth interviews.

Focus group discussions were used to find out about people's expectations of inter-community peace events and their role in contributing to social development and change in Sri Lanka. This *ex-ante* approach was then supplemented with systematic observations of an inter-community sport event. Observations *in situ* may support or disprove the expectations of community members, and add further ideas for investigation. Building on this, I established the final interview guidelines to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews *ex post* with relevant event stakeholders. The three methods complement each other, as they combine 'involved' individual interviews and group discussions with unobtrusive observations. I consider this combination of techniques the most suitable and robust approach to answer the research question "What is the role of inter-community sport events in contributing to social development?" An overview of the three methods and their implementation now follows.

3.6.1 Focus Groups

When integrating society's different sub-groups for research purposes, it is important to get as close as possible to the real-life situations where people can discuss, formulate and modify their views (Barbour and Schostak 2005). Veal (2006) argues that the focus group is the ideal method to achieve this and adds that they are of particular value with delicate issues such as the relationship between ethnic communities, as members may express their opinions more openly in a group setting. Focus groups can reduce the distance between the researcher and the researched and they can contribute to a comfortable research environment. Furthermore, "the multivocality of the participants limits the

control of the researcher over the research process" (Lincoln and Denzin 2000, p. 641).

Once convened, focus groups can take a life of their own, which is of importance for the establishment of group dynamics. They often give organisers, facilitators or change agents the chance to step back and observe how individuals within groups react to the views, expressions and ideas of others, and how people seek to defend or enforce their own views (Veal 2006). Focus groups tend to veer towards consensus over certain topics and issues, which can be taken as a representative indication of the communities' standpoints. This is what makes group decisions vital, as ideally they are "an emergent property of the group interaction, not a reflection of individual participants' opinions" (Sim 1998, p. 350). The increasing use of focus groups by researchers is therefore well justified, as group dynamics can be observed and analysed, and insights into the formation of views can be provided (Barbour and Schostak 2005).

Sampling and Recruitment

In regards to the size of focus groups, the researcher should ensure that groups are small enough to generate adequate participation by its members (Merton, Fiske and Kendall 1990), yet large enough to provide a diversity of perceptions (Krueger 1994). In addition, smaller groups often work best when the participants are interested in the topic to be discussed (Morgan 1997). The broad consensus is that the size of the focus group should not exceed twelve participants (Grudens-Schuck, Allen and Larson 2004; Patton 2002; Lewis 2000; Purdue *et al.* 2000; Krueger 1994), and so this protocol was followed (see Table 2 below).

Community focus group participants were recruited via local newspaper advertisements in early January 2007. According to Morgan (1997), a solid rule

of thumb is that research projects should involve approximately three to five focus groups, which are conducted over one-half to two hours (Grudens-Schuck *et al.* 2004; Patton 2002; Purdue *et al.* 2000). It is argued that the recruitment of more groups than this seldom provides meaningful new insights into the phenomena and any longer time span may test the patience and enthusiasm of participants. Initially, this research was supposed to have a third community based focus group. However, due to the tense political situation in the country and the resulting lack of Tamil participants willing to participate in group discussions in western Sri Lanka, this plan had to be changed. Nevertheless, I expected that sufficient data could be generated from the two focus groups and 35 interviews, to provide an in-depth picture of the phenomenon examined. In any case, according to Patton (2002) the credibility of a research project depends less on sample size than on the richness of the information gathered and on the analytical abilities of the researcher.

Focus Group Participants

In this research two different focus groups were selected with eight participants each. The first group contained mainly international organisers, which allowed for an 'expert view' on the social consequences of previously conducted sporting events in Sri Lanka, as well as an outlook on expectations from the organiser's point of view. The organiser group was made up of A.G.S.E.P. staff members and associates. The second group included community members from all three major ethnic groups in Sri Lanka: Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim. The community group contributed a local voice, ideas and expectations. Both focus groups included male and female participants, who were given pseudonyms to provide an ethically sound yet personal and intimate presentation of the data. Table 2 provides an overview of all focus group participants.

Table 2: Details of focus group participants

Focus Group Members				
Name	Focus Group	Gender	Ethnicity	Residence
Ina	Community	Female	Muslim	Colombo
Mano	Community	Male	Sinhalese	Colombo
Walter	Community	Male	Muslim	Marawila
Kappa	Community	Male	Tamil	Colombo
Anil	Community	Male	Tamil	Colombo
Sarah	Community	Female	Sinhalese	Nattandiya
Karla	Community	Female	Sinhalese	Marawila
Donale	Community	Male	European	Nattandiya
Lyn	Organiser	Female	European	Germany
Tim	Organiser	Male	European	Germany
Mary	Organiser	Female	European	France
Dominic	Organiser	Male	European	Germany
Andrew	Organiser	Male	European	Germany
Sulo	Organiser	Male	Sinhalese	India
Tomasz	Organiser	Male	European	Germany
Ranil	Organiser	Male	European	Sri Lanka

The questions chosen for the focus group discussions were derived from the literature and from anecdotal evidence presented by participants and spectators from previous A.G.S.E.P. events. At the same time, my own experiences from organising 'sport for development' projects in Sri Lanka influenced the choice of questions. Discussion questions included:

1. What are the expected social consequences of the sport events among the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka?

2. How could sport events be used as a tool for facilitating and fostering a Sri Lankan identity?

3. How do you think the events can promote a 'sense of unity' between the different ethnic groups?
4. What can be done to sustain positive social impacts and intergroup relations beyond the event? What should be done in the future?
5. Do you think that people will take the experiences from the event and behave differently towards members from other ethnic groups outside the event spheres?
6. What should the roles of NGOs (e.g. A.G.S.E.P.) be in facilitating community development projects?

During focus group discussions, researchers need to be aware of the group dynamics unfolding. For example, I needed to assure that more dominant individuals did not take over the conversation at the expense of less vociferous participants. In the case of the ethnically mixed community focus group, I had to pay special attention to equal opportunities for all groups to express their views. Against the socio-political background of Sri Lanka, I acted as a facilitator in the discussions, and made sure that political statements were excluded and due respect was paid towards all participants.

Timing and Location

The two focus group sessions were conducted at the A.G.S.E.P. headquarters in Marawila, shortly before the Intercultural Sports Meeting (ISM) in late January 2007. The organiser focus group discussion lasted for two hours while the community focus group met for one and a half hours. Due to the informal and in-depth nature of the focus groups, I achieved further understanding of the communities' expectations of socio-cultural impacts. Further, I found out about the roles of the change agent in community development projects, a potential change in intergroup relations, and opportunities for growing and leveraging events to the wider community. I used this information to add to themes

interpreted in the literature review. Further, the newly gained information helped in shaping the in-depth interviews, which were conducted after the ISM event between late January and April 2007.

3.6.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation within the context of a natural setting is a classical approach to collecting data in the field. Observational data are used in order to describe settings, activities, people and atmospheres from the perspective of the participants (Jones and Somekh 2006; Markwell 2000; Hoepfl 1997). Observation can lead to a deeper understanding than interviewing or focus group techniques, as both verbal and non-verbal cues are monitored, identified and presented. By providing knowledge of the context in which events occur, the observation method allows the researcher to see things that participants themselves are not aware of, or that they are unwilling to discuss (Patton 2002; Kellehear 1993).

According to Jones and Somekh (2006), what is observed within a situation is ontologically determined, which means that it depends on how the observer understands 'being in the world'. In line with the interpretive approach, behaviour is constructed through interactions between individuals and groups and the observer is looking for 'patterns' in those interactions. Within this process, Hoepfl (1997) argues that observation can have different formats, ranging from an 'outside perspective' over a 'passive presence' and 'limited interaction' to 'full participation'. Whereas the first two strategies are mainly used to conduct unobtrusive, non-interacting research studies, the latter two focus on engaging with the phenomenon under investigation.

A *limited interaction* approach was employed in the participant observation phase of the study, which sees the communities themselves in charge of events and change processes. For experiencing an intergroup situation from the inside perspective, a (minor) involvement in the event activities is however recommended, as "becoming part of the group is the obvious way of studying the group" (Veal 2006, p. 139). Supporting minor involvement during observation, Kellehear (1993) argues that one of the great advantages of this method is that it remains mainly unobtrusive – and even when slightly obtrusive, the effect wears off over a reasonable period of time. In contrast, a *full participation* approach can lead to the researcher exercising too much control and influence on site, as their presence is likely to introduce a distortion of the natural scene.

Participant observation is recommended to be undertaken in the beginning stages of the data collection process, because of its role in informing the researcher about appropriate, interesting and challenging areas of investigation (Glesne 1999). This recommendation was followed as I attended and observed social interactions, intergroup behaviour and dynamics at the Intercultural Sports Meeting (ISM) event in January 2007. I conducted observations of social interaction at pre-determined places throughout the event weekend. Further, I captured the atmosphere during the days of the event focusing on both verbal and non-verbal communication. I could thus interpret the social information, feelings, and (intergroup) attitudes of Sinhalese and Tamil event participants, as people often express their relationships by how they position themselves in a group (Silverman 2006; Neuman 2003). For example, social communication and cohesiveness can be read by noting that people are standing together, looking relaxed, making eye contact and are talking to each other (Hogg 1992).

The data collected from the ISM event was recorded with memos of observations and visual representations in the form of digital images. The latter were taken at pre-chosen sites every half hour, which assisted with the interpretation of social interaction by looking at the placing, interaction and engagement of people and groups (Silverman 2006; Neuman 2003). Memos and images also assisted in shaping the interview guidelines and in 'closing information gaps'.

3.6.3 Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews are seen as the most promising method to find out the 'real' about contemporary cases and phenomena (Hoepfl 1997). Beginning with a general list of themes to be discussed, this technique allows for flexibility by including open ended questions for capturing new and unexpected issues and information (Barbour and Schostak 2005). On the one hand the researcher is free to probe and explore within the predetermined inquiry areas; on the other hand the guide insures a systematic and comprehensive interviewing of multiple subjects within a limited time frame (Patton 2002; Hoepfl 1997). The initial themes may be derived from the literature review or a document analysis, from imagination and past experiences, or from an 'expert group'. For this research, key themes of the different literature areas and a general list of social capital elements influenced the setup of the interview-guide. Further, information gained from the focus group sessions, observation at the event, and the author's previous experiences in Sri Lanka contributed to the shaping of the final version of the guide.

In comparison to pre-conceived formats, the semi-structured interviews reduce the dominance and power of the researcher over the participant. Topics and questions are not strictly reinforced but allow for development and a

researcher's role as a listener within the conversation, which can lead to a reduction of interviewees' insecurity and suspicion (Barbour and Schostak 2005). By adopting a relativist view of cultures the interviewer accepts the participant's culture as equally legitimate, which ensures that both can communicate across cultural boundaries (Jennings 2001; Rubin and Rubin 1995). This is particularly important when dealing with culturally sensitive issues such as civil tensions or people's involvement in and experience of civil war.

The value that information can hold as a commodity for sale or the intrinsic value as evocative of 'truth' or 'reality' of the daily-life conditions can be precious. As it can potentially place the participant in a vulnerable situation trust between the interviewer and interviewee is of central importance during the research process (Barbour and Schostak 2005). In the interviews I formally established trust through official documents confirming my intention, purpose and ethical approval of the research. Informal trust was achieved through establishing rapport with the respondent, where I talked about my experiences in Sri Lanka and the ethnic communities and introduced the interviewees to the topic by showing them the questionnaire with the themes for discussion. Janesick (1998, p. 40) emphasises the great value of rapport and trust built with research participants, as it ensures that they are "more willing to share everything, warts and all, with the researcher".

Sampling and Recruitment

In most research projects it is necessary to sample, as it is impossible or at least impractical to interview, survey, or observe every person involved in the focus of the research (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). In quantitative research, *random sampling* forms the dominant strategy, which describes the systematic selection of a representative sample from the larger population. By contrast, qualitative researchers apply *purposeful sampling* as their dominant strategy, which seeks information-rich cases which can be studied in depth (Stark and Torrance 2006; Patton 2002; Hoepfl 1997). The purposeful sampling strategy implies that the researcher specifically chooses participants who are best suited to providing greater understanding of the phenomenon under question (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Neuman 2003; Burnett and Uys 2000; Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell and Alexander 1995). Applying a purposeful sampling strategy, I was able to actively ensure the integration of voices from *all* groups that were impacted by the events, which contributes to a holistic and realistic picture of the case.

I selected the initial interview respondents after a thorough discussion with A.G.S.E.P., whose experience and knowledge in the Sri Lankan event industry and links to the local communities helped to identify suitable candidates. The candidates either contributed to the events as active stakeholders, or were impacted by the events to some extent. I selected initial interview partners from the event organiser, the media, sponsors, key informants and the participating ethnic communities. After the first fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted, I employed a *snowball sampling* strategy to address further candidates. This approach uses the initial interview participants as an information source to provide suggestions or recommendations on other suitable interview partners with similar or required attributes (Berg 2004). Neuman (2003) argues that in unique cases which are difficult to research because of cultural and linguistic diversity, the combination of purposeful and snowball strategies is most

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appropriate. It promises that those selected for the interviews match how the researcher has defined the subject of the research.

Interview Respondents

The 35 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with representatives from all major event stakeholders (see Table 3 below). In line with the 'bottom-up' approach to the events, community respondents formed the largest group of the interviewees. The community respondents came from various Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim communities, including a large number of members from the Marawila/Nattandiya, Anamaduwa and Nilaveli communities that participated in the ISM event. The second largest group were the event organisers, followed by event participants, volunteers and spectators. Representatives from the Sri Lankan Government and Tamil officials as well as other direct event stakeholders were also included in the sample.

Overall, nine female and twenty six male respondents were interviewed. Due to their varying level of spoken English skills, four interviews were conducted with the help of a Sinhalese interpreter. This proved to be beneficial to the sample, as people from lower socio-economic backgrounds could be included. Further, it should be noted that all research participants were given pseudonyms to provide an ethically sound yet personal and intimate presentation of the data.

Table 3: Overview of interview respondents

Interview Respondents				
Name	**Event Involvement**	**Gender**	**Ethnicity**	**Residence**
Kate	Organiser	Female	European	Europe
Tom	Organiser	Male	Sinhalese	Nattandiya
Theo	Organiser	Male	Muslim	Anamaduwa
Didi	Organiser	Male	European	Marawila
Mark	Organiser	Male	European	Europe
Suso	Community	Female	Sinhalese	Anamaduwa
Kumi	Community	Female	Sinhalese	Marawila
Sudu	Community	Female	Sinhalese	Nattandiya
Deeptha	Community	Female	Sinhalese	Colombo
Shanto	Community	Male	Sinhalese	Nattandiya
Waahid	Community	Male	Muslim	Marawila
Nano	Community	Male	Muslim	Anamaduwa
Raj	Community	Male	Tamil	Jaffna
Sugi	Community	Female	Tamil	Nilaveli
Arndt	Participant	Male	European	Europe
Anu	Participant	Male	Sinhalese	Marawila
Gerd	Participant	Male	Sinhalese	Marawila
Shawn	Participant	Male	Sinhalese	Nattandiya
Anja	Volunteer	Female	Muslim	Anamaduwa
Dan	Volunteer	Male	European	Europe
Axel	Volunteer	Male	European	Europe
Katrin	Volunteer	Female	European	Europe
Jaly	Spectator	Male	Tamil	Kandy
Katja	Spectator	Female	European	Europe
Matt	Spectator	Male	Sinhalese	Colombo
Sam	Spectator	Male	European	India
Jayo	Government Rep.	Male	Sinhalese	Colombo
Kula	Government Rep.	Male	Sinhalese	Colombo
Romiro	Tamil Official	Male	Tamil	Nilaveli
Jeewo	Sports Ministry	Male	Sinhalese	Colombo
Kevin	Sports Ministry	Male	Sinhalese	Colombo
Andy	Media Rep.	Male	Sinhalese	Colombo
Marco	Media Rep.	Male	Muslim	Colombo
Niro	Sponsor	Male	Sinhalese	Colombo
Chulo	Aid Organisation	Male	Sinhalese	Colombo

Biddle *et al.* (2001) argue that it is not common for researchers to provide a rationale for the number of participants interviewed for their projects. The literature however does refer to factors such as expertise of the interviewees, collective opportunity to interview, availability through personal contacts, and specificity of the sample group to justify the selected sample size. All these different rationales can be taken into the researcher's consideration when trying to reach saturation in a qualitative study. Without detailed justification, Perry ([1992] 2002) concluded that for a qualitative in-depth study of a specific phenomenon 35-45 interviews are recommended as a guideline for solid and rigorous research, and this number was achieved. Overall, I am convinced that sufficient depth and breadth of sampling was assured through the inclusion of 35 interviewees from all the participating and supporting stakeholders of the two inter-community events.

Timing and Location

The interviews were conducted between January and April 2007. This timing allowed me to question the direct short-term impacts experienced at the Intercultural Sports Meeting (ISM) held in January 2007, as well as investigating the longer-term impacts when relating to the International Run for Peace (IR4P) event staged in October 2006. The interviews were held in locations of convenience for the participants; usually in their offices or hotels in Colombo or at the A.G.S.E.P. headquarters in Marawila. This was to ensure that the respondents were comfortable in their surroundings, allowing for a comfortable working atmosphere. Due to the tense political situation in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, I could not conduct research in these areas. Therefore, less Tamil community members than planned were interviewed. However, some Tamils volunteered to travel to the western parts of the island to participate in the interviews or focus groups, despite the insecure political environment and tedious travel conditions.

The semi-structured in-depth interviews ran for between 35 - 120 minutes. They were recorded digitally and transcribed *verbatim*. I sent the transcriptions of the interviews back to each participant for cross-checking, validation and clarification purposes. In the four cases where people needed an interpreter, I transcribed the interview immediately after the interview, which allowed me to use the interpreter for the validation process as well.

3.7 ANALYSING THE DATA

Qualitative data analysis is a process of ongoing discovery which involves a high level of familiarity with the data and continuous examination and interpretation (Biddle *et al.* 2001; Taylor and Bogdan 1998; Hoepfl 1997). According to Bogdan and Biklen (1982, p. 145), qualitative data analysis means "working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others".

To achieve a high level of familiarity with the data, I read and re-read the memos, notes and transcripts of the interviews, focus groups and observations. I identified emerging concepts, themes and sub-themes, which were shaped by the coding of the data. In line with the interpretive paradigm underpinning this research, the themes of this research were therefore not completely imposed by a pre-defined matrix derived from the review of the literature (Denzin and Lincoln 2005).

Coding describes the developing and refining of interpretations of data, which allows for data reduction, organisation and categorisation into themes (Neuman 2003; Taylor and Bogdan 1998). According to Willis (2006) coding can take on two main forms: open and axial coding. Open coding is carried out first and

involves assigning the initial set of open codes to a piece of text. Axial coding follows and involves the redefining of these initial open codes, with each becoming more clearly defined. Axial coding focuses on the organisation and re-arrangement of the existing codes and can involve splitting codes into sub-categories, identifying relationships between codes, or combining codes that are closely related (Willis 2006; Neuman 2003).

The computer software program used to support my data analysis process was NVivo 7, which assists with the integrating, shaping, coding and 'understanding' of large quantities of qualitative data (Veal 2006; Marshall 2002). Within NVivo, the processes of open and axial coding are reflected in the creation of free and tree nodes. While free nodes can be described as containers for storing data that "do not assume relationships with other concepts" (Beazley and Richards 2000, p. 25), tree nodes are those which allow for hierarchical organisation into themes and sub-themes. Tree nodes are therefore useful for axial coding and the reorganisation of existing free nodes. During the data analysis process I made use of both free nodes and tree nodes, which allowed me to gain a better understanding of relationships of the data and structures of emerging arguments.

Once the data analysis and coding processes are completed, findings can be presented. This study presents the findings in accordance with the research objectives identified. The following excerpt provides an example of the presentation style in the findings chapter:

Replying to a question about the ideal attributes an A.G.S.E.P. supporter should have, Dan explains:

> It is important to have some [sport event] experts, [but] I think it is more important to have one or two experts in social studies .... The main thing is that they should definitely be idealistic and have the aim to help people, and to take part in an event that is good for other people and not for their own *Curriculum Vitae*. (V2: 236-240)

Idealism and social dedication are highlighted as vital characteristics required of a change agent.

This example shows that I embedded quotes from participants in the text to 'tell a story' and build up a convincing argument by combining and supporting claims with quotes. The respondents' name and line number from where the quote is sourced are also noted. In the example above, (V2: 236-240) would indicate the quotation has come from volunteer number 2 (Dan) in lines 236-240 of the interview transcript. Through this method an 'audit trail' back to the original data source is provided, which contributes to the research being credible, transparent and *integer*.

3.8 POTENTIAL BIAS

> There is no such thing as value-free inquiry, and in qualitative research this premise is presented with clarity. Such clarity permits the value commitments of researchers to be transparent. (Lincoln and Denzin 2000, p. 367)

Lincoln and Denzin's statement acknowledges that qualitative researchers openly recognise the potentially biased interpretations of their findings and try to deal with them accordingly. Similarly, Janesick (1998) and Cheek *et al.* (2004) explain that qualitative research is ideologically driven, and therefore value-free or bias-free design is impossible to achieve. In contrast to quantitative

research there is no meaning to the idea of an 'independent person', removed from the context of the research. Consequently, qualitative researchers are often accused of a biased view of the world and of their participants, which is understandable when considering the inseparableness of the researcher from the research.

Miles and Huberman (1984, p. 428) argue that even where there are shared theoretical backgrounds, "it is still unlikely that a researcher could write a case study from a colleague's field notes that would be plausibly similar to the original". It therefore comes down to the qualitative researcher's ability to be sensitive to the data and being able to make appropriate decisions which convince the reader of his work (Cheek *et al.* 2004; Patton 2002). Researchers do not lose credibility when acknowledging potential bias in their studies – as long as they and their performances are trustworthy (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Golafshani 2003; Lincoln and Guba 1985). It is therefore important to articulate subjective choices within a research project transparently to secure credibility.

I acknowledge my individual bias due to my previous involvement in sport event development projects in Sri Lanka, and earlier research conducted in the communities. Informal interactions with local community members and conversations between respondents and myself may have had an influence on my personal perceptions. However, I took every effort to ensure that my views, beliefs and assumptions were not imposed upon respondents during the data collection process. For example, the themes derived from the analysis of the data and were not pre-imposed and all transcriptions were reviewed and verified by the interviewees in an attempt to minimise elements of researcher-imposed bias.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As social science research involves human beings ethical issues are of great importance. Knowledge confers power, which means that in collecting data researchers need to be guided by principles of respect for persons and have to obtain informed consent (Somekh *et al.* 2006). According to Schwandt (1993), even if no formal agreements have been established, something like a protective informal contract exists between researcher and the researched, which can be described as a moral obligation. The research participants need to be openly informed and protected by any means, and contributors to research should never be disadvantaged or hurt. Stake (2000, p. 447) believes that "qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world. Their manners should be good and their code of ethics strict".

As qualitative research shares an interest in people's personal perceptions, views, and circumstances the publication of outcomes confronts researchers with the need to consider the possible impact of their reports on the people who contribute to it (Somekh *et al.* 2006). Those whose lives and expressions are portrayed and analysed may for example risk problems such as exposure and embarrassment, or loss of standing, employment, or self-esteem (Stake 2000). In order to secure an ethically responsible research process, Bouma (2000) suggests that specific consideration should be given to three major issues, which are (1) gaining appropriate informed consent, (2) respecting individual privacy and confidentiality, and (3) ensuring the research is stored in a safe environment.

First, to achieve informed consent with the participants, they must be fully aware of the research purpose and processes, any potential risk or harm, the potential benefits of the research project, and the use of information generated. Furthermore, the researcher has to secure voluntary participation allowing the

questioning of issues raised within the research process (de Vaus 2002; Glesne 1999). For this research, informed consent forms – in accordance with UTS ethics regulations – were signed by all respondents and stored in a locked cabinet.

Second, individual privacy and confidentiality are of particular importance for this project because of the peculiar characteristics of the research setting. Due to political tensions in Sri Lanka and the recent listing of the LTTE as a terrorist organisation by several states including India, the US and the EU, interviewees' responses could result in conflict, distress or harm. Therefore, during the interview transcription process, I removed all identifying attributes and gave pseudonyms to respondents. Finally, to secure safety of the data, I stored the digital interview files and all transcripts in a locked filing cabinet, so that data were not available to any other person but myself. I notified interviewees of this through informed consent forms and information sheets prior to their involvement in the research.

3.10 LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

This chapter has outlined the philosophical framework that was used to guide and shape the research design and methods. The interpretive research paradigm adopted argues that the world consists of multiple socially constructed realities which are subjectively derived. There is the need for interpretive researchers to clearly explain their methodology and methods in an attempt to combat accusations of subjectivity and bias (Decrop 1999). This chapter has attempted to address these issues by presenting in detail the three methods used for generating data – focus group discussions, participant observation and semi-structured in-depth interviews. This multi-method qualitative approach allows

for an in-depth investigation of a case's peculiarities in the participants' natural setting, which contributes to a methodologically sound research approach.

Further, this chapter presented the sampling strategies and techniques utilised for the data collection process. It also noted the method of data analysis and the use of qualitative analysis software. The chapter concluded by acknowledging potential bias of the researcher and the ethical considerations made to ensure that the research did not negatively impact upon or affect those involved. The following chapter now outlines the social context for this thesis by presenting the historic and current socio-political environment in Sri Lanka, and a detailed summary of the two inter-community sport events which comprised the data in this research.

CHAPTER FOUR:
SOCIAL CONTEXT

The problem of the 21st century
is the problem of the other –
people who are not like us.
(Barack Obama 2008)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This short chapter provides the reader with the social context and background against which the inter-community sporting events in Sri Lanka are staged. First, a geographical and demographical overview of Sri Lanka is provided. Second, the historical development of the country is described, before the prevailing terrorism problem and its sources are portrayed. Then, the current socio-political circumstances on the island are elaborated on, before the NGO *Asian-German Sports Exchange Program* (A.G.S.E.P.) and its vision, mission and project experiences in the country are described. Lastly, a detailed summary of the two events examined for this research is provided.

4.2 SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka means auspicious, resplendent land. Nicknames for the country range from 'Serendib', 'Pearl of the Orient' to 'Teardrop of Asia' (Campbell and Niven 2001). Marco Polo once remarked: "Sri Lanka is undoubtedly the finest island of its size in the world". When Mark Twain arrived in Colombo in 1896, he described Sri Lanka as an island where "…the conditions were complete, nothing was lacking". Today, the country is a place of startling paradoxes: all

the beauty and charm remains, but extraordinary violence makes the present look depressing. With its natural and cultural heritage Sri Lanka could easily be a paradise on earth; instead, the country is confronted with the severe consequences of civil war, ethnic tensions and regular terrorist acts. It seems that all that remains is hope for a better future. However, hope alone will not resolve the *status quo* – action is required to achieve positive change.

4.2.1 Geography and Demographics

The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is an island state located in the Indian Ocean, thirty five kilometres off the Southern tip of India. Sri Lanka, formerly known as Ceylon, is part of the British Commonwealth and covers an area of 65,610 square kilometres. Divided into 25 districts, the island is about the size of Ireland. Almost 80 percent of the 20 million people living in Sri Lanka reside in rural areas. Colombo, the country's capital and largest city, only has approximately 1.5 million inhabitants. Colombo is host to the Sri Lankan Government (GOSL).

Figure 4: Sri Lanka showing individual districts (My Sri Lanka 2005)

Other main cities are the Tamil dominated Jaffna in the north, the former capital Kandy in central Sri Lanka, and the sea port of Galle in the south. Over the last 25 years, the northeastern parts of Sri Lanka were controlled by the Tamil separatist movement *Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam* (LTTE). Two strategically important cities are Vavuniya, which was the border town between Government and Tamil Tiger controlled land, and Killinochchi, which hosted the LTTE headquarters until January 2009. Of particular interest for this research are the three rural communities Marawila/Nattandiya (in the Gampaha district in western Sri Lanka), Anamaduwa (in the Puttalam district in northwestern Sri Lanka) and Nilaveli (in the Trincomalee district in the LTTE controlled northeastern Sri Lanka), which were engaged in the Intercultural Sports Meeting (ISM) event.

Sri Lanka is an ethnically, religiously, and linguistically diverse society: 74 % of the people living on the island are (mainly Buddhist) Sinhalese, 18 % are (Hindu and Christian) Tamils, and 7 % are Indian and Sri Lankan Moors, generally labelled and referred to as 'Muslims' in Sri Lanka (Auswärtiges Amt 2009; Orjuela 2008). The remaining 1 % includes the Burgher community and small populations of Eurasians, Malays, Parsis and the island's indigenous inhabitants the Veddas (Nyrop 2005). The island is clearly divided into two opposing areas: two thirds of the overall Tamil population lives in the north and east of Sri Lanka, where they form a dominating majority in the districts Jaffna (97 %), Mullaitivu (90 %), Vavuniya (77 %) and Batticaloa (73 %) (Sri Lankan Department of Census and Statistics 2001). The Sinhalese community lives predominantly in the central and southern areas of the island, which highlights the clear ethnic divide along geographical lines. While the Tamil population speaks Tamil, the Sinhalese speak Sinhala. Tamil-Sinhala bilingual proficiency is very low in comparison with bilingual proficiency in other Asian countries, and successive Sri Lankan Governments have not been able to effectively

promote bilingualism through educational and governmental policies (Nesiah 2006).

Table 4: Comparison of Sinhalese and Tamil group characteristics

	Sinhalese	Tamil
% of Population	74 percent	18 percent
Religion	Buddhist	Hindu
Native Language	Sinhala	Tamil
Origins	Northern India	Southern India
Area of Settlement	Central and Southern Si Lanka	Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka
Control of Land	Government of Sri Lanka	LTTE

4.2.2 History

Historically, Sri Lanka has always been a multi-ethnic society. Around 500 B.C. the Sinhalese, the island's predominant ethnic group, came to the country from the northern parts of India (Dunung 1995). The other major ethnic group, the Tamils, arrived from Southern India about 200 years later. The Portuguese in 1505 were the first European settlers to conquer and take control of large parts of the country. They not only brought trade to Sri Lanka, but also Christianity in a country where Buddhism and Hinduism were the predominant religions (Campbell and Niven 2001). The Dutch came to Sri Lanka in the early seventeenth century and named the island Ceylon. During a battle in 1798, the Dutch were defeated by the British, who made Ceylon a colony of expanding British Empire (Dunung 1995). The British introduced English as a third official language (the other two being Sinhala and Tamil) and instituted a well organised educational system. Despite a growing separation of the Sinhalese-inhabited south and the Tamil-settled north, the British managed to control the whole

island and established principles of democratic government (Auswärtiges Amt 2008). When Sri Lanka became independent on 4 February 1948, the transfer of power between the British and local parties was achieved by peaceful means. Despite claims that the Sinhalese and the Tamils are 'natural enemies', there was little trouble between them during the colonial era and in the first few years after independence. It has indeed been argued that historically Sri Lanka was characterised by a border culture of co-existence and hybridity (Nesiah 2006; Goodhand, Hulme and Lewer 2000; Rajasingham-Senanayake 1999).

In recent history, Sinhalese-Tamil relations have, however, been fraught with severe difficulties. In the 1970s, the strongest Tamil separatist underground movement LTTE came to view the Sri Lankan Government policies and actions as discriminatory against the Tamil population. As a result they proclaimed an independent Tamil state *Tamil Eelam* in the north and east of Sri Lanka. Seeing themselves as the acting representative of the Tamil people, their violent demands culminated in a civil war that lasted from 1983 – 2002 resulting in over 70,000 casualties (Bilger 2006; Gardner 2006). In 2002 the LTTE controlled 15% of the island and claimed another 20% as their traditional Tamil homeland (see Figure 5 below). In northeastern Sri Lanka, the Tigers established a de facto state with its own military, police, schools, laws and courts. They even have their own time zone – 30 minutes behind Sri Lankan national time (Carlson 2005).

Despite numerous attempts, the conflict between the GOSL and the LTTE has failed to be resolved. In 2002, both parties entered into the first official dialogue with the assistance of Norwegian facilitation. The result was an agreement to commit to a peace process in the country (Tamilselvan 2002). A cease-fire agreement was established in February 2002; however the LTTE withdrew from active peace talks after six rounds in April 2003. The latest attempt to bring the

two warring parties together in Oslo, Norway, failed in June 2006, when LTTE officials refused to negotiate with European assistance. The Tigers' refusal was seen as a political decision on principal, because prior to the talks, on 29 May 2006, the European Union added the LTTE to their list of terrorist organisations and froze Tamil Tiger accounts in the Union (Senanayake 2006). In January 2008, the GOSL eventually decided to withdraw from the *pro forma* cease-fire agreement, which had been severely violated by both sides since 2002.

Figure 5: GOSL and LTTE controlled areas as of 2002 (Ilankai Tamil Sangam 2005)
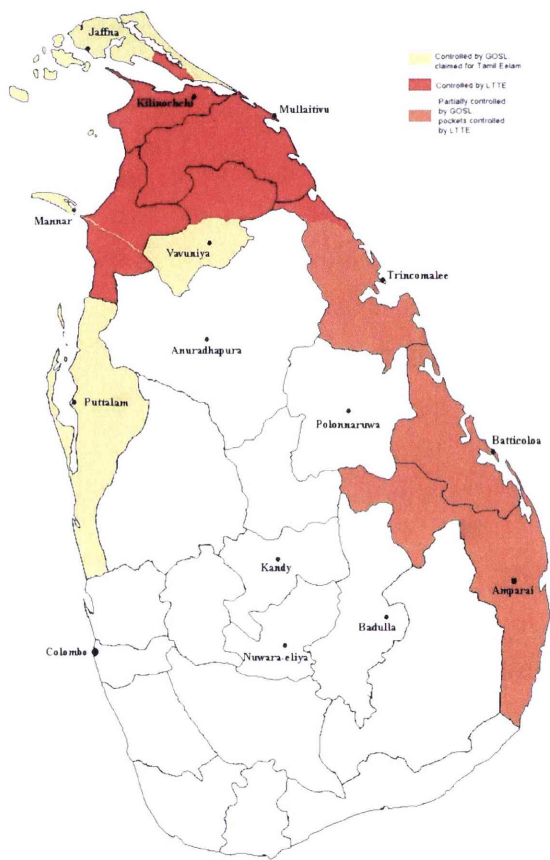
4.2.3 Terrorism in Sri Lanka

The socio-cultural structure of political life in Sri Lanka is primarily determined by the values of the Buddhist Sinhalese majority. The Tamil population regards itself as an oppressed minority on a Sinhalese dominated island. However, under consideration of the 60 million Tamils living in the Southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, the Sinhalese perceive themselves as an endangered minority in a Tamil dominated region (Dunung 1995). This phenomenon describes the central problem in Sri Lanka and also the starting point for rivalry, hostility, terror attacks and the civil war.

Historical divisions continue to have an impact on Sri Lankan society and politics. Since Sri Lanka's independence in 1948, the Tamil minority has been anxious about the country's unitary form of government and apprehensive that the Sinhalese majority will abuse Tamil rights. In 1956, the newly elected Sinhalese nationalist government arranged a series of steps to be taken, which appeared discriminatory to Tamils. One of these was the declaration of Sinhala as the country's one and only official language; others were agricultural and university reforms that privileged the Sinhalese population (Orjuela 2008; Dunung 1995). Consequently, the Tamils started to rebel asserting their collective identity and social, cultural and religious rights. In the 1970s, they started to seek an independent state by force. Tamil politicians were moving from support for federalism to a demand for a separate Tamil Eelam in the northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka, which they consider areas of traditional Tamil settlement.

Under the leadership of Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran the Tamil National Army, also known as LTTE, was formed in 1976, after many years of peaceful yet unsuccessful demonstrations by Tamil leaders against Sinhalese oppression. In 1983, the death of 13 Sinhalese soldiers at the hands of the LTTE led to the

largest outburst of communal violence in Sri Lankan history. As a result, hundreds of Tamils were killed throughout the country, thousands were left homeless, and more than 100,000 fled to the Southern parts of India (Hellmann-Rajanayagam 1994). Since then, the struggle for power within Sri Lanka has dominated daily life, particularly in the northern and eastern parts of the island.

In these areas, the LTTE managed to establish its own de facto state. The Tigers are a dynamic, well-organized, innovative, young group with an extensive global network of support. The LTTE international propaganda war is conducted at a highly sophisticated level making considerable use of innovative and well-run internet sites. In at least fifty four countries the LTTE maintains offices and cells (EelamWeb 2008). The most important centres are found in leading Western states with large Tamil expatriate communities, most notably the UK, France, Germany, Norway, Switzerland, Canada and Australia. The essential objective of this global structure is to harness political and economic support for the creation of Tamil Eelam (Falksohn and Rao 2008). From the Tamil Diaspora the LTTE receives financial support from committed followers of the movement or from expatriates that are pressured with mafia-like extortion measures. With one in four Tamils living abroad, the number of potential "donors" for the "contribution to the final war" runs upwards of 800,000 (Falksohn and Rao 2008, p. 1). According to a report recently published by the British military publication *Jane's Intelligence Review* and the humanitarian group Human's Right Watch, the Tigers are able to raise up to US$ 300 million a year, or between 80 and 90 per cent of their total budget, abroad. At home in Sri Lanka, the LTTE demands 'taxes and tolls' from their people to sustain and advance their mission.

Through considerable financial and ideological support both nationally and internationally, the LTTE has enabled itself to be at the cutting edge of terrorist

lethality and sophistication. Collected funds are often used to procure weapons, which are shipped to Jaffna, the Tamil stronghold in northern Sri Lanka, primarily from southern India. Boats arrive containing a "global weapons bazaar" (Falksohn and Rao 2008, p. 1). This includes explosives from the Ukraine, short-range missiles from Bulgaria, bazookas from Cyprus, grenade launchers from Croatia and small arms such as machine guns from Cambodia, Thailand and Burma. The effectiveness of the Tigers is due to their modern military equipment, use of guerrilla and insurgency methods of warfare, unconscionable tactics and the fanatical identification with the Tamil movement (Stern Online 25.06.2003). Setting an example, Tamil leader Prabhakaran in a news conference in April 2002 light-heartedly confirmed that his instructions to his cadres were to shoot him dead if he ever reneged on the demand for Tamil Eelam (Ram 2006). Fighting for their homeland, all the Tiger fighters (including women and child soldiers) carry cyanide capsules strung around their necks, which are used in an impasse (Lawson 2009). Carrying the cyanide is seen as an expression of complete determination, commitment and courage. Many have sacrificed themselves to make sure that no one from the LTTE movement is ever kept in a government jail and that LTTE sympathizers and contacts, families and supporters are protected (Siemon-Netto 1998).

Determined to give their lives for Tamil Eelam, members of the LTTE's suicide commando 'Black Tigers' have committed innumerable terrorist attacks in Sri Lanka. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (2008) describes the Tamil Tigers as a terrorist group that has (a) perfected the use of suicide bombers, (b) invented the suicide belt, (c) pioneered the use of women in suicide attacks, and (d) murdered some 4000 people in 2006 and 2007 alone. The four most devastating acts of terrorism committed by the LTTE have been the assassination of Indian president Gandhi in 1991 and Sri Lankan president Premacasa in 1993 (which makes the LTTE the only terrorist organisation that

has assassinated two world leaders), as well as two attacks on the Sri Lankan Airforce Base and the only international airport in Sri Lanka in 2001 and 2007. With these well-planned strikes the 'inventors and world leaders in suicide bombings' (Follath 2006; Kreisler 2006) delivered a body blow to the political establishment of Sri Lanka, to the security forces, to the economy, and to prospects for peace all at once (Subramanian 2001).

Until the 9/11 terror attacks in the United States, the Tigers were widely recognised to be the most lethal suicide unit in the world, with three times as many suicide attacks as their worldwide 'competitors' *Hamas*, *Hizbollah*, *PKK* and *Babbar Khalsa* (Chalk 1999). In fact, according to the FBI the Tiger's ruthless tactics have inspired terrorist networks worldwide, including Al Qaeda in Iraq. For these reasons, and because of more than 80,000 casualties until 2009, the civil war in Sri Lanka has often been described as the world's most violent and destructive ethnic conflict (Zastiral 2009; Falksohn and Rao 2006; Kapferer 2001).

4.2.4 Current Socio-Political Situation

In November 2005, the former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka and leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) Mahinda Rajapaksa was sworn in as the new president of Sri Lanka. He won the election against his opponent Ranil Wickremasinghe from the United National Party (UNP) by a narrow 180,000 votes. Rajapaksa's victory was largely due to the mass support from the Sinhala-Buddhist voters, who supported his uncompromising approach towards liberating the LTTE controlled 'uncleared areas' in northern and northeastern Sri Lanka. However, decisive for the SLFP's victory was the absence of Tamil voters in the LTTE controlled areas. The Tamil Tigers boycotted the election and forcibly prevented over 700,000 registered Tamil voters from visiting the

polling booths and from supporting the UNP, who had proclaimed a more diplomatic approach towards finding a peaceful solution to the ethnically divided country (BBC News 18.11.2005). The LTTE did not want to cooperate with any party and used roadblocks and intimidation in their areas, so that voting turnout in Jaffna (northern Sri Lanka) for example was only 0.014% of the population - the lowest ever anywhere in the country. On the day after the election the international press stated: "Hardliner wins Sri Lanka election" (BBC) and "A Hawk Narrowly Wins Sri Lanka Presidential Election" (New York Times), as the newly elected Rajapaksa government was expected to implement strong programs and policies towards "liberating the country from terrorist domination" (BBC News 18.11.2005).

Rajapaksa's hardline approach towards solving Sri Lanka's terrorism problem is well documented. In 2006, the government drastically increased military spending by 44%, followed by an additional 40% in 2007 (Samson 2008; BBC News 06.10.2006). In July 2006, the Sri Lankan military launched a large offensive against the LTTE and has since engaged in further military actions which drove the Tigers out of large parts of the eastern provinces. When in November 2007 the Sri Lankan Army assassinated the LTTE's political leader S.P. Tamilselvan, all hope for a peaceful political solution to the ethnic problems in Sri Lanka was lost (Leonhard 2008). Soon after this incident, the Tigers answered with several suicide attacks and roadside bombings at government ministries in and around Colombo, and LTTE supporters killed Sri Lanka's Minister for Nation Building, Mr. Dassanayaka, in January 2008. Following these incidents, the cease-fire agreement was officially terminated by the GOSL and on 16th January 2008, Sri Lanka returned to open civil war.

On the day the cease-fire agreement was ended, Sri Lanka experienced for the first time a suspected LTTE attack on civilians. Twenty four garment workers

and three school children were killed and 64 people severely injured in a claymore attack on a civilian bus in the south eastern town of Buttala. This roadside bomb attack – also described as the "Buttala Butchery" (Perera, De Silva and Gunathilleke 2008, p. 1) – not only led to the closing of all schools in the local Uva province, but lifted the brutal ethnic conflict to another level. Until then, civilians had never been the prime target of terrorist attacks in Sri Lanka. Two weeks later on 2nd February 2008, the Tamil Tigers launched an attack on a passenger bus in Dambulla in the Cultural Triangle tourist area, killing 18 people and injuring another 50. The following day a suicide bomber blew himself up at Colombo's main train station, killing twelve people and injuring another one hundred.

On 6th April 2008 a sport event was for the first time used as target for terrorism activity in Sri Lanka. Thirteen people were killed and sixty wounded at the official opening of a marathon in the Gampaha district north of Colombo, when an LTTE suicide bomber carried out the attack at the starting line (Spiegel Online 06.04.2008). The three Sinhalese chief guests of the event, Sri Lanka's national athletics coach Lakshman de Alwis, former Olympic marathon runner and South Asian champion K.A. Karunaratne, and Minister of Highways and Road Development Jeyaraj Fernandopulle, were all killed. Fernandopulle, a vocal critic of the Tamil Tigers and member of Sri Lanka's failed peace talks with the LTTE, represented the Government at the event. He was assassinated despite being tightly protected by a number of bodyguards from the elite police Special Task Force. The Tamil Tigers accused him of being a propaganda spokesman for the government, and accused the marathon event of being Sinhala-centrist and non-inclusive of Tamil demands (TamilNet 06.04.2008).

Within the first five months of the civil war resuming, 5700 victims were registered in Sri Lanka, most of them Tamil rebels and army personnel (Zeit

Online 26.07.2008). When in July 2008 both the LTTE and the GOSL confirmed to fight their opponents through renewed struggle rather than negotiation, the civil war developed into a humanitarian disaster (Leonhard 2008). Particularly in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka civil society has been suffering the social, economic and political consequences of the civil war, and an estimated two to three hundred thousand people became refugees or were internally displaced (Amnesty International 2007). Amnesty International (2007) has described the overall human rights situation in the country as "dramatically deteriorating"; an estimation which is confirmed by the Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR) (2008), who rank Sri Lanka as South Asia's No.1 human rights violator in their latest 2008 Index.

Since November 2008, the GOSL has been able to celebrate important military victories and managed to re-gain valuable territory from the LTTE in northeastern Sri Lanka. After capturing their political capital Killinochchi in early January 2009, the Sri Lankan army 'liberated' the Elephant Pass and the LTTE military stronghold Mullaitivu, which had been in the rebels' command for 13 years. This left the Tigers in control of a small area in the Mullaitivu jungles. In late January 2009 the Sri Lankan Government believed that "the war is 95% over" and that it could solve the terrorist problem in "a matter of days" (Zeit Online 26.01.2009). However, four weeks after this announcement the Tigers launched a surprise air attack on the capital Colombo, killing three people and injuring another fifty (BBC News 21.02.2009). This air raid was described as a great embarrassment for the government and President Rajapaksa, who had previously declared that all LTTE planes and runways in the Tigers' controlled territory had been destroyed. The attack highlights that the Tigers are dedicated to continue their fight for Tamil Eelam as a guerrilla organisation, which means that an end to war does not guarantee a start of peace in Sri Lanka.

Against the background of a deeply divided Sri Lankan society, this research is conducted to find out about the role of sport events in overcoming ethnic rivalry and distance, and in contributing to socio-cultural development between different ethnic groups on a community level. While the government's understanding of 'post-conflict development' remains focused on combating terrorism on the one hand and achieving economic growth on the other (Daily News 17.01.2009, 16.10.2008), aid organisations and NGOs have been highlighting the importance of social development projects for Sri Lanka's ethnic communities.

4.3 A.G.S.E.P. IN SRI LANKA

As noted in Chapter One, the *Asian-German Sports Exchange Programme* (A.G.S.E.P.) is an NGO which has been conducting sport events and international team exchanges in Sri Lanka and Europe since 1989. The organisation is based in Marawila (western Sri Lanka) and was founded by the current CEO Dr. Dietmar Döring, who at that time was the national coach of the table tennis team of Sri Lanka. He decided out of personal experiences with the civil war and the positive work atmosphere within the ethnically mixed table tennis team to combine tourism with sport events aimed at encouraging intercultural participation and understanding.

In its beginnings, A.G.S.E.P. focused on international team sport exchanges and professional development of individual athletes. In line with its motto of 'Connecting Sportspeople', Sri Lankan teams and players were sent overseas on training camps and workshops, where they met international teams for friendly sport encounters. At the same time, A.G.S.E.P. organised professional training opportunities for talented individuals in Europe to further their professional careers. In exchange, European sport teams (mainly footballers and

volleyballers, table-tennis and badminton players, as well as dancing groups) spent some time in Sri Lanka, where they stayed in Dr. Döring's sport hotel *Aquarius Sport Resort*. As the main benefit of the exchange, the European tourists were offered a look beyond the scope of sporting experiences and were introduced to the cultural and social highlights of Sri Lanka (for a more detailed analysis of A.G.S.E.P.'s sport tourism program see Schulenkorf (2008b)). In its initial stages A.G.S.E.P.'s main focus was therefore on economic and tourist gains achieved through sport exchanges.

Since the year 2000, A.G.S.E.P. has shifted its focus towards social development, integrating sportspeople of Sri Lanka's different ethnic groups in sport camps, sport events and workshops. Initially, the implementation of projects proved to be highly complex, mainly because of safety regulations, restrictions imposed by the Government or a lack of co-operation from the Tamil Sports Council. After tedious negotiations with all parties the first big success was achieved in October 2002, when in the border town Vavuniya a ladies soccer tournament was played, featuring the Sri Lankan national team, a Tamil selection from the Vanni area, and the German club SV Herrmannstein. The event attracted over 10,000 spectators from all ethnic groups to Vavuniya's local sports ground, where they were able to celebrate the first international sport event in Sri Lanka's north in over 30 years (Gammanpila 2002). Both the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE Sports Council supported the event and symbolically awarded the 'other' team with medals and certificates at the end of the day.

Since 2002, A.G.S.E.P. has been organising inter-community sport events all over the island; however, particular focus has been placed on the northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka, where special events and workshops for sport teachers and club coaches were initiated. Also, fundraising for used sports

equipment, clothing as well as the financing of sport grounds has been coordinated. The main purpose of these operations is to offer the youth, who grew up in the civil war regions, sufficient recreational activities in order to redirect their focus away from their oppressed daily lives.

Today A.G.S.E.P. is supported by four full time staff members, more than one hundred voluntary co-workers, several sport associations in Sri Lanka and Germany as well as interns from mainly European based universities. In steady cooperation with Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim community groups and the German based aid organisation *Friedensdorf International* (*Peace Village International*), A.G.S.E.P.'s vision is to "contribute to the re-establishment of peace" in the divided country, while their overall mission is "to popularise social values such as respect, courage and commitment through sport events" (A.G.S.E.P. Website 2005).

A.G.S.E.P.'s financing of their staff, sport events and project facilities is organised via four different tiers. The first tier is the *Aquarius Sport Resort*, a sport hotel complex which accommodates the A.G.S.E.P. headquarters. *Aquarius* and A.G.S.E.P. are owned by Dr. Döring and the close cooperation of the two entities guarantees a steady influx of event tourists such as sport teams and their entourage, who participate in sport exchanges and reside at the resort during their stay in Sri Lanka. The second tier is A.G.S.E.P.'s cooperation with *Peace Village International*, who helped build the *Peace Village* sport complex in Nattandiya. At the *Peace Village* small scale community events are held on a regular basis, which are supported by *Peace Village International* through the provision of sport equipment and material. The third tier is overseas aid money and volunteer support from A.G.S.E.P. followers in Europe. While financial contributions are irregular, A.G.S.E.P. receives regular support from European interns, who work in Sri Lanka for several months free of charge. The

volunteers make important contributions to the overall success of the development projects, as they create, plan, organise, manage and conduct community events during their stay in Sri Lanka. The fourth tier is direct community support from participating local groups and organisations, who provide human capital for the implementation of sport events.

In 2004, A.G.S.E.P. conducted the first large-scale inter-community sport event, the '*1st National Run for Peace*'. The event can be described as a peace run which brought together different ethnic communities from 12 Sri Lankan districts, who ran from their home towns to the centrally located city of Kandy. In the local Bogambara stadium the finish line was crossed and the final intercultural event party was staged. While anecdotal evidence suggested the overwhelming success of the event, the organisers did not know about the exact socio-cultural impacts that were generated; they were unsure about the communities' view on their involvement; and they questioned the best way to sustain and leverage event benefits to wider circles of society.

These factors were my motivation to empirically investigate sport events and their contribution to social development between ethnic groups in Sri Lanka, and to conduct my PhD research on two follow-up inter-community sport events: the 1st International Run for Peace (IR4P) held in Colombo in October 2006, and the Intercultural Sports Meeting (ISM) staged in Nattandiya in January 2007.

4.4 DETAILED SUMMARY OF EVENTS

In Sri Lanka, the private events industry is not highly developed. Special events staged on a national or provincial level are almost exclusively organised by state organisations such as the central and provincial Government authorities. The co-hosted Cricket World Cup 1996 and the South Asia Games 2006 are arguably

the two most recognised major events held in Sri Lanka. On a more regular basis, the largest sport celebrations are cricket league matches or tournaments. Major events focus almost exclusively on the cities of Colombo and Kandy, which are the only ones that have the stadia, the infrastructure, the experience and media support to host large-scale events.

Overall, special events have not been included into the smaller communities' calendars, and particularly the rural areas have not experienced any type of sports events in their towns or villages. Often the infrastructure for conducting sports or events is not available and the poor living conditions prevent people from taking part and engaging in sport activities. The locals simply do not find free time to play sports, as they are busy managing their daily survival. These are the reasons why A.G.S.E.P. has included the rural areas into its integrative community development campaigns.

4.4.1 International Run for Peace (IR4P)

The International Run for Peace was staged on 1st October 2006 in Sri Lanka's capital Colombo. It was only the second event of its type, the first one being the *National Run for Peace 2004* which was held in Kandy (central Sri Lanka). The event represents a combined community initiative of Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim groups designed to bring together sportspeople from Sri Lanka's different ethnic communities and international participants for a friendly intergroup encounter. The idea for the event stemmed from grassroots community and volunteer interest in celebrating the diversity of Sri Lanka – which was contrary to the political orientation and attitude at that time. In cooperation with A.G.S.E.P. the communities decided to stage the athletics event under A.G.S.E.P's 'Games for Peace' campaign.

The event was divided into three levels: first, the main run consisted of a 21 kilometre half-marathon for both male and female athletes. Second, a 'mini marathon' of ten kilometres was offered to participants and sport groups; and third, a symbolic 'peace move' of five kilometres was implemented in order to encourage people of different fitness levels and age groups to support the message and theme of the day. The focus of the day was clearly placed on the unique social and integrative character of the event, and not on the actual result of the run. All participants were provided with a 'Games for Peace' T-shirt and athletes were allocated into small ethnically mixed groups of three to five. Applying a 'no-one loses' strategy, no single winners and losers were therefore identified; instead groups were awarded for their valued participation, performance, social contribution and personal commitment. This strategy was supposed to ease intergroup contact and take away the pressure of winning over an opponent, so that people could run *with* each other rather than *against* others.

The events provided a day of celebration, spectacle and colour for the people in Sri Lanka, for the chief guests, the Government representatives and the international tourists and volunteers. About 800 active peace runners from eight countries participated in the event, and they were supported and cheered by several thousand spectators along the city course. One of the unique features of this event was that runners and spectators represented a broad range of ages, gender, social class, ethnic and national backgrounds. Symbolically, one of the outstanding figures in the Sri Lankan peace process Dr. Jayalath Jayawardena, the former Minister of Rehabilitation, Resettlement and Refugees, opened the event and took part in the 'peace move'. Participants started the run at Colombo's Independence Square and passed through three city districts of varying socio-economic status: the upper-class Colombo 7 quarter, the slums of Maradana and the middle class Kolpitiya district. The run finished at the Colombo Race Course Grounds.

As part of the after-event celebrations an intercultural music festival was launched at 10pm. Four of the most famous Sri Lankan musicians Eeraj, Teeshara, Waruna Madhusanka, and the boy group 6th Lane were performing at a life-concert close to Colombo's Independence Square. From midnight onwards the crowd moved to the nearby *RnB Club*, which was reserved and sponsored by *Red Bull* for all Peace Run participants and organisers. Here, a DJ from the radio station *YesFM* played Sri Lankan and International Hip Hop Music into the following morning.

The IR4P attracted considerable media presence. Before the event, A.G.S.E.P. had arranged a press conference to attract not only sportspeople but also the various media stations to the event. As a result, several Sri Lankan newspapers reported the event and the media group Maharaja (three TV and four radio stations) broadcasted live on the radio. The event gave some valuable publicity to A.G.S.E.P. and the organising Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim sport groups. More importantly, it gave Sri Lankans the opportunity to show what can be done by multi-cultural, multi-ethnic community efforts. The police and Red Cross – which were both on site as stakeholders of the event – did not have to intervene once during the event, which was marked by a friendly atmosphere among the different ethnic groups.

The International Run for Peace could not have been staged without the dedicated group of national and international volunteers, service clubs, official representatives and committed communities. The event involved 120 volunteers who – in cooperation with A.G.S.E.P. – were responsible for most of the event organisation pre, during and post the event. Pre event, volunteers worked in small groups on sponsorship, marketing, volunteer coordination, and acting as a community liaison. On the day of the event they were responsible for the set up and registration processes and were on the ground as contact persons. Aid

organisations were also key to the organisation of the event. For example, *Peace Village International* provided the transport for dozens of participants from remote and rural areas of Sri Lanka, while the Red Cross provided first-aid material and medical personnel. On a more official level the Department of Youth Affairs and Sports partnered and supported the event, while the Colombo Municipal Council gave the permission for conducting the event. The Colombo Police supported the run by securing the event and re-directing traffic along the course.

4.4.2 Intercultural Sports Meeting (ISM)

The Intercultural Sports Meeting can be described as a multi-ethnic multi-sports event for young Sri Lankans in particular children between 6 and 16 years of age. The event was staged from 19th until 21st January 2007 at the Nattandiya *Peace Village*, which is a multi-functional sports centre administered by A.G.S.E.P. in cooperation with the German based human rights and aid organisation *Friedensdorf International*. The initial idea for the ISM was created in joint effort by the rural communities of Nattandiya (western Sri Lanka), the Anamaduwa (northwestern Sri Lanka) and Nilaveli (northeastern Sri Lanka, LTTE controlled area), who had been engaged in a community partnership program since the Tsunami hit the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka in December 2004. Initially seen as a Tsunami relief project, the partnership developed into a more regular exchange of products and people, who – often for the first time – took the opportunity to see and experience 'the unknown other'.

At a community sports forum in 2006 the community representatives in cooperation with A.G.S.E.P. decided to implement a sport event with an integrative peace message, to foster the relationships between the children and families of different ethnic background. The event was founded as a non-profit

event to enliven community interaction, and the focus was set on sports which allowed for interethnic contact in mixed sport teams. The managing committee formed to organise this multicultural event consisted of members of all three participating communities and international A.G.S.E.P. volunteers. After several follow-up meetings and discussion forums it was decided that the games to be played at this multi-sport event were football, creative sports, and swimming. Football was expected to be a good sport for team-building and cooperation; creative sports allow for the expression of talent and interest in 'something new and different'; and swimming has the educational advantage of teaching children a new skill, as water had become and element of fear and danger for a large proportion of the Sri Lankan youth after the Tsunami disaster (Straubinger 2005).

The pre-event phase included several months of preparation, planning and active discussion regarding the implementation and management of the event. While the communities were in charge of the design and the marketing, A.G.S.E.P. arranged the travel permits to the war-torn northeastern community of Nilaveli, provided the transport for participants, teachers and supervisors, and organised sport coaches, event experts and social workers for conducting and supervising the events. Security personnel and medical staff from the local community hospital were also volunteering and present on site. On the day before the event, two dozen students, three teachers as well as supervisors and community members from the Tamil dominated northeastern Nilaveli were driven by bus to the western Sri Lankan Sinhalese dominated community of Nattandiya. The visitors were welcomed by the A.G.S.E.P. staff and community volunteers, and were accommodated at the Nattandiya *Peace Village* complex.

On Saturday 20th January, the ISM event officially started at 8am and was opened by the Guest of Honour Mr. Dassanayake, the Minister for Nation

Building in Sri Lanka. After a number of cultural performances from the Kandy Dancers and the playing of the Sri Lankan and German national anthems, welcome speeches from the Honourable Minister, the CEO of A.G.S.E.P., and one Sinhalese and one Tamil community representatives followed. From 9am to 6.30pm the students took part in intercultural sport activities including football, cricket, swimming, and creative sports and arts. For the adult community members the event day was supplemented with the educational workshop 'Social Impacts of Sport Events'. The first day ended with a joint dinner of all groups, which was followed by spontaneous cultural performances from the three different ethnic communities.

On Sunday morning, the event organisers allocated some free time for the children to play with each other and enjoy the company of their old and new friends. For those interested, ball games and swimming sessions were offered and the students frequented the pool and recreational areas in great numbers. After the final lunch session the official program ended; however, many of the participants stayed on for several more hours. The whole day a mix of Sinhalese, Tamil and international music was played, which supplemented the intercultural theme of the event. Well-known songs with an integrative peace message were purposely chosen to support the event. For example, English songs included John Lennon's *Imagine*, Delta Goodrem's *Together we are one*, David Hasselhoff's *Looking for Freedom* and the Scorpion's *Wind of Change*.

4.4.3 Comparison of IR4P and ISM

When comparing the IR4P with the ISM several commonalities become evident. First, both events are community-based sporting encounters highlighting a 'bottom-up' organisation approach; the planning, organisation and implementation was supported by members of Sri Lanka's three main ethnic

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groups Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. Second, both events were supported by the facilitating change agent A.G.S.E.P., who provided the communities with necessary support and expertise. Third, the IR4P and the ISM both had a multi-cultural participation group, including Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim and international sportspeople, which is seen as a precondition for improving intergroup contact. Last, both events were staged under A.G.S.E.P.'s 'Games for Peace' campaign and focused mainly on non-competitive elements, supporting a 'no one loses' philosophy. This decision was expected to ease intergroup contact and allow people to play with each other rather than against other groups.

At the same time, the two events illustrate significant differences. First, the IR4P was staged in Sri Lanka's capital Colombo, whereas the ISM was held at the *Peace Village* sport complex in the rural Western Sri Lankan community of Nattandiya. The difference in location might have influenced people's experiences and perceptions at the event. Second, the IR4P is an athletics event featuring an individual sport, whereas the ISM focused on integrative team sport activities such as football, dancing, and fun games. The difference in the type of sport may have, for example, influenced people's experiences and perceptions of intra- and intergroup contact and social identities. Third, the two events were staged at different times. The IR4P was held in October 2006 and was used for an in-depth *ex post* evaluation on the longer-term socio-cultural impacts of sport events. The ISM was conducted in January 2007 and was used for *ex ante* focus group research, *in situ* observations and *ex post* interviews, which were conducted from late January until April 2007.

4.5 LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

Within the first decade of the 21st century, the social and the political environment in Sri Lanka changed frequently and dramatically. Before

conducting this research, expectations for a peaceful solution to the ethnic problems in Sri Lanka were high, particularly after the signing of the cease-fire agreement and the beginnings of peace talks between the GOSL and the LTTE in 2002. The Tigers' withdrawal from active peace talks in 2003 and many unsuccessful attempts to find a political solution worsened the socio-political environment in Sri Lanka. Since the current president Rajapaksa resumed office in November 2005, a strong move towards a military solution of 'liberating' the country from LTTE terrorism has dominated domestic policy. The GOSL is continuously increasing military spending and military activities in the northeastern parts of Sri Lanka. As a response, the number of LTTE terrorist activities has been increasing, which led to the termination of the cease-fire agreement in January 2008. With the Government re-gaining most of the LTTE territory in late 2008, the civil war is expected to be over in 2009. However, a solution to the overall ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka remains to be found.

It can be concluded that Sinhalese-Tamil relations constitute a unique, real-world context, which is based on ethnic intergroup conflict and violence, cultural bias and continuous discrimination from both the Government and LTTE sides. Political rapprochement has not been successful in the last 25 years; indeed, trust in the state and wider social institutions has been corroded in the north-east, and growing disillusionment with the state has been evidenced in the south and west (Goodhand et al. 2000). Nevertheless, many Sinhalese and Tamil people have not stopped expressing their desire to put an end to the brutal ethnic conflict. On a small-scale community level, aid organisations and NGOs have introduced sport events as a new and potentially powerful vehicle for social development and bringing Sri Lanka various ethnic communities together. Next, Chapter Five presents the findings of the empirical analysis of the two inter-community sport events researched in Sri Lanka.

CHAPTER FIVE:

FINDINGS

Sport events can be a 'force for good'.
They are a catalyst for change,
not a panacea for all ills.
(Jacques Rogge 2008)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter set out the social context of the thesis and outlined the two inter-community sport events used as the basis for this research. This chapter presents the findings from the empirical investigation. In order to address the primary research question the findings are linked to the objectives of the research, which are:

1. Understand the socio-cultural experiences that arise from inter-community sport events.
2. Investigate how inter-community events impact on people's social identities and group categorisations.
3. Identify the roles and responsibilities of a change agent in facilitating community development projects.
4. Understand how positive relations can be sustained and leveraged beyond the event.
5. Identify the implications for social development through sport events resulting from this research.

The first section of this chapter presents the interviewees' socio-cultural experiences of the International Run for Peace (IR4P) and the Intercultural Sports Meeting (ISM). This is followed by a discussion of the impacts on people's social identities and the categorisation of 'others'. The focus here is on identifying whether sport events can be used to facilitate an inclusive common identity for disparate ethnic communities. The findings of the communities' and the organiser's opinions, understanding, and expectations of the role of A.G.S.E.P. as the change agent for inter-community sport event projects are then discussed. The final section presents the respondents' ideas and recommendations in regards to sustaining event outcomes and leveraging event benefits.

5.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL EXPERIENCES

The IR4P and ISM events resulted in different socio-cultural experiences for participants, spectators and other event stakeholders. The interview respondents were asked to identify any social and cultural impacts they experienced as a consequence of organising, implementing, participating or spectating at the events. Their responses were grouped under eight themes: Socialising, Comfort, Reciprocity, Networks, Learning, Cultural Celebration, Attitudes, and Management Tensions. Definitions of these themes based on the findings of this research are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Themes of socio-cultural event experiences

Themes	Definition
Socialising	Opportunities for interaction and (shared) entertainment.
Comfort	Feelings of confidence, trust and safety in dealing with individuals, groups and institutions.
Reciprocity	Mutual cooperation between people and groups, where both physical and emotional support is provided.
Networks	The development of personal and professional relationships with people from within (bonding) and outside (bridging) the community.
Learning	The gain in knowledge, skills and technique in management, sport and culture.
Cultural Celebration	The showcasing, appreciating, combining and developing of cultural elements and traditional customs.
Attitudes	Differences in affection and behaviour towards 'others' and the events' theme.
Management Tensions	Organisational and operational tensions and problems, and disappointment resulting from unmet expectations.

5.2.1 Socialising

The theme of 'Socialising' includes elements of fun and entertainment; interpersonal attraction; inclusive interaction; and the pride of having actively and creatively contributed to development efforts.

Participation in the inter-community events resulted in significant enjoyment and engagement for sportspeople, spectators, event organisers and the local communities. Chulo (AID1: 66-67) reports that during the IR4P people along the course were "supporting, cheering, celebrating all the time". The open and welcoming character of the event led to socialising opportunities, for spectators and participants alike. Raj, a member of the Tamil community, remembers:

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The fun is there! You are all in running shorts and the male participants look very handsome and the female participants are also more beautiful and attractive, because they wear less clothing. So therefore some fun and excitement was created. ... It helped if you wanted to talk to some female participant or they liked to speak to a male participant, so in that way the opposite sexual attraction played a major role in influencing that particular moment. ... With some of the German female students I had a really nice time, because there was a lot of smiling and fun and talking. (TC1: 485-495)

Figure 6: Socialising at the events

Another example of the relaxed social atmosphere among spectators and athletes was the spontaneous celebration of 'The Mexican Wave' at the end of the event. Kevin (SA2: 99-100), a former staff member of the Ministry of Sports, praises this symbolic gesture, stating that "when they finished the race and started the wave, it was a good ceremony for the people". People from all different ethnic backgrounds contributed to the celebrations and after the event they continued their partying at a multi-cultural music show. As Marco comments:

At the end of the day we had a small musical concert, where all the people came to this location and shared their opinions. They were seated in one forum, they were enjoying the music and we had a small celebration after that. (M2: 101-104)

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Figure 7: Post-event music show

The show featured performances of Sri Lankan and international music groups. Marco remembers that while the show was enjoyed by the participants and other event stakeholders, the number of local attendees at the after-party was surprisingly low.

Similarly, the ISM event contributed to the creation of socialising opportunities and inclusive celebrations. The multi-sport event with its different types of sports and creative activities was successful in enabling people to participate, socialise and share experiences. Tom remembers:

> [It was] a really positive consequence that [people] were working and playing together: there were Tamils and Muslims and Sinhalese and they were working together, making the creative work, painting on a big paper, playing football, swimming together... that's a really, really big achievement. (O2: 51-54)

These shared experiences are confirmed by Theo (O3: 103-105), who was positively surprised by seeing ethnically mixed interaction at the event. He states: "I saw a good experience: the three teachers from Nilaveli they talked the

whole day with the teacher from Nattandiya. And so they were together in a mixed group – unbelievable, no?!"

Figure 8: Volunteers (l) and Tamil, Muslim and Sinhalese teachers socialising (r)

The local communities describe both events as great vehicles for the active participation and combination of Sri Lankan and international sportspeople. While international participants came from all over the world, members of different Sri Lankan communities came from all over the island to be part of the event. Niro, an employee of one of the event sponsors, highlights:

> What I saw is really positive, because the people came there not only from Colombo but from all over, from the village sites like down south and from Batticaloa, from east and north. And everyone who came, their participation is really positive .... Even the foreigners ... have participated. I think that's a positive sign. (SP1: 52-57)

Shanto notes that the event had a peaceful and socially inclusive outset, which also allowed for a fair contribution of groups who are often not given the opportunity to actively participate. He says:

> I saw that people who normally don't get a chance, who have talent but don't get a chance and who are liking sports but don't get a chance, they could participate in the event. For example very old people, some were over 60, they

were running in the marathon. And they were given certificates, they were given medals, so that is good memories! (SC5: 83-87)

Shanto goes on to say that the integration of different ethnic, social, gender, and age groups with varying fitness levels had resulted in positive impacts, and that the pride of being part of the event's success is seen as a contributor to good memories. Volunteer Katrin (V4: 168-170) believes that the emotional impact of the ISM will be long-lasting, saying "the girls will talk in two years about this event still". Shawn, who participated in the IR4P, confirms this estimation with an example of a similar long-term impact he witnessed as a consequence of the peace run. He remembers:

You see even now – half a year after the event – people still wear their shirts with 'Run for Peace'. So it is really something that they kept in their hearts and minds for a long time, because they still like to wear it and remember the day. (P4: 375-378)

The positive social experiences from the IR4P have a place in people's minds, and they developed into positive lasting memories.

5.2.2 Comfort

Comments under the theme 'Comfort' are expressed around three elements, inter-community trust and confidence; increase in perceived safety; and increase in (intergroup) comfort levels.

Before the start of the ISM event, Sinhalese and Muslim community members from the Marawila and Nattandiya communities travelled to the northern parts of Sri Lanka, to meet and get to know members from the Nilaveli community. The main purpose of this trip was to convince the Tamil counterparts to actively contribute to the ISM event, and to allow Tamil children to travel – under the

supervision of their local schools – to the western parts of the country. For this, inter-community trust needed to be established. Waahid, one of the Muslim community members who eventually organised the transport of Tamil children from the Nilaveli community to the Nattandiya *Peace Village* complex, explains:

> The parents had to trust us [to have] their children participate, so I had to tell them first the principles and purpose of the program, because they did not know. Because we were strangers for them, and [trying to convince them to send] their children with strangers to a strange place at the other side of the country, that was a real difficult task. But then, through the educational officers I got the chance to speak to them, tell them that I'm from there, I showed them some official letters. And then I got their confidence. (MC1: 197-202)

Respondents argue that during the events the good cooperation between the different event stakeholders contributed positively to people's feelings of comfort and safety. Andy gives an example from the IR4P:

> It was a very safe event! We took the security's advice and didn't have any problem. You get the fullest support from all the authorities, security, police, army and everything. And because of the fullest support it was a 100 percent secure event. (M1: 117-120)

During the event physical safety was assured through security and emergency workers along the IR4P course. However, despite the overall feeling of safety and comfort, three respondents mention the inherent risk and feelings of uncertainty during open sport events in Sri Lanka. Kevin (SA2: 125-126) argues that holding the event in the capital Colombo "was a risky thing, because the country situation is not good". Participant Shawn (P4: 122-123) confirms Kevin's critique, saying: "At the Run for Peace I felt that maybe something could have happened: a bomb or maybe terrorism or something. I just felt that…". In line with these two comments, the German participant Arndt explains in more detail:

I felt safe and normally comfortable, but you can't be sure in this country, because the course was 5-20 kilometres long and you can't check the whole course. You can't know all the people who are standing around, that's the problem. So, I think if somebody wanted to do something, it could have happened. (P1: 92-95)

The comments highlight the latent danger of terrorist attacks at the large-scale IR4P event. In contrast, at the small-scale ISM event people were not too concerned. Volunteer Katrin argues:

Yes, it was a very safe event, because, I think, the location of the *Peace Village* is a good location. It's far away from a big city. And there is no one disturbing; it's a little bit away from other people from the villages, too. So the children can feel safe there. (V4: 123-125)

The location of the *Peace Village* in rural Nattandiya assisted in achieving feelings of safety and an increase in people's comfort. These feelings of comfort not only relate to the participants, but also include the organisers and volunteers. Theo, a member of the organising team, compares the behaviour of the Sri Lankan children at the ISM event with similar community sport events from his home country Germany:

All the time I was very comfortable, the kids were very kind and happy all the time, eh, not like the kids in Germany. [There] you have to do more to make the kids happy – they can be troublemakers at times. And here you have the kids and the shining in their eyes all the time. So it was very comfortable supervising them. (O3: 119-122)

The inter-community events offered the communities an escape from the daily routine, and the opportunity to forget the hardships of daily life. This was particularly the case for the Tamil and Muslim community members, many of whom came from the war-torn northeastern parts of Sri Lanka. Thinking back at the ISM event, volunteer Axel recalls:

The children from Trincomallee they came out of a really troubled area and were playing together with all the kids and having fun in the pool. It was something very special for them, because [the northeast] is a very, very troubled area and I could SEE they had a good time and forgot the hardships of the daily life. (V3: 42-48)

Figure 9: Students playing and forgetting the hardships of daily life
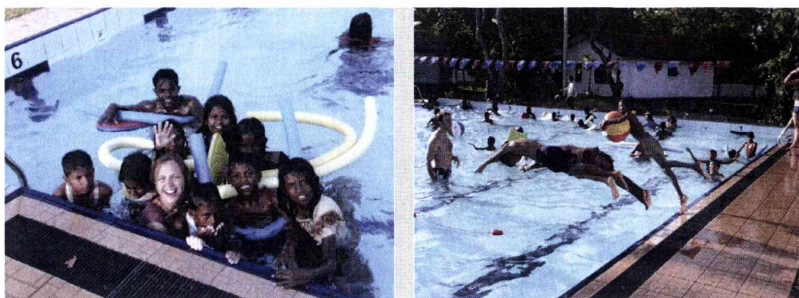
Axel's observation is supported by volunteer Anja (V1: 32-36), who confirms that for her one of the most positive social impacts witnessed at the event was that "for two days [the children] could play and swim and be together without any worries about their home town and, ja, about the war". Axel (V3: 51-52) believes that the children quickly established trust and confidence in dealing with their group leaders. He provides an example from one of the swimming classes, where after a short period of time children asked the volunteers "'Throw me away, throw me into the pool' or whatever, and they came to you and trusted you without any questions".

Figure 10: Establishing comfort and trust in the swimming pool
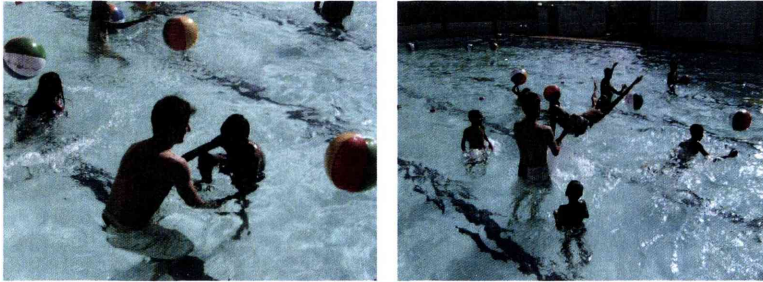
The examples suggest that both events have contributed to the advancement of interpersonal and intergroup trust, comfort and safety. However, there is also the argument that a *contribution* to trust does not automatically mean the establishment of *full* trust among ethnic groups that have been engaged in civil war for over 25 years. Jayo explains:

> I saw that in between all the other people as well, that there was some kind of a trust. I don't say it's 100%. But some kind of a trust, that's why I said it's more or less a confidence building or trust building exercise. And trust is the base for harmony. (G1: 159-162)

Jayo goes on to say that some participants "were reserved, minding their own business, while others mixed with people, talking, laughing, sharing". This example shows that at the events not all participants were able or willing to establish trust with others.

5.2.3 Reciprocity

The theme 'Reciprocity' includes elements of helpful intergroup cooperation as well as physical and emotional support at the events.

During the organisation phase of both inter-community events, the organisers were relying on the cooperation of sponsors, the media, communities and volunteers. Raj acknowledges that financial assistance and institutional support form part of a successful event:

> A lot of institutions were involved, like TV personnel, media and the sponsors and all. They came there and formed part of the project and have given some importance to the event. ... So that way they helped. It was not that they just sponsored and then were hiding somewhere, you know, they ... were involved and encouraged and therefore gave some special momentum to the project. There were many sponsors who – of course – help the local people through their engagement and commitment. (TC1: 394-402)

In comparison to previous A.G.S.E.P. sport events, the number of additional volunteers contributing to the IR4P is noteworthy. The events mobilised over one hundred people to donate their time and effort, which is positively acknowledged by Chulo (AID1: 67-69) who enjoyed "the increase in participation and that there were a lot of volunteers and voluntary organisations, who came together to help".

Figure 11: Volunteers helping each other in preparing for the ISM and IR4P

When the volunteers were hanging up advertising banners across the streets and installing signposts along the way, "those people who were around just helped.

They [offered] to hang the banners in their land, they were climbing trees" to fix and adjust the banners. Jayo goes on to say:

> The local people were appreciative of the A.G.S.E.P. work and they were trying to look after the A.G.S.E.P. German volunteers and students, offering them food and accommodation, the transport *et cetera, et cetera*. So but that's not only for the students or for A.G.S.E.P.: that is also for the other ethnic groups or the people. (G1: 300-304)

Jayo further suggests that feelings of solidarity and intergroup camaraderie existed around the event, which became obvious through the many small gestures and signs of goodwill. Andy (M1: 235-236) states that A.G.S.E.P. and the communities were able to co-operate within a reciprocal environment, where "we can get something from them, and they can get something from us also!" Didi highlights the generous sharing of sport equipment and material before the IR4P event as another example of reciprocal support. He explains:

> The participants who came and took part in the International Run for Peace, they came from drastically different ethnic backgrounds. That means we had the very poor and we also had the ultra rich people from different communities. And we noticed that the support for example towards the poorer participants was shown by the more affluent, richer participants in the sense that they have also supported them with materials, with T-shirts, sometimes also with shoes. Because we had runners that didn't even have shoes! (O4: 747-752)

Figure 12: In need of help: A runner without shoes

The mix of people from different socio-economic backgrounds was experienced positively by Didi and most of the other respondents. Kumi, for example, remembers some of the Sinhalese people saying: "OK, I run to the town, I have a vehicle, I go and bring you a pair of shoes or some running short or whatever. I go to my home and I take it from my sisters or brothers ..." This positive helping attitude continued during the actual peace run, where both spectators and participants actively supported each other. Andy (M1: 263-265) observed symbolic gestures such as athletes giving "water to others from their bottles – and it didn't matter whether [they came from] north or south". There were also examples of emotional support such as the encouragement along the race route, which was given to the runners by other participants or spectators. Anu recalls:

> When we were running, the people came out of their houses and shouted: 'Ah, run, you can do it!'. And at working places they stopped their work and shouted, cheering up, running behind us with water ..., so they were very helpful. (P2: 240-243)

The interview respondents also confirm positive intergroup interaction and active support after the race, when the sportspeople came together, celebrated and relaxed at the finish line. Matt (A3: 299-301), a local attendee from Colombo, remembers that "irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds, people gave each other massages and physical treatment at the finish line".

At the ISM event, participants, organisers, spectators and volunteers experienced similar instances of mutual support. Jayo (G1: 285-288) reports: "I saw Tamil students who could not swim well. And the Sinhala students who, more or less, were confident of swimming. They were trying to help them to learn ...! So there was some kind of a cooperation and assistance". This cooperation and support is confirmed by Jaly, who talks about two interpersonal situations that he witnessed at the pool:

At the pool I saw one boy swimming with a floating thing, not enough for him. Another boy: 'Here here, you get this one also' and he gave another floater. [Or] one Tamil girl, slightly she can swim. Another girl, I didn't know her ethnicity, she said: 'You!' [imitating the swimming moves]. At that time I realised that the other girl was not Tamil, but Sinhalese, because otherwise they would speak in Sinhala language. You do like that and help each other. (A1: 282-288)

Organiser Tom (O2: 127-129), who helped out as a group coordinator during some creative handicraft sessions, states that there were "many situations where children from Anamaduwa or from Nattandiya were helping kids from Nilaveli or the other direction, to make these friendship bands". Didi highlights that supportive intergroup behaviour was also shown by the accompanying adults at the event:

Those who were coming along with the children, so the guardians, teachers, adults, they came forward and sometimes gave *ad hoc* help, also in materials, especially clothes. There was a problem when we had the swimming events, because some of our girls from the Tamil areas they have no access at all to water, and if so they swim in the normal civilian clothes. And others, who had already had access to swimming pools, they had the swimming dresses and tried to introduce that. The teachers and the girls offered their swimming costumes. (O4: 778-784)

Didi adds that in Sri Lanka such cooperative behaviour is rarely seen in day-to-day social interactions, and that the event provided an environment that was conducive to solidarity and reciprocal support. Shanto and Anja present further examples of intergroup help, including a Tamil boy who injured himself at soccer and was carried off the field by two strong Sinhalese kids, and a Sinhalese girl who had an accident in the pool and was helped and treated by a Tamil teacher. On the other hand, Tom highlights an example that left him disappointed:

At the end of the event the kids from Nilaveli were sitting in their bus and they wanted to leave and wave Goodbye, and the kids from Anamaduwa were

standing next to us but didn't wave back to them. I don't know why that happened, I can only guess that they had less knowledge about the importance of this sign... (O2: 169-173)

Figure 13: Saying farewell - people acknowledged groups' departure in different ways

5.2.4 Networks

The theme 'Networks' includes elements of establishing professional contacts, advancing individual friendships, and increasing intergroup contacts and bridging.

For some event participants there were opportunities for professional networks to be developed. Mark (O5: 144-145) says that there was the chance to "make important business contacts with ... the Sri Lankan organisers, the Sri Lankan sponsors, the Sri Lankan people from the Ministries [who] were all involved in the organising of the event". For the majority of people, the sport events mainly contributed to establishing individual contacts and friendships among participants, spectators and organisers. The respondents describe the event as a special opportunity to get in touch with other people from their own ethnic group and with individuals from other ethnic backgrounds. Shanto reports his interpersonal experiences from the IR4P:

After the Run for Peace I also met up with some new friends from MTV and Red Bull, from Lotteries Board and I am still friends with them. They are coming to our parties and they are good friends for always. (SC5: 197-199)

In addition to these newly established local contacts Shanto (SC5: 199-201) appreciates the opportunity of extending individual contacts to the international community. The events gave him "the chance to interact with foreigners from the US, Europe, Australia and other parts of Asia". Similarly, Shawn, a participant from rural Sri Lanka who had never been directly exposed to overseas visitors, describes it as a memorable experience to meet German and Australian event participants:

I saw ... the foreigners and got their phone numbers and we also made friends! Because when some wanted to fill out the registration forms and they didn't know how to fill it, they talked with me and we made friends. (P4: 153-155)

The young man explains that he tried to be of assistance to the internationals during the event and managed to establish good rapport with them. Marco goes on to say:

We all mixed very well, you know, we were talking and made friends. And especially also with the expat community ... The sport does not know any language barrier or any ethnic barriers. So now I have a lot of friends from

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around the country and outside the country, and that is something I normally don't get to experience. (M2: 61-66)

Another example which highlights the success of creating new contacts is given by one of best runners at the IR4P, Anu. The young man from the Sinhalese Marawila community, who finished in the top ten at the half-marathon, was able to build relationships with other leading athletes at this event – something, which he had never been able to do at previous Sri Lankan Government sponsored competitions. He says:

> I have a friend now in Munuragula, far east, who came first in the event. Yes, he was the winner and .... I had seen him running in marathons [before], but never talked to him. Here it was finally possible - so that's something new that was built. (P2: 107-108)

Anu goes on to say that this initial contact led to a growing friendship with the athlete from Munuragula:

> The friend that I made in the event, he phoned me two, three days [ago], asking: 'When is the next event, you can inform us! Are you still running? Are you working at the same place?' So we have this contact for a long time, even six months after the event. (P2: 300-303)

Others consider the organising in the lead-up phase to the event as a valuable opportunity for locals and internationals to build friendships and networks. Mark (O5: 154-156), one of the international organisers, reports that the pre-event phase contributed to "forming new social relationships. I won a lot of contacts in Sri Lanka while working at this event. Actually, I won a lot of friends".

Figure 15: Children slowly making contact and starting friendships with 'others'

Muslim community member Waahid talks about the process of contact and friendship building among the teachers, who accompanied their students to the ISM event. He says:

> I have seen some of the Sinhalese and Tamil teachers. They exchanged their addresses [and] were talking in Sinhala and Tamil, with hands and feet, and for a long time they were sitting together and they were having chats. So, I am thinking that if this goes on like this, the bridge will be built and they can come together. (MC1: 92-96)

Jayo was visibly moved when talking about the social impacts that the event had created. He remembers:

> The day when the groups had to leave each other, I saw, you know, the children were crying, hugging each other, kissing each other. And that was one of the most sensational events. And that showed me that, you know ... through the sport you can make friends. (G1: 171-174)

This display of affection and friendship is seen as a strong indicator of the event's success in establishing bridges between the ethnic communities. When considering that in the Sri Lankan culture emotions are generally controlled when meeting foreigners, the hugging and kissing of others is a powerful social

intergroup response. Marco (M2: 346-347) concludes: "For the first time a bunch of strangers became friends".

5.2.5 Learning

The theme 'Learning' encompasses the development of specific sport and management skills; intercultural learning and the expansion of perspectives; and learning to deal with individual weaknesses and/or group defeat.

The inter-community sport events allowed people to gain a better understanding of each other and to learn that togetherness is not only possible but indeed beneficial within the right social environment. Kevin from the Ministry of Sports believes that members of the local communities did not only learn valuable social skills but also gained professional knowledge from participating in the planning and implementation phases of the IR4P:

> Learning means sometimes the organisation of the race. So different parts of the day: that the transport things are there, the food is there, accommodation is there, the media part is there. So when someone organises this type of event, these things are to be considered. So actually we got a lot of outcome from this one event, regarding the things we must think of all the time.... So next time we are doing this, we have the knowledge. (SA2: 225-231)

Next to management and logistics skills, practical sport skills were learned and developed at the events. For example, at the ISM, children and youth groups had the opportunity to learn football and swimming techniques. The latter proved to be of great value to the locals, as Romiro and Sugi from the Tamil Nilaveli community confirm. Romiro (T1: 59-62) starts to explain that he does "not know how to swim [and I] wanted to give that type of chance to my children immediately, which I could here!" Sugi (TC2: 95-99) continues: "Yes, the swimming pool is very important. Because you know there was the Tsunami,

and we want to learn how to take care of ourselves and with knowledge of swimming we can take care of ourselves!"

Figure 16: Swimming lesson: Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim students side by side in the pool
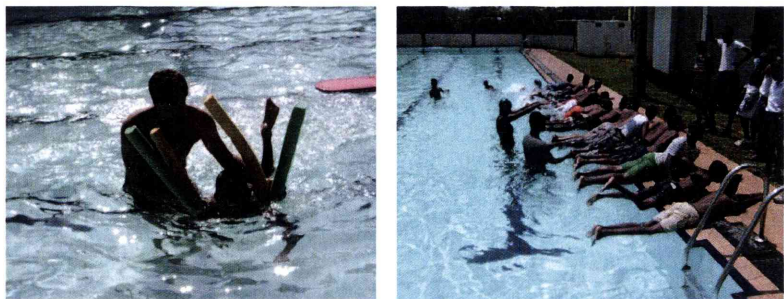
In the swimming pool, children of all ethnic backgrounds mixed and helped each other in the learning process. Theo, one of the chief organisers, remembers:

> They learnt more special skills in football and swimming, so that we could really see the effect afterwards. Some of them couldn't swim, so we wanted to see that they helped each other and perhaps after the weekend they can all swim a little bit. So with the help of each other they integrated and tried to learn the new skills together! (O3: 496-500)

Another learning benefit resulting from the events, particularly the ISM event, is improved language skills. The Sri Lankan society is multi-lingual and features Sinhala, Tamil and English as official languages; however, most people only speak one language. Therefore, introductory language classes were combined with sport activities and basic Sinhala, Tamil, English and German words and phrases were taught to participants. Sugi, a Tamil teacher from Nilaveli, took pleasure in learning German words and phrases to not only advance intergroup communication, but also obtain a better understanding of linguistic differences. She explains:

Now I (!) can experience to learn for a change. When they teach I can experience another language. I understood a bit of the German language, so I am very happy about that, and my child also learns some German and now I understand how languages are different. The voice, the sound, just everything. (TC2: 52-55)

Similarly, A.G.S.E.P.'s Sinhalese facility manager Shanto enjoyed picking up Tamil terms and phrases from other event attendees:

I didn't know even one word in Tamil when the [Nilaveli] children came here from the north. I didn't know how to say 'Eat!' or how to say 'Come!'. So I went to them and asked (using hands and feet). They taught me and now I know something in Tamil. So I learnt something new, ... and I know that others have learnt some Sinhala, like 'Ok, see you again, bye, hurry hurry' (laughs). (SC5: 211-216)

Shanto describes the learning of new languages at the ISM as a positive socio-cultural outcome, which helped him establish rapport with people from different linguistic backgrounds.

Figure 17: Language classes: Learning Sinhala, Tamil, German and English
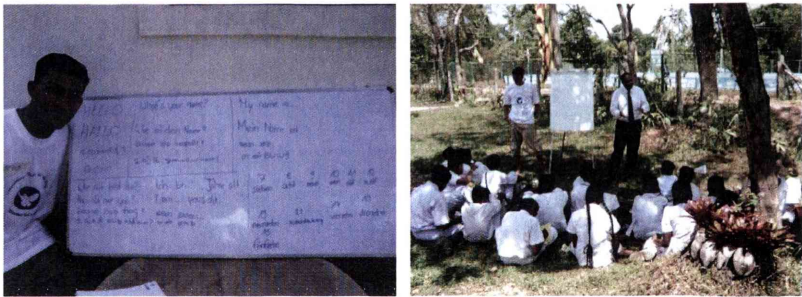
The expansion of cultural perspectives was highlighted as another learning experience. Shawn (P4: 51-53) remembers positively that "we learnt from each other things that the other groups didn't know before". As an example he mentions handicrafts and arts classes, where some children painted their positive

experiences of the sport event, while others portrayed their experiences from the civil war and presented it to the other students and organisers. Tom (O2: 83-85) believes that this exercise "brought about feelings of confidence and understanding for the children".

Figure 18: *Peace Village* banner created by children from all communities

Figure 19: A young boy painting his experiences of the civil war

The international volunteers, who acted as facilitators and supervisors during the event, also learned important lessons about how to manage, direct and oversee a group of children. For example, Katja says:

> It was interesting to see how the connection between myself and the children was growing through the three days. Because at first I was just in the same way impressed as they were. But then I realised that one little boy was [pretending] he had a sore leg, just to get my attention. And then I thought: 'Hey, they are tricky as well, not only the poor little children from Sri Lanka'. And that was for myself a good experience [where] you have to tell them: 'Hey, stop. Later we play.' And on the first day I was just like: 'Oh, come to me, I want to hug you all!' (laughs). (A2: 107-115)

The young Sri Lankan participants of the ISM event were facing a different type of learning and developing exercise during the sport matches: they learned how to deal with defeat in sport contests. While the organisers purposely avoided a focus on competitive sport tournaments between ethnic groups, they included group matches of ethnically mixed groups into their program. This strategy took away potential issues of ethnic rivalry within contests, and instead provided a neutral context for minor sport competition. Didi describes the experiences of managing loss and defeat in minor competition:

> The children learnt to digest defeat, as did the trainers, the coaches, the schools and so on. So that is one important aspect in general: what sport brings for the society in a positive way is to accept defeat, and stand up after the defeat on the following day! Start again, train again, improve the skills, try to win, lose again, stand up on your feet, and so on and so on. (O4: 1161-1166)

Didi feels that accepting defeat is particularly important for children living in an ethnically divided country like Sri Lanka, where admitting defeat against the 'enemy' is still a taboo. Government representative Jayo supports this view:

> You know, here is a country where the battle is going and any party wants to win. Right?! No party is willing to accept the losses. In the case of sport, here,

the losing party is willing to accept to lose as well. That is some new and important experience for us. (G1: 149-151)

5.2.6 Cultural Celebration

Comments under the theme 'Cultural Celebration' are expressed around respecting and celebrating cultural traditions and customs, and combining cultural elements to enjoy common rituals.

There is overall agreement among the interview respondents that during the multi-ethnic sport events people's cultural traditions were respected by most participants and spectators. Chulo highlights that although cultural differences were clearly observable on the day, this did not impact negatively on the atmosphere or outcomes of the events:

> Most of the females were running with tracksuits and long pants and things like that. In Sri Lanka they do not wear shorts. Although it's a running event they wanted to keep to their traditions, and there were foreigners who were running in different clothes, which were suited for them. People accepted that and it went on very well. (AID1: 90-93)

In Sri Lankan society, following traditions is an integral part of daily life. Many participants were wearing their traditional clothing, school uniforms and head scarves during the events. Apart from dress codes the culturally appropriate treatment of foreign people is an important part of Sri Lankan custom. At both events, traditional welcome ceremonies were staged for visitors and tourists, which encompassed the traditional exchanging of leaves and performances by Kandy Dancers.

Figure 20: A celebration of cultures: Kandy Dancers at the ISM opening ceremony

The international participants enjoyed the cultural variety presented during the events. Arndt says:

> I really like to meet other cultures or celebrate with people from other cultures. It's really really interesting, because they have totally different points of view about nearly everything: life, maybe religion, food, music, whatever, you know. It's totally different to the Europeans – that's the reason why I said the event was really interesting for me. (P1: 145-149)

Figure 21: Traditional Sri Lankan food served at the events

Katja argues that the event participants and particularly the dancing performers at the ISM had the opportunity to showcase their talent and present their customs to a wider inter-ethnic audience:

> I think [different groups] wanted to show something that they were proud of, or just make a performance to show us what they can do. So that we (the internationals) can show them that we are proud of what they're doing. (A2: 64-66)

Theo recalls that at the end of the first day the different ethnic groups and the international volunteers engaged in an inter-cultural event night where they learned different dance moves and theatre performances from each other. He explains:

> We learned about [each other's] traditions. On the second day the kids form Nattandiya, so the Sinhalese kids, and also the kids from Nilaveli, the Tamil kids, they made a traditional theatre and that was a really good experience for both sides to show their customs. (O2: 54-57)

One of the organisers of the ISM event, Tom, adds:

> A special moment was in the evening, when the children from every village made some special cultural program. They learnt a dance form Nattandiya, the children from Nilaveli [performed] a theatre play about stepping into a landmine… so everyone showed something about their cultural identity and the others learnt about it. (O2: 56-61)

The opportunity for children to express their feelings freely in a safe environment was valued by the communities. According to Tom and Theo the cultural program resulted in increased acceptance, confidence and knowledge from watching and joining into the different cultural performances.

Figure 22: Traditional dancing performances and group dancing

Despite the display of different cultures and traditions present at the events, many respondents claim that the events allowed Sri Lankan people to realise that their cultures have common elements, which Didi describes as a positive impact of the inter-community events:

> We noted that that those groups who were not active at the time when others were performing, they [enjoyed] these new dances or ... new performance very much. And they took it in a way that it was a completely new element which they had not seen before, but they also found a common, unifying connecting point in these cultural performances. (O4: 287-294)

5.2.7 Attitudes

Around the two events, differences in attitude towards the organisers, participants and spectators could be observed. People showed varying levels of affect, enthusiasm and engagement in regards to the events and the 'Games for Peace' theme.

In the lead-up to the ISM event, some community members who were not directly involved spoke negatively about the event organisers. Shanto remembers:

> [Some people] were talking about this German program also in a bad way sometimes! For example, there were stories spreading that [a school] principle was a bit drunk recently saying: "A ja, you are showing our children to Germany and you are getting money from Germany and we get nothing!" (SC5: 498-504)

Although Shanto perceives the principle to have been drinking at the time he made this statement, he believes that there is a potential for events to create feelings of angst, uncertainty or jealousy among parts of the community. At the same time, negative attitude towards event participants was witnessed by Anu, who criticises the behaviour of some onlooking community members:

> I could see from their behaviour and the way that they were talking that they were not really for the program. Some were coming to see girls; some were coming just to laugh at the [participants]. (P2: 82-84)

Anu describes these spectators as "disturbing intruders", who intimidated participants. Sinhalese community member Deeptha goes on to explain that genuinely positive, respectful and disciplined attitudes towards others are the basis for a friendly togetherness and 'overall success' at inter-community events. However, during the ISM her school group did not always experience these attitudes from Tamil students:

> In the morning only the Nilaveli children were shouting and running there and my school children were not shouting, just normally behaving, very intelligent I can say. The Tamil people I think they didn't respect the other students. (SC4: 127-130)

Deeptha admits that the loud and noisy behaviour of the Tamil students may to a certain degree be excused by the special event context and the exciting group atmosphere; however, she blames Tamil supervisors for not reacting appropriately:

There were three teachers and they didn't do anything. They couldn't even talk to us! Because they are older people and I think their culture is like that. They don't want to talk to anybody, they are proud of just being Tamil and all these things. (SC4: 127-133)

Deeptha advised the Tamil supervisors to calm their students down, without success. She indirectly accuses them of being uncommunicative and unhelpful, and she remembers getting frustrated and annoyed with them after some time. Nevertheless, she attempted to bond with them and expressed her willingness to cooperate:

I opened the door and I asked: 'Can you speak English or Sinhala?', and they said: 'A little bit.' And I say: 'Ok, then come to the breakfast' and then they came and at that time we were seeing them for one hour or something like that, but they couldn't smile and didn't talk with us about these issues. (SC4: 143-146)

The Tamil teachers' and also the students' behaviour may have resulted from culturally different norms and values and may have also been a case of social uncertainty or inexperience. The language differences seemed to present a social barrier to engagement and cooperation as well.

Organiser Tom got upset with the Tamil community representatives and teachers for a different reason:

The organisers of course, we had all the same vision about [the event]. Em, I think the teachers from Nattandiya, too, because they know these kinds of events, they had this vision of getting knowledge of Tamil kids. Also the kids from Anamaduwa they were very good prepared about the event. The kids from Nilaveli not so much. I think … they didn't have much information about the purpose of the event. They only come to the place and don't really know what happens. (O2: 108-113)

The missing *ex ante* information resulted in a lack of understanding and differences in attitude towards the event's purpose. Tom describes the Tamil

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group as mainly attending the sport event, while the Sinhalese and Muslim groups took part knowing about the special social purpose of the encounters:

> There were some disharmonies, I would say. For example the swimming teacher: he was there mainly to show some children how to swim. But he only swam around alone in the pool; he had a look at the people, at the children, so that they don't get under the water and these things, that was good, but I asked him if he wants to show some boys or girls how to swim, but he didn't want to and he said: "Naa, they want to play and that's enough. (V2: 122-128)

While some organisers, teachers, volunteers and spectators actively 'lived' a peaceful togetherness and encouraged others to interact and participate, some people only went as far as doing their job and did not actively advance social development. A similar argument is voiced by the German volunteer Axel, who expresses his disappointment with the attitude of some political VIP guests:

> I think the main thing about the chief guests is to get publicity, to get these TV camps and radio stations [to the events]. So that's a good thing, I think. Although sometimes the [chief guests do not have any] relationship to the children, in my eyes. They come there, they see the cameras and they think of their own popularity and of course they say that it's a good idea from us etc. But they don't have the relation to the thing itself! (V3: 227-232)

'Chief guests' from all three major Sri Lankan communities presented welcome speeches to event participants, spectators and organisers at the ISM event. However, each guest represented themselves differently. Sudu, a Sinhalese community member from Marawila, was not impressed with the style of the Sinhalese chief guest's talk:

> I don't like the way [the chief guest] talked in front of the small children – I really didn't want to hear that. I heard that [the organisers] were calling my name to translate, but I didn't want to do that. I was in the hall and was hiding. .. Some words that he used to introduce these Muslim people were words that were really not matching. It wasn't just negative ..., I also felt that he is also not civilised, not very polite. (SC3: 209-213)

I remember that the speech was delivered in a highly dominant fashion with a strong staccato voice. The young audience stood there listening with their heads down and they did not seem to understand or engage with the speech. Later, one of the children told me it felt like the chief guest wanted to "dictate peace to us".

5.2.8 Management Tensions

'Management Tensions' refer to respondents' criticism relating to structural and operational problems that occurred before, during and after the events.

Shanto, who was partly in charge of the set-up and organisation of the ISM, complains about the lack of discipline from organisers and participants during the event. He argues:

> They have a schedule here, no?! They have groups and each group has a program: 1 hour swimming, 1 hour football, etc. So only this happened in the morning time. After lunch that didn't happen anymore, [instead] it went off a bit. I wanted to do it properly. ... So getting a bit more discipline in the organisational part. (SC5: 70-76)

While Shanto would have preferred supervisors to follow a tight schedule, members of the organising group remark that a certain degree of flexibility is needed when dealing with young participants at a sport event. It seems that the organising group did not communicate sufficiently with Shanto, which resulted in misunderstandings and tensions regarding the operations at the event.

Different management and communication problems were also mentioned in regards to the IR4P. Mark, a member of the organising team, mentions communication issues during the lead-up phase of the event:

> I wished that [the Ministry of Sports] would have told us more about their decisions and what they were thinking. When we had meetings with the Ministry we were basically always telling what we were thinking and how we would like to do that and they approved it or not. But they never really told us what they wanted to do with this event, what it meant to them. So that was in my eyes clearly a problem. (O5: 191-196)

Mark also acknowledges that communication issues may have originated from uncertainty or a lack of understanding of the sport event's values and goals. He goes on to say:

> We thought they knew what we wanted to do with this event. But we didn't explain well enough what our goals and objectives were. [Probably] they saw it as just another sport event and did not put as much heart into it as we did. (O5: 203-206)

Arguably, A.G.S.E.P. did not communicate and cooperate close enough with the Ministry and it seems that opportunities for maximising event benefits were lost.

The IR4P event was a follow-up of the *2004 National Run for Peace* that attracted approximately one thousand participants to the city of Kandy. The organisers of the IR4P were hoping for a similar or even larger number of participants for the 2006 event; however, only 800 runners were officially

registered. Some of the event attendees and stakeholders who had participated in the 2004 event "noticed that participation was low, which was a bit disappointing" (M1: 82-83). Respondents reflected on a number of reasons why this was the case. Arndt (P1: 56-59) suggests that a lack of promotion and advertising may have been a significant factor for the low participation figures, as "maybe not so many people knew about it, or they knew about it but they didn't want to come?!" Marco on the other hand believes that logistical problems and the choice of event sites could well have been the main reasons. He argues that traveling to Colombo for the IR4P was a limiting factor for the Tamil and Muslim communities from the northeastern parts of the island:

> Of course the participation could have been much higher, definitely. You could have at least got another three to four hundred more. Due to I think transportation and logistic problems the people were not able to travel to Colombo and then travel back on the same day, because of the distance. So we couldn't get people from, like, very far areas and villages. That was one area which would have to be improved actually. (M2: 54-59)

Sri Lanka's capital is situated on the west coast of the island and has been the target of several terrorist acts and bombings, particularly in the last couple of years. Colombo therefore has its disadvantages compared to central Sri Lankan locations such as the city of Kandy. Previous events held in Kandy suggest that access for the Muslim and Tamil communities is a lot easier and more convenient, due to smaller traveling distances and less government restrictions.

Other respondents identify operational problems during the event. For example, attendee Matt saw that a group of runners lost orientation during the run, and did not follow the designated course:

> At the end of the event, four or five people rushed [...but] they were told that they were misdirected. So they went through Colombo and they didn't know

where they were. And they told us that they (would have) come first and I don't think this problem was solved afterwards. (A3: 64-68)

Matt believes that some kind of compensation or words of apology would have been appropriate and he criticises that the organisers did not react in a fair and appropriate way by ignoring the issue. Shanto on the other hand was disappointed by the fact that many local participants and spectators did not attend the final après IR4P party:

There were a lot of people participating in the marathon, but after they were running, after they got their certificates and got their prizes, they vanished. Now this is not a complaint but a thing missing: only the A.G.S.E.P. staff and the Peace Village staff were at the music show. [We need better] organisation and planning to include ALL people. We must inform (everyone), and if they support the marathon, they should be at the party also, because it was for them! They were tired of running, and this was for their entertainment. So they should support! (SC5: 107-113)

Figure 24: Internationals dominating the after-party

Arguably, differences in cultural values contributed to the disappointing attendance of locals at the after-party. For example, modern Western style attire, music and dancing were dominant and alcohol was readily available.

Considering A.G.S.E.P.'s long engagement and experience with sport projects in Sri Lanka, it is surprising that a more culturally appropriate after-party was not organised.

5.3 SOCIAL IDENTITY AND GROUP CATEGORISATION

The IR4P and the ISM events acted as superordinate goals for the participating ethnic communities, who collectively contributed to the organising and implementation of the 'Games for Peace' campaign. The social identity experiences from the IR4P and ISM are presented in this section. The focus is placed on the categorisation of 'others' resulting from being involved in the events. Social identity experiences are presented under four different dimensions, which correspond with the group categorisation models identified in the literature review (see section 2.3.5). These are the experiencing of others as (1) unique individuals, (2) members from separate groups, (3) common ingroup members, and (4) dual identity members.

5.3.1 Unique Individuals

The de-categorisation approach suggests that through a 'personalisation' and 'differentiation' of the contact situation, the relative importance of group categories reduces and people get to know and appreciate outgroup members as unique individuals. In support of this contact model, many respondents suggest that during the events people established contacts, built friendships and engaged with others in a familiarisation process.

The events gave many of the Tamil contributors the chance to experience Sinhalese groups and 'territory' for the first time in their lives. Didi describes this first step towards community approximation and "normalising" as a positive

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impact of the sport encounters, and Mark supports this view by highlighting an example of behavioural change that occurred during the IR4P event:

> Most of the people don't have any contact to other ethnic groups, you know. In your daily life you don't walk up to a foreigner and say 'Hi, I am whatever', so this event gave the people the possibility to get to know each other, to get to know other ethnic groups and come together to see that the others are just normal people like I am. (O5: 464-470)

Providing another example for interpersonal contact and liking between the different participating communities, Muslim community member Waahid reflects on his experiences at the ISM event:

> When [the children] came they were always with their friends, only some children were mixing around with the others. ... But the next day they just go and touch their hands, or say hi. So it was just like that ..., it was like a cat and mouse game .... But then all of a sudden you see them playing together. ... So then in the end they were more open minded after they met these people for a certain time and became friends. (MC1: 439-447)

Both Mark and Waahid's comments highlight that the events provided an opportunity for positive interpersonal contact and the development of new friendships. Kumi makes one of the few comments that explicitly relate to an actual de-categorisation of ethnic differences at the IR4P:

> The [participants] were behaving very friendly towards each other, [showing] respect. You know, nothing like: you are not a Tamil, or you are not a Sinhalese – they were not thinking like this anymore. There was respect for each other and having kind of, I don't know, personal friendship, respect and friendliness and support on a personal level. (SC2: 291-295)

Kumi's comment exemplifies the personalisation process witnessed at the events. Previously existing categories decreased in importance and the actual experiences with individual people led to friendly behaviour, where participants did not judge others according to their ethnic background, but appreciated each

other as individuals. Similarly, Sinhalese participant Shawn describes how he acted and felt at the IR4P event:

> At the Run for Peace I saw many who did a long marathon of 10 or 21 kilometres, so they needed water. [I was] waving 'Wohoo, who is in need of water?' I didn't feel like ... being Sinhalese or Sri Lankan. I only felt like being a human with good ideas. (P4: 296-346)

This positive gesture of solidarity is rarely seen among people from opposing ethnic groups in Sri Lanka. Referring to a similar instance, Sinhalese participant Matt remembers it as a special gesture when a Muslim athlete shared his bottle of water with him:

> I wanted water, because the sun was there and I was sweating. And I requested water from some Muslim guy and he gave me his water bottle and I shared the water with him. That kind of relationship we made. That's a small thing, but I remember the thing as a very positive thing in my mind. (A3: 287-291)

Matt talked enthusiastically about the friendly and supportive atmosphere at the IR4P event and argued that small gestures allowed people to engage on a personal level, getting to know and appreciate 'the good' in others. The examples suggest that the *active participation* as an athlete led to a more personal and intimate atmosphere and decreased ethnic barriers between sportspeople. However, this raises the issue of how to create de-categorising one-on-one experiences for other stakeholders at events. While the de-categorisation approach seems suitable for reducing ethnic salience between active individuals it presents a challenge when aiming at inclusive categorisation change between large groups.

5.3.2 Differentiated Groups

The intergroup differentiation model suggests that equal status interaction can reduce intergroup bias even if each group keeps its distinctiveness in the direct contact situation. As long as groups have differentiated areas of expertise and do not threaten each other by contact, they can admire and learn from the strengths of the outgroup, whilst deriving positive self esteem from their own superiorities.

Respondents argue that the cultural aspect of the ISM allowed for one of the few opportunities to showcase differentiated, ethnic-specific talent. International volunteer Anja (V1: 205-206) believes that through dancing, performing or arts and craft "the kids had the possibility to show something from their culture to everyone else". Anja appreciated the contributions from each group and believes that the cultural performances contributed to a better understanding of the outgroup and an appreciation of their talents. For her, culture and traditions are an integral part of community life, and something special that "should be worshiped, passed on, and shown to other groups".

On the other hand, A.G.S.E.P. staff member Dan experienced negative impacts of differentiated group building that happened spontaneously after the event. He remembers:

> In the end there was still this separated group forming because people knew each other already for five, six, seven years, and so it's a normal effect that they want to play together. And once we had different groups of Sinhalese here and Tamils there, then it became more stressful and somehow more tense… (V2: 280-285)

To avoid ethnic-specific group building, the ISM organisers placed a strong focus on ethnically mixed activities during the event. This may explain the small

number of comments made in regards to differentiated contact situations that led to a reduction of intergroup conflict and bias.

5.3.3 Common Ingroup

To achieve common ingroup feelings among different people, group boundaries have to be broken down and former outgroup members need to be considered part of a newly established superordinate category. Some interview respondents compare and link the common ingroup experiences of the inter-community events with feelings experienced at Sri Lankan national cricket events. For example, Marco (M2: 296-298) argues that although the IR4P "is a very small event compared to a very big cricket event, to a certain level, on a micro level, we have felt this Sri Lankanness here, too". IR4P spectator Jaly (A1: 261-264) adds that the atmosphere at the events "was very friendly, we all felt like a family" and that categorisation of people was not done in relation to ethnic backgrounds: "Not east, not south, not Sinhalese, not Muslim, not Tamil. Here we are Sri Lankans!"

Jayo (G1: 334-335) believes that "a joint Sri Lankan identity and Sri Lankan pride" was established at the inter-community events. Suso (SC1: 28-37) describes the IR4P as an umbrella for communities, where people "didn't [care] whether that is Sinhalese, Tamil, or Muslim. ... They actually completely forgot their differences in nationalities, who they were and where they came from". This view is shared by Kumi (SC2: 290-292), who states that "it never felt like there were different parties. There was respect for each other and having kind of, I don't know, respect and friendliness and support".

While at a national cricket match people mainly stop hating 'others' for the duration of the event, at the inter-community events people were able to start

respecting and supporting each other. As an example for respect and support, Gerd describes the adults' cheering and 'caring for others' the ISM event:

> The parents supported the other groups as well, not only their own. Actually, I have seen, I have felt, that the parents are thinking: 'not only is this my child, these are all our children!' Something like that feeling is there. (P3: 275-279)

Dan argues that the ethnically mixed teams at the ISM were instrumental in creating a feeling of inclusiveness and spirit:

> It's achieved because of this team building. Yeah, in their groups – even if the people are mixed – they have the feeling that they are in ONE group and then this *Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl* (feeling of togetherness and belonging) starts. (V2: 344-346)

The German term *Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl* stands for togetherness, belonging, feelings of attachment, unity and spirit, and characterises the main impact or outcome of the team building exercise. The term was used several times by different German speaking interviewees in an attempt to express their perception of group categorisation at the events. Tom on the other hand argues that the ISM brought people together under a common organisational umbrella:

> [The children] play together, they have a sense of unity and they are all together 'as one' at the *Peace Village*. They are the 'Peace Village Children'. I think that's something we achieved, and that's something they remember! (O2: 382-385)

The comments suggest that the ISM was successful in creating several new common (superordinate) identities such as 'Sri Lankans', 'Sportspeople' and 'Peace Village Children'. Similarly, Didi (O4: 577-579) explains that at the IR4P event a "uniting spirit was seen through the expression of all the people – participants, organisers, sponsors: a united wish for peace in Sri Lanka". In this

case, the superordinate goal of peace building contributed to the establishing of a superordinate group feeling. Raj believes:

> Of course [there was unity], because you are running together, you have the same goal and you don't have different rules or regulations. You are having the same T-shirts, the same boots, the same road. Right? And you are running under the same circumstances, so of course there is a unity. (TC1: 447-452)

Marco (M2: 103-104) is of the same opinion and argues that a new common ingroup with its own spirit was created. He states that "everybody participated and it became more of a ONE community, you know".

Different community members mention the importance of using symbolism to achieve unity and a common ingroup feeling at sport events. The Sri Lankan flag, the national anthem, the national jerseys all contributed to a feeling of attachment and to perceiving former outgroup members as ingroup members. In reference to the opening ceremony of the ISM event, Sudu says:

> We know that all of our groups, Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim, are proud of the national flag. And that is one symbol of unionism, where all groups can stand together for the same values and beliefs. You can just feel that people are moved when hearing the anthem and looking up to our flag. It brings us closer together. (SC3: 637-638)

Sudu's view is supported by Gerd (P3: 617-618), who believes that "symbols are very important for this event. The Sri Lankan flag is for example a symbol of all three ethnic groups – we are all united under one flag. We are one group! And the A.G.S.E.P. flag means that we are all sportspeople". Common feelings of unity were not only experienced by the different communities but, according to Raj, were extended to international groups and their members:

> Personally I would say that at this event I did not think about being a Tamil or Sri Lankan or something. When I was running with some Germans and all that,

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I felt that I was part of this world community! ... I felt as an internationalist. And then no one can expect me to feel Sri Lankan. In other circumstances yes, but not here. (TC1: 462-465)

Raj perceived the other domestic and international sportspeople as members of a common 'world community' ingroup, as he felt a 'sense of oneness' with the other participants. While Raj felt like an 'internationalist' at the IR4P, he may still identify according to ethnic or national lines at other times. He goes on to say:

For some hours – I had become an internationalist. It's not that thereafter I stayed an international, but those three or four hours have had a real impact on me, a real-life experience of being ONE with all the others. I was not like I am dreaming of being an internationalist, wanting to be an internationalist, but those three or four hours I WAS a real internationalist. (TC1: 548-554)

Raj's comment hints at the challenges for event managers and communities, who have to realise that the positive feelings of being an internationalist were limited to the time of the event. Raj sees the IR4P as a starting point or catalyst for social change between communities, not as an ends to the means of changing people's social identities.

Overall, during the inter-community events inclusive social identity feelings were created on the macro, meso and micro levels. Raj's final comment refers to an international ingroup feeling (macro level); Gerd and Sudu spoke about a feeling of Sri Lankanness and a common sportspeople ingroup (meso level); and Marco and Jaly talked about a 'event family' ingroup that was established through the events (micro level).

5.3.4 Dual Identity

Several interviewees noted that they experienced and/or witnessed feelings of a dual identity during the event. A dual identity status is achieved when people identify with two group memberships at the same time, which means that intergroup relations benefit from common ingroup feelings without people feeling the loss of group distinctiveness. In other words, while people recognise elements of a common identity, they remain emotionally attached to their initial identity. Respondents generally describe the ethnic background as one part of the dual identity, while the other part consists of (1) a sports team or A.G.S.E.P. layer, or (2) a national Sri Lankan layer.

According to Waahid (MC1: 490-494), some children experienced positive dual identity feelings at the ISM, because they were able to add a superordinate A.G.S.E.P. layer to their ethnic identity. He states: "When the Nilaveli people were here they didn't say 'I'm a Tamil'. They knew of course, but when we went in the A.G.S.E.P. bus we were all A.G.S.E.P.". This suggests that while ethnic differences were recognised, they were not dominating people's identity and behaviour. Instead, they were included as a sub-identity of people's dual identity status.

Kappa provides an example of dual identity feelings combining ethnic and national layers. He explains:

> When I played in a [mixed] Sri Lankan team, that was definitely fostering my connection to all the people, or if you want so my identity with this country. It was a great feeling, we were proud of supporting our team and we did not care who is playing in the team – ok, I know where I come from and where I belong, and I knew who was Tamil, Sinhalese or Muslim, but we mainly supported the flag! (FGC: 402-405)

The comment shows that both ethnic and national identities were kept simultaneously salient during the event. While people felt a belonging and connection to their ethnic group, they combined on the national level. Sinhalese community member Sudu adds:

> We could see a big development: first day [the Tamils] were really afraid and hiding and shy. After that they forgot that they were Tamil [and] were hanging around with Sinhalese people playing football and everything. So slowly slowly they feel that they also belong to Sri Lanka, that they are Sri Lankans. (SC3: 98-93)

While still feeling predominantly connected to their ethnic identity, the Tamils added a national identity layer to their mindset and saw themselves as 'Tamil Sri Lankans' at the event. Jayo highlights:

> Here are the two ethnic groups who were loggerheads, who were fighting. Right?! Who were really more or less enemies of each other. But they got together ... through the sports, and without their knowledge, sub-consciously, suddenly they realised: oh my God, we belong to two ethnic groups, but we belong together! And the secret was the sports event. So that's one very positive impact. (G1: 75-80)

Interestingly, some respondents mention the creation of multiple social identities during the event. Niro (SP1: 100-102) argues that "at times I felt like a sports player, when the anthem played then I felt proud to be Sri Lankan, at other times I talked to other sponsors and, you know, I was also an event supporter". A similar comment was made by volunteer Axel (V3: 240-242), who "felt like an international, a peace maker and a volunteer – depending on the context".

While the addition of additional superordinate common identity layers was generally described as a positive socio-psychological outcome of the event, Raj warns that events are not to be seen as an ends to the means in identity formation:

The events give us some national feeling. But I am still doubtful ... because there are, say, two or three Tamils playing for the national team. When Tamils are watching, sometimes they can only identify with THEIR players' individual performance, rather than the team performance. They want Sri Lanka to win, but they feel Tamil still. So half half really, a bit of both. (TC1: 424-428)

5.4 THE CHANGE AGENT

The focus groups' and interviewees' views on the change agent are presented in this section. In responding to the question about the roles and responsibilities of a change agent, they mention a diverse range of characteristics, qualities and attributes that an international change agent (A.G.S.E.P.) encompasses, or is expected to encompass. All information was coded into eleven emerging themes, which were later reconceptualised into eight change agent roles and responsibilities. These are being an agent for community participation; a trust builder; a networker; a leader; a socially responsible advocate; a resource developer; a proactive innovator; and a strategic planner for the long-term sustainability of projects. A definition of the roles and responsibilities based on the findings of this research is presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Roles and responsibilities of a change agent

Roles and Responsibilities	Definition
Agent for Community Participation	the change agent's function as a background supporter and advocate for inclusive community cooperation, aimed at increasing local responsibility.
Trust Builder	the change agent's impartial status and trustworthy engagement in inter-community projects.
Networker	the change agent's responsibility to build bridges between communities and stakeholders.
Leader	the change agent's task to include socially and professionally skilled personnel who guide projects.
Socially Responsible Advocate	the change agent's role as an advocate and role model for equity, diversity and spirit.
Resource Developer	the change agent's contribution towards realising and developing assets, skills and talent.
Proactive Innovator	the change agent's dynamic, creative and flexible approach to managing projects
Strategic Planner	the change agent's strategic focus on local empowerment beyond immediate event impacts.

It should be noted that these roles and responsibilities are not mutually exclusive. For example, in its role as an agent for community participation, the change agent will most likely use its networks and leadership skills to contact people to develop resources. While the roles have been separated for the purpose of the discussion, they should therefore not be seen in isolation but in combination with each other.

5.4.1 Agent for Community Participation

Both the focus groups and the interviewees consider community participation as the key to capacity building and sustainable inter-community development.

Respondents describe a focus on inclusiveness and a transfer of responsibilities as key characteristics a change agent should possess in order to be a suitable agent for community participation.

Inclusiveness

A.G.S.E.P. provided opportunities for local input in the lead-up of the ISM weekend. They encouraged the local communities to contribute and participate in the design of the event concept, so that their wants and needs could be respected and included in the program. European organiser Mark highlights:

> We do not know about [the communities'] problems or about their favours, you know. We don't know what they really want or how they see the whole process; how they think this event could actually change something ..., or what kind of an event should take place so that people would participate or agree to this idea, or whatever. We can only guess: we are not from this country! To do something good for these people, we have to listen to them. (O5: 294-300)

Cooperation between all groups is essential to design an event program that suits all participants. This is particularly important for the international event organiser, who needs to realise that expert event management knowledge should not substitute for local socio-cultural know-how. Sinhalese facility manager Shanto (SC5: 298-303) welcomes A.G.S.E.P.'s good rapport with the Tamil community representatives, which allowed him to prepare and design the event venue, accommodation and food for the culturally diverse event participants. He suggests that A.G.S.E.P. holds a key role in facilitating contact and getting information from all stakeholders, because if the Sinhalese "organise everything here, the rooms, the food, everything as we like, maybe then the Tamil people don't like it! So A.G.S.E.P. does a good job in going to the north and phoning us, telling 'they don't eat this, but they like this and that' before". The manager goes on to say "it is good that we get their opinion and include their ideas into the programs we are designing".

Figure 25: Members of the ethnically mixed event management team

During the ISM event, A.G.S.E.P listened to local demands and adjusted the event content accordingly. For example, cricket sessions were included, regular tea breaks were added and the timing of activities was changed. However, the question remains why these culturally important elements and customs were not considered by the organisers and communities in the event planning stages.

Increase in Local Responsibility

Change agents hold an important role of providing support and guidance at the events. However, many respondents argue that they need to allow communities to be in the foreground organising and managing the projects. Ranil explains:

> We would like to be in the background and instigate things, without dominating a certain direction and giving too much of an input. A.G.S.E.P. should not be the organiser from above, but from behind. Initiation of a movement is the key factor, just helping to start things, before the movement can carry on through community participation. (FGO: 234-237)

Ranil describes this supportive approach towards community participation and ownership as a "low profile – high impact" strategy. Dom (FGO: 360-362)

thinks that it will be a major task for A.G.S.E.P. to "engage the groups and foster self initiative, so that [the communities don't] just expect A.G.S.E.P. to deliver [but] rather contribute themselves". Tamil respondent Raj stresses the point that by giving the locals a voice and transferring power to their contributions, feelings of achievement can be created:

> The runners' ideas and views will be amalgamated into the whole project, then they feel that this is part of their personal project. You know, that in particular is very important, because note: This is MINE, MY SOMETHING, not A.G.S.E.P.'s, which would be bad. No, this is MINE! (TC1: 317-320)

Central for the creation of feelings of community achievement is the inclusion of different community members and key activists before and during the events. Ranil argues:

> We have to involve the ethnic communities stronger, so that they get interest in the program, experience being a part of it. So the teachers and volunteers and the communities themselves should create the day and have a say in the actual event program, and A.G.S.E.P. stays in the background providing coaching assistance when needed. Ultimately, it will develop into a Sri Lankan story, a Sri Lankan success story, which is only supported or visited by the internationals, not dominated by them. (FGO: 321-325)

Supporting Ranil's argument, Didi (O4: 1034-1037) believes that lasting success can only be achieved if people come to feel "that it is their own event, because what has happened during the two or three event days is their own creation and also their result and responsibility. There can be a long term effect, as [the communities] make this child their own child".

Overall, respondents believe that the international change agent has a role in providing opportunities for 'guided self-help' to achieve community empowerment. Ranil explains:

[We should] involve the teachers from the different schools and it's also important to, yeah, to make a workshop for them, so that you can teach them how to teach the kids table tennis, or football, or tennis. So ... they can help themselves. (O2: 290-294)

Referring to the ISM event, Katja (A2: 213-215) is "wondering why the teachers weren't really included with the actions. I just thought that sometimes they were too shy. If you would have [encouraged] them, they would have tried". She argues that more proactivity by the change agent in approaching and encouraging the locals to contribute as volunteers or organisers would have been beneficial.

Some respondents, however, had different views to transferring responsibility and power to the local communities. They highlight the peculiar social and macro-political environment in Sri Lanka and the poor infrastructure in the rural and north eastern regions of the country as major barriers to a transfer of power. Further, they describe the limited communication infrastructure as a challenge when trying to involve Tamil members, as, according to Arndt (P1: 237-240), it is "very hard to get contact to them up in the north. You can't phone there, nothing!" Arndt further argues that it would be too difficult to identify "which people have the capabilities and opportunities" to organise events.

Sam (A4: 169-172) votes against a strong involvement of locals in the organising team, "because otherwise they want to organise everything. But A.G.S.E.P. has to be the head of organisation and you may say to the ethnic communities to help you or to support you, but you HAVE to be the head of the [project]". Local sponsor Niro goes one step further and admits that he prefers A.G.S.E.P to organise inter-community events without any local involvement. He states:

The locals should only, I think, participate for the event and not for the organising. Because they are not all the same... sometimes when you give a job then some people will think negatively and say: 'Oh, that one has a good organising job and I have to do the lower part'. So, when you get involved all the ethnic groups in the organising, then this will happen. When you get together [at the event itself] it is ok, but not in the organising of the event. (SP1: 175-180)

Niro's comment suggests that differences in status and social class may be problematic within an inter-ethnic work group. To avoid intergroup problems, Muslim community member Waahid (MC1: 357-359) agrees not to involve the communities, noting that "the planning and organising should be done by A.G.S.E.P. We must not give this planning to [the locals], because they wouldn't plan it properly".

My observations at the ISM and insights in local community life confirm these concerns. The communication issues and the current lack of skills and resources – both human and economic – would not allow ethnic groups to stage inter-community events on their own. The locals were depending to a large extent on the change agent's knowledge, input and decision, and it seemed that strong organisational input was actually *desired* by the communities. However, there is the concern that unless A.G.S.E.P. starts to engage the communities and develops local management skills and responsibility, a transfer of event ownership and sustainable community development cannot occur.

5.4.2 Trust Builder

Both the focus groups and the interviewees believe that the change agent's role of being a trust builder is a precondition for the success of inter-community sport events in Sri Lanka. Respondents argue that institutional trust, impartiality and reputation are elements which are important for the facilitation and creation

of fruitful relationships among ethnic communities and between the organiser and communities.

Institutional Trust

Respondents believe that for development projects within an ethnically divided society an external mediator is of central importance for the establishment of trust. A.G.S.E.P.'s German background and its international management character are highlighted as beneficial for mediation purposes. Walter points to the particular value of A.G.S.E.P. when he notes:

> I think it is important that they are an international group, an impartial organisation which is not from Sri Lanka. It has a big impact, because if this was done by Sri Lankans we would not have the power to persuade or convince people from all communities to participate. When my ethnic group explains our ideas, people of the other ethnic communities would probably become suspicious. (FGC: 260-264)

Event organiser Tom (O2: 239-241) describes institutional trust as the central factor to stage inter-community projects, predicting that "if only Sinhalese people or only Tamils or Muslims organised the event, I think there would be distrust. We are foreigners and they come to us and we work with them and there is no resistance and suspicion... I think that's important". Sarah sums up:

> People in Sri Lanka appreciate foreign things. That is right, because people trust the foreigners more than the Sri Lankans. If we (the Sinhalese) organised something like this, the Tamils are suspicious. If the Tamils organised something, we would be too scared to go. It's as simple as that. So in that way A.G.S.E.P. is important as a neutral link between the Muslims, Sinhalese Tamils, internationals and also Government bodies. (FGC: 267-271)

Impartiality

Local staff member Ranil explains that fair and equal treatment of every participant is essential for positive interaction and the development of

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institutional trust. He describes impartiality as a key factor for the successful implementation of inter-community event projects, particularly for encounters featuring members from opposing ethnic groups. In his example, the A.G.S.E.P. organising team acts like a role model for fair and equal treatment of everyone involved in the event, and this behaviour has flow-on effects to all those involved:

> On behalf of the organiser you find that [you have to] treat all the teams equally, so that unity can be achieved. ... That reflects of course the people who are contributing, and this is passed on to the participants, teachers, spectators, whoever is present on the day. ... So that they also feel that they are the same people in the pool, the same people on the ground. (FGO: 475-486)

Figure 26: An A.G.S.E.P. organiser negotiating with Sinhalese and Tamil representatives

Volunteer Katrin highlights that A.G.S.E.P. holds a significant responsibility when acting as a broker between communities:

> There are no prejudices that you are in touch with the people from the north, or the people from the south. It is [however] a hard role, because you are always standing in the middle .... For example [when the ethnic groups] are in a soccer

match and we are the umpires or referees, then we are in the middle .... So we are impartial in a way, and I think it's very good and important... But it is not always easy. (V4: 244-249)

Like a good referee, the change agent is supposed to facilitate and encourage fair play and is only expected to interfere and regulate if necessary.

According to Ranil, two symbolic factors that contribute to an impartial perception of A.G.S.E.P. are their inclusive event campaign 'Games for Peace' and their politically neutral logo. He states that A.G.S.E.P. decided to purposely use a logo that avoids any links or connections to political parties and instead focuses solely on the impartial sport factor in intergroup relations:

> Our logo says 'Connecting Sportspeople', which is a very neutral statement. It does not give any ideas or links towards any political affiliation or philosophical direction, we are just connecting sportspeople. There are a boy and a girl, another boy and a girl, and we try to put a ball in between them and try to make people interact through the medium of sport. And that's it. (FGO: 220-224)

Figure 27: A.G.S.E.P. logo

Reputation

A.G.S.E.P. appears to have established a good reputation within the different ethnic communities in Sri Lanka, which comes to some extent from the success of previous events and projects. Anu (P2: 147-148) recognises that "they have always helped the people here, for example after the Tsunami". He goes on to say that "A.G.S.E.P. as an internationally accepted organisation has a name, a status everywhere around Sri Lanka. [They] are accepted all over the country". The acceptance and awareness of A.G.S.E.P. has been improving over the years, and its good reputation as an international yet locally grounded NGO in Sri Lanka has grown. Respondents therefore argue that A.G.S.E.P. is perceived by communities as an event organiser which can be trusted. Kappa (FGC: 290-292) for example states that "with A.G.S.E.P. as a supporter or expert, people expect a better organised and better managed event of great quality. Simply because that name is on the board".

Due to A.G.S.E.P.'s reputation, communities, schools and teachers are more likely to participate in the events. Tamil teacher Sugi (TC2: 275-277), who participated with some of her school children in the ISM event, states that when "the A.G.S.E.P. office contacted us, there was no problem. We did not ask .... We believed in A.G.S.E.P. because they are international and they cannot really do odd things". There would appear to be differences in levels of trust with A.G.S.E.P. and government organisations. The community focus group acknowledges that many people have given up hope in local Government support and to some extent in their own actions:

> The problem is: we do not even try to make a change. We are not believing in the Government concepts and actions, yet we have lost faith and energy in trying our own ideas. And our own efforts are restricted through a lack of resources anyway. But [A.G.S.E.P.] is coming from a developed country, and they are organising the best things, it is great for Sri Lanka. (FGC: 250-254)

5.4.3 Networker

The role of a networker in inter-community sport events includes elements of social bridging between communities, and liaising with support agencies and people in power.

Bridging

Respondents agree that the previously mentioned positive feelings of being treated equally and with respect help to establish social networks between communities and their members. Katrin (V4: 222-227) explains that A.G.S.E.P. plays a significant role in "keeping relationships between groups. [For example,] A.G.S.E.P. is important to keep the contacts between the schools, between the teachers…". The intergroup networking process is however not limited to local community networks, but is extended to an international level. Sinhalese community member Kumi talks enthusiastically about A.G.S.E.P.'s international network:

> If an Australian person wants to come, or if a German person wants to come, or if an American wants to come [then] A.G.S.E.P. is able to make this happen, which is why they are doing a good job for an exciting event. (SC2: 210-213)

In reference to her experiences at the ISM, Ina from the Sinhalese community mentions how important she believes A.G.S.E.P. staff and volunteers are as trustworthy bridge builders and integrators between the different groups. She says:

> Think back of this one boy who was so scared of meeting the Tamils and was hiding in the corner all the time. On the second day, when the international volunteers cheered him up and slowly integrated him into the group, his whole world must have changed. (FGC: 299-305)

Figure 28: Integrating, encouraging and building bridges

Ina's view is supported by the community focus group respondents, who believe that the change agent may be able to take away or reduce fear, insecurity, or anxiety within groups and between individuals. My observations from the ISM confirm that the A.G.S.E.P.'s support staff held a key role in encouraging people to participate in events, providing opportunities for intergroup contact and facilitating the creation of connection points between communities.

Liaising / Coordinating

Respondents expect A.G.S.E.P. to use its networks and previous experiences to link the events to official levels such as the local Government or support agencies. Referring to the IR4P, Marco highlights that the logistics were coordinated to a large extent by the change agent, who holds a key role in liaising with other institutions:

> They had to do all the logistics for us: getting permissions, approvals, we had to take a lot of [papers for] approvals to the Defense Minister because of the situation in the country. And then manpower, the coordination with the Sports Ministry, the first aid, providing all those facilities – that was all provided by them. (M2: 182-185)

Ranil highlights that liaising with government officials and VIPs is essential for the staging of larger events, where permissions and cooperations with external

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institutions are required. As an example, Kate (O1: 173-176), who was heavily involved in organising the IR4P, states that "help and support was needed from the Ministry of Sports for the overall permissions, from the Police for the streets and security during the event, and from the media for publicity". A.G.S.E.P.'s pre-existing contacts and networks were of great assistance during these processes.

Figure 29: Chief guest opening the IR4P (l) and local media at the ISM (r)

Event sponsors, too, recognise the value of A.G.S.E.P.'s international network. In Sri Lanka, not many events are of an international character. Niro from the IR4P's main sponsor *Red Bull* argues:

> They have all the contacts. The people who want to do an international event in Sri Lanka sometimes don't have contacts. For any [type of] event I think they know from where to get people, whatever it is for. Like, if you want to do a *Red Bull* extreme sport event, like mountain biking, so even for that they have the resources and they know who to contact and from where to get the people to participate. (SP1: 163-167)

Niro goes on to describe the involvement of A.G.S.E.P. as an important selling point. He argues that their international network, resources, reputation and extensive experience guarantees national and international participation and subsequent recognition – an important benefit for event sponsors.

In addition to sponsorship benefits, the organiser focus group expects positive outcomes from linking the events to suitable Governmental departments, officials and the media. Respondents acknowledge benefits such as the generation of publicity and community support through a functioning network, and therefore encourage the cooperation with local authorities:

> It is very important to have VIPs at the event, politicians and outstanding personalities, who are the centre of attention and who are able to publicise the events, the programs, and their message to the wider community. (FGO: 201-204)

VIPs and political chief guests are recognised as suitable ways for creating publicity and leveraging the event to wider circles. Ranil explains A.G.S.E.P.'s strategy of carefully selecting people to represent the events' ideals:

> Successful events actually make event politicians and Government officials interested in the program. So A.G.S.E.P. does not reach out to them and invites them on a high-profile basis, but they enquire themselves about A.G.S.E.P.'s work and the events, and then can be invited as chief guests if A.G.S.E.P. thinks the communities can benefit from their participation. This is the way we should go – we want suitable politicians or VIPs to support us, not the other way around. (FGO: 379-384)

5.4.4 Leader

Respondents identify two key leadership skills that they believe a change agent should possess when conducting inter-community projects. These are a) strategic event management qualities and b) the skill to recruit both professional and socially skilled staff and volunteers.

Strategic Management and Leadership

ISM volunteer Katrin points out that specific event know-how and management expertise are necessary components for the staging of inter-community sport

events. She argues that the organisation of events and meetings and supervision of individual games and projects requires certain leadership skills, which are available to management experts, yet not to untrained volunteers:

> When you are an event expert, you can organise everything much better than if you were just, you know, some amateur. You have to supervise many things: financial things, management and so on, and control everything, keep in contact with so many things. And when you're an expert it goes so much easier and faster. (V4: 266-270)

Katrin suggests employing sport and event management experts in key management and supervisor roles. Their experience and knowledge will benefit the strategic management of events and inter-community projects, and can be passed on to local support staff through workshops, presentations and practical learning sessions. For this to happen effectively, Mark stresses the importance of previous experience in intercultural event management. Talking about A.G.S.E.P.'s continuous development efforts, he argues:

> Well, A.G.S.E.P. organised [a similar] event two years before, they have some experience in that and they had some good outcome in this event. So, this made A.G.S.E.P. think about a sequence, so basically they brought in the experience of knowing how to organise the event. (O5: 228-231)

A professional management team should provide a strategic framework for the events, in which trained and untrained staff as well as international and local volunteers can operate. The knowledge and experience gained from previously staged inter-community events can be transferred to new projects, and staff members and communities can engage in a reciprocal learning experience.

The specific event management skills and leadership qualities of A.G.S.E.P. are repeatedly mentioned as success factors for inter-community sport events. My observations from the ISM event confirm that many locals took the opportunity

to seek advice from the 'experts', who helped and encouraged community supporters in the implementation of sport activities.

Figure 30: A.G.S.E.P. staff and volunteers at the IR4P pre-event press conference

Deeptha (SC4: 378-381) believes that without the active involvement of A.G.S.E.P., the locals would not have gone through the efforts of organising and managing the IR4P and ISM sport events, "because of all the associated problems. Nobody wants to do it, because all people want to be rich and won't contribute to [a non-for-profit sport event]". Currently, A.G.S.E.P. holds an important yet dominant position as an enabler and leader at development projects. In an attempt to increase local responsibilities, it will be important for A.G.S.E.P. to identify, encourage, train and support local leaders for upcoming events.

Recruitment / Staffing

Marco (M2: 193-195) describes A.G.S.E.P. as an important provider of human resources and knowledge, where "a lot of voluntary students [were] participating and handling the different event areas, which is very helpful for putting the

whole show together". Andy (M1: 213-214) praises the international volunteers for their contributions to the good cause, and their "good event management skills". The volunteers at A.G.S.E.P. are considered important for the inter-community events, as they provide theoretical and practical knowledge in the organising and implementing phases of the event.

Figure 31: Sri Lankan and international event volunteers
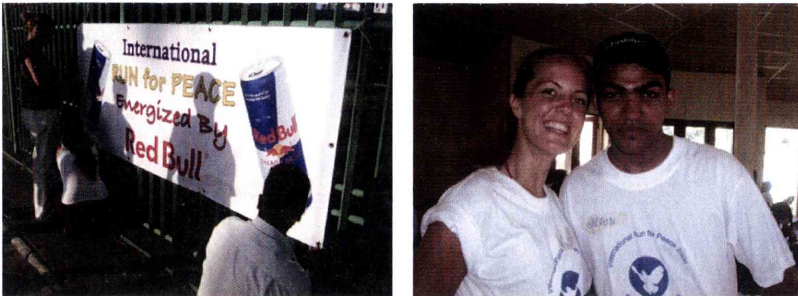
Furthermore, Mary describes the volunteers as valuable leaders and guides, particularly for events including children and youth groups. She states:

> When you're playing with a couple of Tamil girls in the pool and they have fun and love being around you, then it might be hard to leave this group and go to the next one. Hopefully they will continue to play without you, but you cannot be sure as these children might need a leader to guide them. (FGO: 367-370)

Other respondents agree that within mixed ethnic groups this external support is needed until participants feel confident to handle and tackle challenges themselves. Considering the unknown and demanding character of the unfamiliar intergroup context, one of the main responsibilities of the volunteers is to exercise social management skills within the overall event management context. Overall, there was a great amount of volunteers at both the IR4P and the ISM events. However, it appeared that in comparison to international volunteers

local support staff only played a minor role at the events, which raises questions about A.G.S.E.P.'s recruitment methods and their commitment towards increasing local responsibilities.

5.4.5 Socially Responsible Advocate

Respondents highlight the change agent's social responsibility as a role model for peace and development ideals. A.G.S.E.P. is expected to demonstrate a high level of respect, commitment and idealism when working with a diverse group of people at intergroup development projects.

Idealism

Many respondents argue that for a comfortable and trustworthy atmosphere at the events, the organiser should employ personnel with idealistic motives. Idealism in this context refers to a concern to improve situations and people. Asked about the characteristics of the ideal A.G.S.E.P. staff member or supporter, Dan explains:

> It is important to have some [sport event] experts, [but] I think it is more important to have one or two experts in social studies .... The main thing is that they should definitely be idealistic and have the aim to help people, and to take part in an event that is good for other people and not for their own *Curriculum Vitae.* (V2: 236-240)

The respondents identify idealism, altruism, social dedication, positive thinking and the stipulation of hope as vital characteristics of an active change agent. For example, Karla believes:

> Idealists are the way to go! I mean, the A.G.S.E.P. support staff needs to have quality, but [for example our] swimming instructor doesn't have to be a professional high-profile former world class swimmer. The main thing the volunteers, coaches and supporters need is social skills and idealism. (FGC: 370-376)

Supporting Karla's argument, Donale (FGC: 363-364) argues that the change agent should "build on people who want to contribute to a positive change [in Sri Lanka]", and should not focus on people who try to "make a lot of money for themselves". As long as commitment, dedication and some experience in sport or community projects is existing, idealists are described as more useful to the A.G.S.E.P. cause than expensive professional development experts.

In order to establish an idealistic and dedicated workforce, Katrin (V4: 256-259) recommends a strong focus on volunteers, who bring with them a passion for a good cause. In her comment on work motivation she highlights the importance of altruism in projects conducted in developing countries. She says that volunteers "are much more concerned about what they do. If you get money for something, maybe you just do your work for money. But the volunteers they have a vision, they do it because they really want it". Katrin believes that dedicated volunteers possess the altruistic qualities required to make a difference in developing countries.

Figure 32: Volunteers proud of their involvement

Diversity

The focus groups describe A.G.S.E.P. as a role model for the wider community. German volunteer Tomasz argues that a multi-cultural organisation with an intercultural aim is only trustworthy if its staff are intercultural, too:

> With the inclusion of European students working with kids from the different ethnic groups, A.G.S.E.P. presents a truly international group from all different ethnic backgrounds. No one can say that we are focusing mainly on one ethnic group in Sri Lanka, and that is something special. We are standing out, because the organisers and participants are both a great ethnic mix. So the people are not scared interacting with us and with the people who are working with us. (FGO: 212-217)

By providing a diverse intercultural framework, Tomasz believes that the communities will relate positively to the change agent and the events. Kate further explains:

> I think it's important that we are international, because so the Sri Lankan people see that other people from all over the world ... are interested in their country, in their culture. And [it shows] that the European people want the peace in Sri Lanka. (O1:184-187)

According to Kate, international contribution demonstrates to the Sri Lankan society that foreigners are interested and concerned about the island, and that they are committed, dedicated and proactive in contributing to a peaceful togetherness in the country. Looking back at the IR4P, Walter praises the great atmosphere and spirit the diverse group of organisers and volunteers created through their active participation in staging the event. He argues:

> [There is a] great mix of Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, Germans, Austrians, French and people from Cameroon. So A.G.S.E.P. 'lives' this ethnic diversity themselves, which makes the organisation trustworthy of what they are saying and preaching. It shows that A.G.S.E.P. believes in what they are saying and it also shows to the communities that multiculturalism and ethnic togetherness can be a success story. (FGC: 349-354)

5.4.6 Resource Developer

Respondents identify the change agent's role in providing and developing resources, talents and skills. They make a strong point that responsibilities such as providing financial support for sport and event facilities, developing culturally relevant skills, and contributing to sport development should be exercised by the change agent.

Financial Support and Access

The local communities describe direct financial support such as funds and international aid contributions as necessary for the establishment of a sport event infrastructure and the management of development projects. In the first instance, money is needed to build facilities such as sport grounds, accommodation for sportspeople, and swimming pools. A.G.S.E.P. has paid for the building of these facilities and they have been providing material contributions on a regular basis. For example, three mini-buses were purchased which are used for transportation of sport event participants from rural areas to the sport sites. The focus group appreciates A.G.S.E.P.'s contribution and highlights its importance particularly for the "people from the east, for whom A.G.S.E.P. organises the transport to the west" (FGC: 296-297).

Figure 33: The multi-sports ground at the *Peace Village* (l) and an A.G.S.E.P. bus (r)

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Additional funding is provided through private donors and *Peace Village International*. The German based aid organisation has a cooperation agreement with A.G.S.E.P. and contributes to the maintaining of the Nattandiya *Peace Village* complex. Ina (FGC: 295-296) thanks A.G.S.E.P. and *Peace Village International* for their support by saying that they "give some people the opportunity of their lifetime!" In a country where the physical infrastructure in regional areas is heavily underdeveloped, the sport centre provides a locale for socialising, learning, training and competing. Kumi explains:

> When it comes to the rural areas, people have no way to know this table tennis. Some children wouldn't have even seen it. Or tennis... I mean, it's a kind of sport here which only rich people play. ... I know that most of these students [have] never seen a swimming pool. You see, because in our rural areas we do not have such facilities. (SC2: 276-280)

Access to sport and event facilities is generally limited for the lower socio-economic groups in Sri Lanka. Kumi (SC2: 280-282) goes on to express her happiness about the fact that "A.G.S.E.P. is focusing mainly on the rural areas where the poor children are. So it is important that they introduce different sports to these areas". Overall, the communities appreciated and enjoyed the opportunity to have access to facilities provided by the change agent.

Although talking about money is not a preferred topic in the Asian culture, Waahid (MC1: 320-323) believes that "we have to talk about money and funding [because] we need a little bit more to organise our transportation" for all participants. While he hopes that the communities receive "more help from the international community" in the future, A.G.S.E.P. wants the communities to investigate alternative ways of generating money, such as fundraising, sponsorships and governmental support. This difference in attitude is likely to present a challenge for both the change agent and the communities.

Developing Skills

The *Peace Village* sports complex provides local communities with the rare opportunity to learn and develop new sport skills and talents. A.G.S.E.P. places a strong focus on the combination of physical and educational activities during its events, for example the participation in sports, swimming and language classes. Sugi, who lost several family members during the Tsunami disaster in December 2004, praises A.G.S.E.P. for their proactivity in developing culturally relevant and context specific skills and talents:

> Language was one thing that the students learnt. And swimming was another one. And the sports were also very nice. I think, however, for the future the swimming pool is the most important, because Sri Lanka is surrounded by the sea. So when the next Tsunami comes we would die if we didn't know how to swim. (TC2: 334-340)

Figure 34: Sri Lankan youth learning to swim and play volleyball
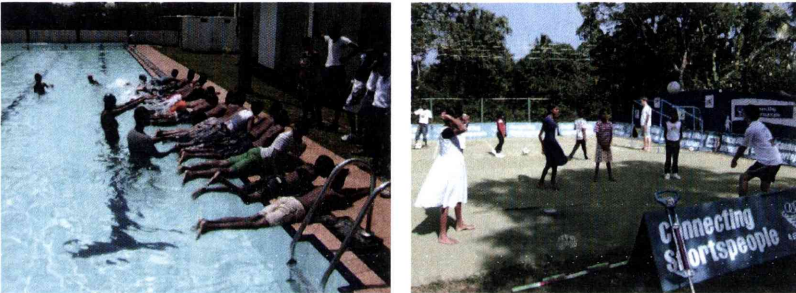
Swimming lessons are valued by the local communities as both entertaining and relevant for their daily lives. A great part of the rural Sri Lankan population makes their living from fishing. However, despite going out to sea every day many adults in Sri Lanka cannot swim and are therefore not able to teach their children. Waahid (MC1: 400-403) notes that children "might go to follow into their parent's footsteps. ... Let's say there's a fisherman, now if the child follows his father, he has to learn how to swim!" He goes on to say that A.G.S.E.P. is

helping children to develop confidence when dealing with water. Many Sri Lankan children were scared of the water at first, but after a careful introduction by supervisors and volunteers they started to get into the pool and enjoyed playing in the water with their friends.

Professional Development

Waahid believes that specific individual talent should be advanced to develop outstanding sportspeople that may compete on a professional level. Talking about ideas for program development, he suggests:

> Now, what we [should] plan is to have competitions .... And we will select the best, and then it is up to A.G.S.E.P. to decide if we send them for further training or put them in the national pool. (MC1: 392-396)

Building on Waahid's comment, Shanto (SC5: 257-259) thinks that if "there are some talented children – in sports or education or something – maybe A.G.S.E.P. can organise some program in other countries and take them there, so that they get experience and support for their talents". The development of an international talent development program for individual sportspeople and the opportunity for professionalisation of the most gifted athletes may be a suggestion for the future. For the time being, the majority of interview partners agree that the change agent's and community focus should be on social group development, general sports and swimming skills. Andrew (FGO: 561-562) sums up that it will be most important to learn skills that are "beneficial and can make a difference in real life".

5.4.7 Proactive Innovator

The community focus group and the interviewees believe that a change agent needs to be 'different and proactive' when conducting inter-community development projects in Sri Lanka. In a country where various aid organisations

and NGOs have been engaged in development programs for many years, a successful change agent needs to design new ideas and creative concepts to make a difference.

The need to be proactive, different and innovative is discussed vividly among community respondents, as many development projects in Sri Lanka have not lived up to their expected potential. Ina (FGC: 233-236) explains that because of bad experiences, the current reputation of NGOs in Sri Lanka is extremely bad and "no one wants to hear about NGO projects anymore. The term NGO is becoming associated with something negative." A.G.S.E.P. seems to understand the importance of 'being different' in their approach towards inter-community development. Organiser Ranil states:

> Of course we have our ideas and ideals, but we are not coming to the front and demonstrate our philosophies with pressure – and that is where many NGOs in third world countries do something wrong, when they come as... lecturers showing the finger saying: 'Now we show you how to live properly! Now we can show you how to improve your life!' So that is naturally creating a resistance among the communities. (FGO: 225-230)

In order to achieve positive development and change among the Sri Lankan communities, Sinhalese teacher Karla recommends a clear focus on community participation and involvement, and expects sport events to be a suitable platform for proactivity and innovation:

> In comparison to many other programs, A.G.S.E.P. is focusing on participation and that is vital! The young generation does not want to have another discussion round or speeches from VIPs, even if that is all held in a nice room with air conditioning and stuff like that. They want to actively be involved, have fun and express their feelings like this. (FGC: 339-343)

The communities argue that not only the organisation and planning of the event needs to be proactive and innovative, but also its specific event content should

be challenging. Jayo (G1: 321-324) argues that an event should take "diverse directions: maybe swimming, maybe football, maybe cricket, maybe hockey, maybe caromme, or maybe new forms of traditional dancing. … You know, human beings have got different habits and different sports will strengthen this unity and harmony". To achieve these goals, Suso, whose son participated in the ISM event, prefers a well-structured and organised cultural sport event program:

> When [the young participants] get up at 5.30am in the morning, they should go into the club together, do sport together, make speeches, do their drama performances, various types of drama, traditional and maybe new contemporary drama, because the Sinhalese and Tamil folklore dances are very similar. So they can exchange their ideas [and] all participants can learn from each other. And maybe then we can do something in English, because that's new to everyone. (FGO: 334-342)

Suso's comment suggests that the introduction of new and different activities (English language) on the one hand, and the combining of similar experiences (folk dancing) on the other may well be an enjoyable and creative form of intercultural togetherness. The local groups expect additional innovative ideas to come from the change agent, whose international and culturally different experiences may add to a unique sport event program. Simultaneously, the communities ask A.G.S.E.P. to respect cultural traditions and design the events in accordance with important local customs. To achieve this goal, the communities recommend listening to the voices of the locals and cooperating with communities in an innovative, proactive and participatory way.

Figure 35: Taking on board local customs: 3pm – Tea time in Sri Lanka
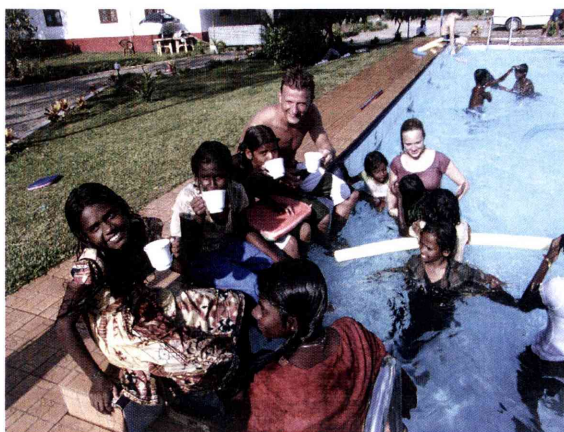
Looking back at the IR4P and ISM, it seems that A.G.S.E.P. has not listened sufficiently to local demands in the organising phase of the events. At the ISM some important cultural customs were only integrated into the event program on the second day of the event, while at the IR4P the idea of holding an innovative and 'different' after-event party seemed culturally inappropriate. This suggests that despite their good intentions the change agent was only partly successful in living up to its high standards on a practical level.

5.4.8 Strategic Planner

The organiser focus group and interviewees discuss the role of the change agent as a planner for sustainable community development. They argue that the change agent should focus on a strategic event management approach which does not end with providing activities during the day, but includes sustaining and growing event benefits beyond event borders. Interviewees agree that the events need to be designed in a way that encourages continuous inter-

community contact for the medium and long term. Chulo, for example, believes that contact at the event could be the starting point for lasting relationships:

> I think these kind of things we should do regularly. Maybe not big runs, but maybe ... these inter-cultural children's programs, inter-cultural peace centres, where they get children from all over the country and they have small programs. ... That would maintain the continuity of this whole idea and concept. (AID1: 324-328)

Tom (O2: 229-232) agrees by outlining A.G.S.E.P.'s strategic direction, which includes building "a Peace Village in Nilaveli (northeastern Sri Lanka) and in Tangalle (southern Sri Lanka) and in Anamaduwa (northwestern Sri Lanka) to allow for a real exchange of the different ethnic groups". He proposes that more sport centres, events, projects and additional community initiatives are needed in order to spread the peace message all over the island. He continues to explain that "A.G.S.E.P. is targeting to establish 25 sport event centres and community projects all over the island by 2010".

Marco on the other hand favours a focus on staging additional large scale events. Talking about the IR4P, he suggests:

> There should be a continuation: it has to go on! Just doing a one-off peace run is not going to help much. We need to do three, four, five, six, seven... there should be a continuation and building up of this community. ... That is the future. (M2: 331-335)

Marco highlights the importance of strategic thinking towards realising large follow-up sport events and growing the 'Sport for Peace' interest community. For this to eventuate, the organisers expect the recently signed Memorandum of Understanding between A.G.S.E.P. and the Ministry of Rehabilitation, Resettlement and Refugees (MRRR) to be of strategic benefit.

5.5 MAXIMISING EVENT BENEFITS

The question of how to maximise positive socio-cultural benefits of events forms the discussion within this section. The focus groups and interviewees identify a range of strategies to sustain, grow and leverage event benefits. These include a focus on team sports; the enhancement of social opportunities around the main sport event; the implementation of follow-up events and regular sport programs; the establishing of additional sport centres and exchange programs; a focus on youth as a catalyst; the incorporation of education; extended cooperation with the government; and increased media and VIP presence.

5.5.1 Focusing on Team Sports

In order to diversify the activities of the intercultural ISM event, respondents recommend minor changes in the style of the event program and suggest that a clearer focus on integrative team sport activities would benefit future events. Dan (V2: 326-330) believes that team sports have proven to "unite people successfully", and particularly "smaller teams with pupils from each school" were central to achieve "a team building effect". Building on Dan's comment, Tom (O2: 413-417) argues that in order to "achieve more long-term effects, ... we have to [focus on] something like football teams with different ethnic members". Both respondents highlight that more integrative interethnic team-sport activities are essential to establish common ingroup feelings. Axel (V3: 221) adds to this and believes that the introduction of "national games" – where ethnically mixed Sri Lankan teams play different international teams in different sports – could be a successful step forward towards inclusive social identity and team building.

Looking back at the ISM, Tom (O2: 33-35), would like future events to incorporate "more games and new games and different activities". In particular,

Suso (SC1: 192) sees room for more inclusive cultural performances during the event weekend. He argues that event participants should be encouraged to stage a "drama festival or folklore dances" as both separate and mixed groups. At the ISM these activities were staged spontaneously and did not form part of the planned event program. Suso believes that because drama and folklore were received very well by the entire audience, they should become an integral part of the ISM event.

Katja provides an operational recommendation in regards to adapting the style of the group activities. The organisers did not divide participants into different age groups, which she considers a hindering factor in team activities:

> [What's] to improve? Definitely the age of the children! Because I think even if they were all the same cultural group, a fifteen year old boy does not want to play football with a three year old girl. ... And that stopped sometimes the flow of the event. (A2: 167-170)

Katja suggests that customised activities for different age groups should be provided to improve activation, participation, comfort, enjoyment and the process of team building.

5.5.2 Enhancing Social Opportunities Around Main Event

Several Tamil, Sinhalese and international respondents discuss the idea of providing additional social contact opportunities for participants and stakeholders around the main sport event. For example, Raj points out that events should include socialising opportunities before the actual sport match or peace run:

> Around the event you should build something bigger. ... Well before they actually run, because during the run you cannot expect friendships to start. As a

programmer, you can make them get to know each other beforehand and therefore make them run together. ... As an expert planner, you should program well in advance how to make things happen. (TC1: 532-538)

Raj suggests that strategic planning is necessary to achieve a welcoming and open event atmosphere. He believes that it is important to give participants opportunities for easy social contact and interaction, which will allow them to connect and build friendships with others:

> An intergroup program before the actual Run would be helpful. Ja, we should share some cool drinks, or have all the sportspeople sit together to develop some interpersonal relationships. Like passing the ball and two people will come together, and they have to sing the same song or something like that. So ... they will come to know each other [and] then, when they are running, they will also try to keep that relationship. Right? But if you're just coming and just running, it's probably lost. (TC1: 232-242)

Additional recreational activities that are linked to the events are expected to further advance intergroup relationships between communities. Mano suggests:

> Every time we practice together, we eat together, we play together, it gets a bit better. So for the upcoming events it will be important to not only connect people through the sport, but also at the events or happenings around the sport activity. Lunch, recreation, relaxation, tea breaks, educational lessons and so on. (FGC: 78-82)

At the same time, Didi recommends that the event organisers should plan for social entertainment opportunities after the event. Such opportunities give participants, stakeholders and in particular the community the chance to get together, mingle and celebrate their contributions and achievements. Didi (O4: 983-995) suggests developing activities that create "a party type of atmosphere, where musicians are taking part and entertainers also. There is the opportunity for having chats, [where people can] talk freely and extend invitations to meet again out of the sport context." However, after-event parties need to be accessible and in line with local customs. Arguably, this year's IR4P après event

music show was rejected by many community members, because of its location, timing, and failure to follow cultural norms.

5.5.3 Organising Follow-Up Events and Regular Sport Programs

Respondents suggest follow-up events and a focus on regular sport programs to sustain the social outcomes of inter-community events. The arguments put forward by communities and organisers are that: a) people have the opportunity to foster and expand their relationships and friendships with each other through repeat encounters, and b) a repetition with a motto such as 'Games for Peace' will communicate the event message to the public in a more effective and sustainable way.

Respondents believe that the smaller youth focused ISM event should be repeated in similar style. Follow-up events should target previous event participants, who get the chance to continue their interaction with others in an ethnically mixed environment. Didi argues:

> There's the wish ... to have a repetition of the event with the same group consistence, because [participants] got used to each other. Although it was only for two days initially, the wish is there ... that we should repeat the event and should not wait for too long, as people want to participate in the same type of event again. (O4: 965-970)

Didi expects a strategy of *deepening* or strengthening relationships to lead to lasting social outcomes. He believes that inter-community cooperation and partnerships can be fostered through repeated event contact. Gerd shares this view:

> When [the Tamils are] coming two, three times, then only we can get their ideas and ... something bigger can develop. It is like this: when I meet one guy in the ISM, then I can say 'Hello' to him. So when I meet him at the second Sport

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Meeting, then I can talk to him a little bit. So if I meet him a third time, we might have a friendship. ... Something like that could develop. (P3: 339-344)

The *Peace Village* sport complex provides A.G.S.E.P. and the local communities with a strategic development opportunity, which is the provision of regular sport programs. Specific sport skills and group building classes could for example be taught to community members by local and international sportspeople, managers, athletes or students. Chulo believes:

> Long term programs are most important. [For example] three months courses for sport and development – that would be good! Football is for example new for Sri Lanka, [and] also people want the swimming pool, they [would love to] come to swim every day .... That would maintain the continuity of this whole idea and concept. (AID1: 325-328)

The development of regular sport programs at the Nattandiya *Peace Village* is one of the key priorities of A.G.S.E.P. Didi (O4: 1110) would like to see sport activities at the *Peace Village* "every two weeks, which will later on be every week".

Andy on the other hand suggests the implementation of large-scale follow-up events such as the IR4P. He argues in favour of opening the events to attract more people from different groups and communities:

> If we can do four events per year, then you get more impact. Otherwise with a once a year event people are sometimes not coming, or they forget everything. And what we should do is update the people and stay in touch with them through the media. So what I thought was, if we can have four events, these mega events, then definitely we can build up larger interest and achieve our aims. (M1: 357-362)

This strategy aims at *widening* the circle with a focus on new participants. Andy would like to leverage the event and see an increasing number of people getting involved and emotionally affected by the 'Peace through Sport Events' message.

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To achieve this goal, Jeewo advocates the implementation of sport camps which are linked to large-scale events such as the IR4P. He says:

> To achieve a lasting change of attitude, it is vital to stay together for some more time, always supported by sports and mini-events, so that people can get to know each other better, talk to each other and discuss, build up friendships and lasting connections. The best idea is to organise sport camps in combination with the big marathon event, so that after the one-off event the communities get together in a camp and spend two or three or even some more days together. (SA1: 183-190)

In supporting Jeewo's idea, Ranil argues that ideally both the *deepening* and *widening* approaches towards community development should be combined:

> A week-long [sport] program would allow you to connect people with locals who reside in the host community. Here, on a micro-level you could establish contacts and connections, which are promising to be sustained beyond the event itself. These more structured ISM events focus more on ... connecting groups, while the one-day large-scale events are focusing mainly on creating awareness, an awareness of peace in Sri Lanka. ... So I think it is a good suggestion to make the ISM events longer, and to combine them with high profile large-scale events. (FGO: 673-686)

5.5.4 Establishing Additional Sport Centres and Exchange Programs

Respondents suggest the creation of additional sport centres and an expansion of events from the western side of Sri Lanka to other regions around the country. A Sinhalese community representative notes:

> In order to be more effective, you'd have to spread the events and therefore the message all over Sri Lanka, because at the moment there is the chance for only a limited number of communities and participants to benefit. Many people haven't been able to come, because it is too far for them, it is too dangerous or they cannot afford the trip. (FGC: 23-27)

The staging of events in different parts of Sri Lanka, particularly in the northern LTTE controlled regions, will present a great challenge for the organisers.

Nevertheless, Didi (O4: 1111-1112) aims at limiting the "geographical constraints of reaching the centres to make sure that the travel time is not too long", particularly for Tamil participants. In order to make sport events more accessible for Sri Lankan people, A.G.S.E.P. has committed to consider the creation of new *Peace Villages* in rural Sri Lanka. Currently A.G.S.E.P. is building a second *Peace Village* in northeastern Nilaveli, and they are negotiating the opportunity of establishing additional *Peace Village* sport complexes in the country's south and northwest. Tom states:

> Our idea from A.G.S.E.P. is to build more *Peace Villages*. Nilaveli is in progress; also we want to build some *Peace Village* Buildings in Tangalle, in the south, and also in Anamaduwa. ... So I think in the future, if we can manage to build that all up we can... we can reach much! It's getting larger and larger. (O2: 435-439)

Didi says that by increasing the number of *Peace Villages* A.G.S.E.P. hopes to grow the 'Peace through Sport' idea all over the island:

> We have in mind that 25 centres will be [built in Sri Lanka by 2015, accommodating] 100 children per centre. That means 2500 children will meet every weekend somewhere in Sri Lanka. ... So when you calculate that, you've got ... 50 weeks times 2,500 makes 125,000 children who could regularly meet throughout a year. (O4: 1118-1123)

Dan further suggest that once additional sports centres are built, interethnic reconciliation efforts could be advanced through event related community exchange programs:

> [There should] be an exchange. For example that parents from the east send their children to the west, and in exchange for that the parents [from] the west send their own children to the east. So that there is a relation not only between the children, but between the parents, too, and in the end between the families and maybe in the very end between the villages and, with that, between the certain ethnicities. (V2: 412-418)

Dan believes that sport events can be a first hook for communities to engage on a wider scale, and that through regular sport activities, programs and exchanges people build and advance intergroup relationships. This idea of interethnic exchange is discussed enthusiastically by the community respondents and organisers, who would like to see that an "intercultural exchange is done with a high frequency. So we can make it perhaps one per month or two a month that would be great, and then we can exchange everyone between the different villages" (O3: 462-465). The creation of a Sri Lankan intergroup sport exchange program would be a positive and promising social legacy of the A.G.S.E.P. events.

While people's comments about the establishment of additional sports centres are largely enthusiastic, they need to be seen against the macro-political situation in Sri Lanka. In times of high civil unrest and intense fighting in Sri Lanka's LTTE controlled north east, the creation of a sport centre in Nilaveli is unlikely. While aspirations for growth are commendable, A.G.S.E.P. needs to be careful in promising assistance and development to communities where this may not be realistic.

5.5.5 Focusing on Youth as a Catalyst

The ISM event specifically targeted children and youth groups between the ages of six to sixteen. Ranil argues that a focus on the Sri Lankan youth allows the organisers to communicate their ideas and peace message to fresh open minds:

> We have focused on such a young primary target market, because it is easier to influence young people who are not yet full of prejudices. It is more difficult to change attitudes of adults; however, as a secondary target market the adults may be influenced through the experiences of the children and their stories told. Once interest is there for the adults to witness such events they might be won

over, and they may develop their interest in participating at the next events. (FGO: 707-712)

This strategic move towards a young target market contains key benefits for a) the children themselves, b) the organisers, and c) the wider community. According to Kate (O1: 111-113), the Sinhalese and Muslim youth members "can build their own opinions especially about Tamil children", irrespective of their parents' and communities' inputs. Sudu (SC3: 496-497) argues that a benefit for the organiser is the approachability of the younger generation, who "are more open minded than their parents so it is easier to put something in the small minds". Subsequently the rest of the community can benefit from the experiences and connections the youth has made at the events. Ranil (FGO: 90-92) therefore describes children as "an ideal catalyst for establishing contact" and hopes for a social development process that will be instigated:

> So when people go home after the event they might tell their parents or friends 'Hey, the Tamils are no terrorists, we had a great time together'. ... This way we can reach the parents through the children and the communities through the children and parents together. ... So everyone is affected by the program. ... From connecting sportspeople to connecting families and one day whole communities. (FGO: 274-282)

Ranil hopes that the youth will take their event and intergroup experiences into their families and communities, talk about their new impressions and influence to a certain extent people's perception of 'others'. He believes that the events can be a starting point for future community action. Looking back at the ISM, Didi highlights that new relations were actually sustained beyond the event:

> The children invited [other] children, a Tamil child invited a Sinhalese child to their home, so that means, a Tamil child with Tamil parents came to a Sinhalese child with Sinhalese parents. These newly established relationships between the Sinhalese parents and the Tamil parents would have not been possible without the children's interaction at this sport meeting. (O4: 410-415)

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Arndt (P1: 34-35) hopes that "maybe this was just the beginning..." and that further inter-community action will contribute to an increase in intergroup togetherness in Sri Lanka. To allow for additional contact beyond sport events, Didi proposes the introduction of 'event pen pals'. He notes:

> In order to have a continuous link [between children], which is not possible with telephone because the infrastructure ... we shall introduce a greeting card system, where the children communicate through postcards among each other. ... The cards are a type of comic cards and they have that type of collection phenomenon, because they are very colourful and very attractive. (O4: 958-964)

Didi acknowledges that the pen-pal system requires "a bit of effort from the children, but in return they receive postcard-presents from their new friends as well". He believes that event pen pals can sustain 'feel good momenta' beyond the event, and that participants stay emotionally connected with the event experience and their new friends.

5.5.6 Incorporating Education

Several respondents discuss the idea of providing professional education at the *Peace Village*. Others consider the idea of linking the sport events to local education providers such as schools or kindergartens. Suggestions on this topic include the integration of language classes during the inter-community events in combination with sport activities; the provision of management workshops with a focus on 'training the trainers'; and the creation of educational exchanges.

Different language backgrounds at the events presented a great challenge to event organisers and communities. Shawn argues that in an attempt to benefit from diversity, educational elements should accompany the inter-community sport activities:

> Next to sports and events with all the swimming, football, and volleyball action also the educational element of German language classes is important, as a form of *Zusammenspiel* with the sportive elements. So that the event has the capacity to not only cater for sport, but also for the minds, as can be seen in learning a new language. (P4: 277-282)

Zusammenspiel refers to a playful combination of two things, in this case language learning and sports. This has proven to be beneficial for the intergroup communication at the ISM event. People were able to approach others and start conversations in Sinhalese, Tamil, German and mainly English, even if often only on a very basic level. Ranil (FGO: 540-542) remembers that once "people who could communicate a bit, they made friends a lot easier". For future events, Andrew suggests:

> You should actually teach words that [the participants] can use in the program or in different events afterwards. So that they repeat the words during the day. That way they will get it, because they use and apply their newly learnt skills and know that this is beneficial and can make a difference in real life. (FGO: 559-562)

The sport events are described as a great opportunity for the teaching of valuable language skills. The gain in knowledge can be seen as a positive socio-cultural outcome of the events, which is of benefit to participants in their daily lives. Here, the ISM event may provide an opportunity for event leverage, if organisers link the sport events and language classes closer to official government education and school programs:

> A special program for a week could be integrated into the school calendars, which maybe focuses on cultural education in combination with sport. This way the children have the chance to get to know each other under a real-life situation, because a week will set a different framework than a two-day event. (FGO: 658-662)

Linking the A.G.S.E.P. activities to school curricula is believed to be of lasting benefit to participants and organisers. Andrew suggests that a close cooperation

with the Department of Education would be of benefit, to work together and evaluate opportunities of synergy effects:

> If the postcard-idea is supported well by teachers in schools, a regular communication could be established. Say, half an hour or one hour per week all students have time to write and send a letter to their pen-friends of the other community. (FGO: 747-750)

Axel (V3: 396-397) adds: "Maybe once a week [the students] get together and get the letters from their friends and sit together to write a return letter". There is the overall belief that if students are encouraged and supported by their schools, i.e. their teachers and principals, the initial contacts from the event can be sustained well beyond the weekend-encounter.

The precondition for successful integration of the sport event and language classes into any school curriculum will be adequate training of the teachers and supervisors. Tim (FGO: 323-324) recalls that at the ISM event the teachers were not briefed sufficiently about the purpose and goals of the inter-community event. He recommends *ex ante* information sessions, workshops or presentations, which provide the teachers, supervisors and volunteers with a clear overview of the event. Waahid (MC1: 429-430) supports this strategic approach and highlights the leveraging potential teachers have. They can "influence and educate the parents, who sometimes do not understand the full value of these programs". At the same time, Dominic believes that the teachers should instigate an educational exchange program:

> An exchange between teachers could happen. This would be a good way, for example, if Sinhalese teachers could guest lecture at a Tamil school and vice versa. And this could lead into student exchange programs, because the students would follow the ideas of their teachers. (FGO: 753-755)

5.5.7 Involving the Government

A Sinhalese member of the organiser focus group, Suto, believes that in order to leverage the inter-community events' success, A.G.S.E.P. "needs to link the message to some other key player in the community: the political sector!" At the IR4P and the ISM events the involvement and support of the Sri Lankan Government and its Ministries was rather low. While the Ministry of Sport officially partnered the IR4P event, its role in the organising and implementation of the events was of a representative nature. Local sponsor Niro (SP1: 125-127) criticises that "the Government really needs to make some contribution for these [events]. That is what I've seen lacking at this event". Niro's view is shared by Mark:

> We should have had even more meetings with the Ministry of Sports, or I wished that they would have told us more about their decisions and what they were thinking. ... They never really told us what they wanted to do with this event, what it meant to them. (O5: 190-195)

Mark goes on to complain about communication issues with government agencies and hopes that in the future more input, support and guidance will improve rapport. This is important, because the Sports Ministry provides A.G.S.E.P. with great leveraging opportunities:

> When important people like politicians or the Government support those [events and] if these key people are excited about the idea of community development using sport events, the idea and the message can grow further. Because these people act as multipliers, because they have a good network. (FGC: 525-529)

The Sports Ministry acts as the representative of the Sri Lankan sportspeople and could spread the peace message of the inter-community events through the Government's networks, which reaches a large number of people. For A.G.S.E.P. links to the government and key politicians are a vital element in

their overall event management, particularly when "we need permissions to run these events, [when] we need special visa regulations for sport exchanges. or [when] we need acceptance from the authorities to a certain extent" (FGO: 387-389). Another benefit of linking the peace events to key politicians is mentioned by Dominic, who argues they can act as role models:

> We could invite politicians and show them what is happening here, how people are positively impacted by sporting events when they are playing together. It will highlight the fact that people do not care about their [ethnic] identity during sport events, and politicians may use this as an example for living together without ethnic tensions. [Maybe] they can learn something and use it in their politics. (FGO: 128-134)

Overall, the idea of linking A.G.S.E.P. to the governmental sector promises to be beneficial for all parties involved – for the organisers, the politicians or VIPs and the ethnic communities. Realising the benefits of cooperation, Jeewo (SA1: 180-181) from the Ministry of Sports welcomes the idea of closer cooperation between the Government and A.G.S.E.P. and points out that "as we are the responsible people in the Sri Lankan government we are willing to help at any time for this peace program". In similar style, a Sri Lankan Director of Sports, who visited the A.G.S.E.P. organisers for the first time at the IR4P event, explains that he decided to convince the Ministry of Sports that also "in the future A.G.S.E.P. and the Sports Ministry will organise things together". This outlook seems promising for A.G.S.E.P. and their plans to leverage the peace message of the sport events to the wider community.

5.5.8 Increasing Media and VIP Presence

One of the key learning outcomes of the IR4P event was the need for better promotion and media management. Various media could be strategically

approached before, during and after the event to create awareness and publicity for the inter-community celebrations, and to achieve positive news coverage.

Shanto (SC5: 227-230) argues that one of A.G.S.E.P.'s most important organisational tasks is to "provide information and advertising before the event! A.G.S.E.P. should inform the public, because [the people] should get the feeling here in the heart that [they are] doing things for everyone!" Shanto goes on to say that the IR4P was not promoted well enough in the local communities. People were not aware of the opportunity for everyone to participate in the social inter-community event, so that interested athletes missed out on participating. He explains:

> I got phone calls saying: 'Hey, you didn't tell us you were doing such a big program, you didn't tell us that we had such good runners which participated'. Especially from Marawila police they called and said: 'You didn't inform us, we didn't know [about the event]. We have such good runners in the police and we would have participated!' So ... there was not enough advertising. (SC5: 450-455)

To change the *status quo* and to leverage the success of the events, Tomasz (FGO: 772-773) recommends a close link to the local, regional and national media, which he describes as "yet another important catalyst for change". To attract media to the sport events, Tomasz suggests the inclusion of influential VIPs:

> When you think back at the Run for Peace, there was a lot of media and the event was broadcasted all over the country. If there is a chief guest of some rank the media will become interested and report from the event, [which creates] a multiplier effect. ... You get the peace message more public and reach people all over the country. (FGO: 143-148)

The choice of suitable VIPs will be an important factor not only for the communities, but also for the different media companies, who are often linked to

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either the government or the LTTE. Didi highlights the significance of an impartial and convincing chief guest to obtain community and media support:

> Whenever we have organised an event, there was a chief guest who was accepted by all the communities. When we select an outstanding personality [such as] a Minister, it should be someone who is involved in Resettlement, Refugees, or Rehabilitation work, such as the Nation Building Minister. Or even better: a well-respected sports star! Like Murali (Muttiah Muralitharan, cricket player). (O4: 673-676)

The focus on well regarded VIPs promises media presence and opportunities for leverage on the one hand, and further publicity through the VIP's networks on the other. Shanto (SC5: 488-490) therefore argues that apart from identifying the right chief guests, it will be important to establish closer links to the different media organisations. He believes that strategic planning for event leverage may lead to "higher participation numbers, extra social benefits and in the end a better image for us, the communities, and A.G.S.E.P. also".

5.6 LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

This chapter has presented the data gathered through focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and event observation related to answering the overall research question "What is the role of inter-community sport events in contributing to social development?" Specifically, this chapter has addressed the sub-questions of this thesis, providing a presentation of findings on: (1) the socio-cultural event experiences that arise from inter-community sport events, (2) the impact of these events on people's social identity and categorisation processes, (3) the roles of an international change agent in sport event development projects, and (4) the strategies and recommendations for sustaining, growing and leveraging event benefits.

Respondents provided their experiences of the IR4P and ISM that influenced social development. On the positive side, the events allowed people to socialise, increase their comfort levels, engage in reciprocal relations with others, learn about and celebrate cultural differences and create personal and professional networks. On the other hand, differences in attitude and managerial tensions left some people disappointed. The various event experiences influenced people's way of categorising 'others' in group identity terms. The data suggests that inter-community events allow sportspeople to experience others as unique individuals and as common ingroup members with multiple social identities.

Respondents identified eight key roles and responsibilities the change agent holds in the inter-community event management process. They expect the change agent to allow for community participation; contribute to building trust; establish networks; provide guidance and leadership; be socially responsible; help develop resources; be proactive; and strategically plan for the long-term. Finally, in order to maximise event benefits beyond the event, respondents provided strategic recommendations for the organiser and communities. At future events, a stronger focus should be placed on team sports and opportunities for social activities around the event. Furthermore, regular sport programs and exchanges with a focus on youth as catalysts are recommended, and where possible, events should be leveraged in partnership with government departments and the media.

Chapter Six will now discuss these findings in relation to the literature, provide implications for theory and praxis, and outline the contributions and conclusion of this research.

CHAPTER SIX:

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

> Sport has the power to bring people together, bridge differences, and
> promote communication and understanding. Nonetheless, sport alone
> cannot foster enduring peace. Supporting factors such as an interest in
> peace among different groups, media involvement, strong civil society
> participation and dedication by sport organisations are needed for sport
> to be an effective vehicle of peace. (United Nations 2006, p. 20)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In an attempt to understand the role of inter-community sport events in social
development, I went on a journey of exploration. In Chapter Two I investigated
three distinct but interrelated conceptual areas: Community Participation and
Social Capital (Sociology), Intergroup Relations and Social Identities (Social
Psychology), and Event Impacts (Management). From a sociological
perspective, active participation and cooperation with 'others' at sport events
allows people to contribute to the creation of social capital and community
capacities. From the social psychological perspective, sport events are seen as
superordinate goals that can reduce social barriers between groups which may
result in common ingroup feelings and inclusive social identities. The sport
event management literature highlights that events can result in significant
socio-cultural impacts; however, most 'evidence' of the social utility of sport
events remains anecdotal and inter-community sport events in divided societies
are under-researched.

In Chapter Three I laid out the methodology for this research. Through an
interpretive paradigm informed by qualitative methods I set out to *understand*

the role of sport events in contributing to social development. I took an in-depth 'inside view' into two inter-community sport events, employing focus groups, participant observation and semi-structured in-depth interviews as my data collection instruments. This combination allowed me to investigate different stakeholders' event experiences and their suggestions for sustainable social development.

Chapter Four presented the history and current socio-political situation of the case under investigation – Sri Lanka. The International Run for Peace (IR4P) and the Intercultural Sports Meeting (ISM) were described in detail, alongside the vision and mission of the supporting change agent A.G.S.E.P. Chapter Five then outlined the findings of this research. I categorised data into emerging themes and presented the findings in accordance with the objectives of the thesis.

Following on from the key concepts and ideas developed to date, Chapter Six now proceeds with a discussion of the findings presented in the previous chapter. It addresses the overall research question and research objectives and provides implications for researchers, event organisers, change agents, communities, policymakers, and government bodies. This final chapter further elucidates the theoretical and practical contributions made by this research and makes suggestions for future research.

6.2 SOCIAL EXPERIENCES ENHANCING INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

The main purpose of the inter-community sport events in Sri Lanka was to enhance intergroup relations and contribute to social development between the disparate Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim communities. In relation to objective

one, this section discusses people's socio-cultural experiences from the IR4P and ISM presented in section 5.2. The discussion of experiences is grouped into two broad categories, which are 'experiences that reduced social barriers' and contributed to the stock of social capital, and 'experiences that increased social barriers' and therefore reduced the stock of social capital.

6.2.1 Experiences that Reduced Social Barriers

In section 2.2.4 it was demonstrated that governments, policymakers and communities have started to examine different ways of reducing social barriers between disparate groups, by generating 'new spaces' for the creation and advancement of social capital. The findings of this research revealed that inter-community sport events have great potential to be such 'new spaces'. At the IR4P and ISM people experienced various positive social impacts that advanced intergroup relations and increased the stock of social capital. These experiences are discussed in the following sections.

Socialising

'Socialising' represents the opportunities for entertainment and interaction gained by participants and their communities as a result of attending an event. These opportunities allow people to become active, have fun, showcase new ideas and contribute to establishing new relations. For example, event stakeholders at the IR4P and ISM had the chance to actively participate in sports, share their experience with others, contribute to the innovative idea of peace-building through sport events, and celebrate with newly made friends. These findings are similar to Small's (2007) 'Entertainment and Socialisation Opportunities' factor, which highlights the meeting and mingling with new people, increased entertainment opportunities for communities, and the

celebration of good times with family and friends as an active form of socialising at community events. However, Small's study was conducted in a conflict-free developed world context, and this research demonstrates that events allow people to socialise and relate, even when their political parties are engaged in a quasi civil war.

Comfort

'Comfort' represents people's feelings of safety, confidence and trust when dealing with individuals, groups and institutions. Inter-community sport events were identified as promising 'starting points' for the creation of comfortable relationships and trust, as they have an 'intrinsic power' for breaking down barriers between people, groups and institutions (see also Brown *et al.* 2003). Different factors such as the presence of an impartial change agent, the official endorsement from all communities, and the social peace theme contributed to feelings of trust and safety. In particular, it was found that the safe location and the leisure atmosphere of the ISM event added to feelings of comfort. This reinforces Lederach's (2002) argument that sport projects have the potential to provide a 'locus' of peace. The *Peace Village* was identified as a neutral space for reconciliation, where people were likely to respect and engage with others, and develop trust amongst ingroup and outgroup members. These findings link to the two types of social capital that Putnam (2003; 2000; 1993a) claims are central for social development; bonding and bridging social capital.

Reciprocity

'Reciprocity' represents the active engagement in providing physical and emotional support for others. Both inter-community events allowed people to help others in need. At a physical level, people from the communities helped the

organisers and volunteers by providing their premises for the installation of banners, billboards and advertisements. Further, some wealthier participants provided the poorer ones with sport equipment such as running shoes or provided free physiotherapy services after the event. At an emotional level, adults cheered for *all* participants, while children were happy to assist and encourage others during activities. These findings are consistent with Yuen's (2005) results from her study on an international youth camp which showed that leisure activities can foster reciprocal support in social learning and skill development. The willingness to share with others is considered an important element of social capital (Stone 2001; Putnam 2000, 1993a), and this study found that a conducive social environment fosters reciprocal exchanges even among members of disparate groups.

Networks

'Networks' describe the opportunities for event participants and stakeholders to establish, improve or increase their connections and relationships with others. Some respondents argued that the events allowed them to develop interpersonal contacts on an intragroup level, while others engaged in bridging differences with people from other groups and established intergroup friendships. The organising team further benefited from improved business contacts and the creation of professional networks. These findings are *d'accord* with results presented in Reid's (2006) 'Networks and Interactions' domain, which describes newly established networks and trusting relationships among different people within a community as a positive social consequence of community events. This research adds the social benefit of establishing contacts and networks *between* communities and stakeholders as an important social outcome. This suggests that inter-community events provide a catalyst for the creation of bridging social capital.

Learning

'Learning' represents the events' contribution to capacity building, as people gain knowledge and skills in management, sport and culture. The research demonstrated that community members who were involved in the organisation and design of the events had the chance to learn management skills from the change agent and the opportunity to 'shape' and develop the event program as a culturally diverse *team* – a learning process that built bridges between groups, reduced socio-cultural barriers and expanded horizons.

During the ISM event, people learned specific sport and educational skills, for example swimming and foreign languages. An earlier study conducted by Straubinger (2005) had shown that after the Tsunami Disaster in 2004 water had become an element of fear and danger for a large proportion of the Sri Lankan youth. This research revealed that swimming lessons were valued by the local communities as both an entertaining activity and a confidence builder, as children were carefully introduced to playing in the 1m deep pool. The findings directly confirm Gschwend and Selvaranju's (2007) argument that sport events can be a vehicle for trauma relief and free expression among populations affected by disasters, civil unrest or war.

In line with this argument, the creative arts and drama classes at the ISM provided opportunities for children to express themselves freely in a favourable social environment. As an observer of the event, I witnessed the emotionally intense theatre performances of Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim children, and saw the graphic images children painted about their experiences with the civil war. The pictures provided children with an opportunity to share feelings of fear and pain, and at the same time learn that other children in the country are confronted with similar conditions. The sharing of such intimate experiences and stories impressed participants, volunteers and teachers, and allowed them to understand,

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connect, and empathise with each other. Indeed, the findings suggest that being disconnected from the hardships of daily life was both psychologically and socially liberating.

Cultural Celebration

'Cultural Celebration' is an area which has particular relevance for *inter-*community events, as they comprise more than one cultural or ethnic group. At the ISM, participants found that traditional aspects of community life could be combined with creative joint activities such as theatre plays or performances. Respondents argued that the opportunity to showcase and celebrate one's culture and learn about other groups' traditions was an exciting experience that allowed participants to widen their horizons. As such, 'Cultural Celebration' has strong associations with the previously mentioned 'Socialising' and 'Learning' themes. It was revealed that the combination of traditional customs such as dance or theatre can generate interaction and appreciation between groups, who are able to experience 'positive diversity' at events. Expanding on Harris' (1998) argument that an increase in respect may result in people overcoming *psychological* barriers, this research adds that positive teamwork as a culturally diverse group can lead to a reduction of *socio-cultural* barriers between communities. These findings provide empirical support for Chalip's (2006) recommendation of providing event-related social (and cultural) opportunities for participants and spectators, which are built and celebrated around the main sporting highlight of the day.

6.2.2 Experiences that Increased Social Barriers

In section 2.4.1 it was demonstrated that sport events can also result in negative social impacts and outcomes. They have the potential to undermine intergroup

relations and reduce the stock of social capital available within and between communities. The findings in sections 5.2 illustrated that the IR4P and ISM resulted in different negative social experiences, which increased social barriers and challenged the relationships between the various event stakeholders. These negative experiences are discussed next.

Attitudes

In section 2.2.3, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) illustrated that attitudes – described by Zimbardo *et al.* (1977) as 'mental readiness' towards a particular idea or project – differ among individuals and groups. Consistent with their argument, it was found that the attitude, proactivity and enthusiasm to engage with 'others' and with the 'Games for Peace' theme, varied amongst event participants and other stakeholders. At times, these differences led to disagreement and tension between groups. For example, the dedicated peace-activists (ingroup) were left frustrated with participants who focused predominantly on the physical aspect of the sport events (outgroup). This finding relates to Sherifs' (1979; 1966) Realistic Conflict Theory (RCT) discussed in section 2.3.3. While RCT argues that incompatible interests between groups result in negative outcomes, this study revealed that incompatible attitudes resulted in intergroup frustration and disappointment.

It was further found that some onlookers, who were not directly involved in the events, showed a negative attitude towards the events by making pessimistic and judgemental comments about the organisers and participants. Parts of the community did not accept the idea of inter-community celebration, or perhaps rejected the idea of a Western change agent organising events in a developing country. In some cases, locals even intimidated organisers, participants and spectators with words and gestures. These behaviours can undermine feelings of

safety, comfort and trust (Putnam 2000, 1993a), which highlights events' potential to diminish social capital.

Finally, the use of political representatives as VIP guests may result in community tensions. This research revealed that some community members were upset and disappointed with politicians who did not demonstrate a certain attachment and a genuinely positive attitude towards the event. To avoid disappointment and a potential 'hijacking' of events, organisers and communities need to carefully chose VIPs who will positively promote projects for their inherent values. They have to suit the particular occasion (e.g. sport, peace, reconciliation) and address their audience (e.g. sportspeople, children, peace-activists) appropriately to contribute to a sense of community.

Management Tensions

Different types of 'Management Tensions' were experienced at the events. During the lead-up stages of the IR4P cooperation between the organisers and local stakeholders was ineffective, which resulted in poorly coordinated advertising, marketing and promotional campaigns. Arguably, the disappointing number of 800 athletes could have been improved, if communication between the organisers and the main partner, the Ministry of Sport, was more structured. At the same time, operational management issues such as the inadequate handling of the running group that got lost during the race contributed to feelings of disappointment among respondents. They complained about the organisers not issuing an apology to the misdirected group and about the failure to openly admit to their mistake. These experiences impacted negatively on people's trust and confidence in the change agent.

Finally, the after event music festival was not well attended by locals. The timing and location of the music festival presented great challenges for the communities, which reduced opportunities to socialise and further advance bonding and bridging social capital. Building on Kelly's (2002) call for culturally appropriate event content as a pre-condition for an event's success, this research argues that the location and timing of activities are important elements to be considered when trying to generate local acceptance and participation at events.

6.3 SOCIAL IDENTITY AND GROUP CATEGORISATION

The civil war and intergroup tensions in Sri Lanka are based on ethnic conflict and hostility. Over the years the Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims have developed distinct social identities and members generally identify themselves not as Sri Lankans but according to their ethnic background (Dunung 1995). The political, geographical and psychological barriers between the ethnic communities have been the main reason for the avoidance of intergroup contact. One objective of this research was to investigate how inter-community sport events impact on people's social identities and group categorisations. Building on the categorisation models explained in section 2.3.5 and the social identity findings presented in section 5.3, the contact experiences with 'others' at inter-community events are now discussed.

6.3.1 Unique Individuals

The De-Categorised Contact Model (DCM) suggests that by reducing the relative importance of group categorisation, the ingroup-outgroup category-based judgements decrease and intergroup bias is minimised (Miller and Brewer 1986; Brewer and Miller 1984). This approach promotes the opportunity of

getting to know and appreciate outgroup members as individuals and not as part of a social group (González and Brown 2003; Vivian *et al.* 1997). In other words, the model argues that the best way of reducing intergroup conflict and bias is to weaken social identity categories and work towards a 'personalisation' and 'differentiation' of the contact situation.

Positive one-on-one experiences such as the genuine sharing of drinks or exchange of equipment facilitated personalisation among athletes, who were then no longer stereotyped as being part of a certain group category. Some respondents argued that the leisure-like atmosphere during participation allowed them to see 'the good' in others, which led to personal liking and friendship building. These findings are consistent with Höglund and Sundberg's (2008) argument that even under severe socio-political circumstances, sport can promote interpersonal relations and exchanges that reduce socio-psychological barriers. Extending their argument, findings from the IR4P showed that personalised contact and relations among participants at times led to ongoing friendships.

However, a de-categorisation process was only experienced by the *active participants* and not by the larger group of event stakeholders. Furthermore, it could not be confirmed that an improvement in interpersonal relations resulted in an improved image of the outgroup in general. These findings suggest that the DCM approach may not be an appropriate framework to reduce overall intergroup bias when using one-off events with larger sport groups.

6.3.2 Differentiated Groups

The Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model (MIDM) suggests that equal status interaction can reduce intergroup bias if the original group identities remain

salient and each group keeps its distinctiveness in the direct contact situation (Vivian *et al.* 1997; Hewstone and Brown 1986). As long as groups have differentiated areas of expertise and do not threaten each other by contact, this 'paralleled process' can be beneficial as each group will be able to admire the distinctive superiorities of the outgroup and derive positive self-esteem from their own (see González and Brown 2003; Brown 2000).

Respondents mentioned the cultural elements of the ISM as an example of separate group activity that led to positive intergroup attitudes at the event. They highlighted that cultural performances allowed for the showcasing of ethnic-specific talent through dancing, performance and arts and craft. People appreciated the contributions from other groups and believed the cultural performances contributed to an increase in pride and self-confidence of the performers, and to an increase in outgroup appreciation and admiration. This suggests that differentiated group activities can generate positive socio-cultural impacts, and that they should be strategically included as supportive side-elements at inter-community events.

However, by definition the MIDM approach avoids direct contact of groups, which is contrary to the cooperative and purposely inclusive character of inter-community events (see section 1.1). While differentiated group performances have helped to spread an understanding of 'others' culturally, they are not designed to create inclusive social identities among sportspeople. The MIDM is therefore not a suitable framework for creating feelings of togetherness in the context of inter-community sport events, which focus on participatory interaction and mutual collaboration.

6.3.3 Multiple Identities

Two models for creating inclusive social identities through intergroup contact were discussed in section 2.3.5: the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) (Gaertner *et al.* 2000; Gaertner *et al.* 1989) and the Dual Identity Model (DIM) (González and Brown 2003; Hornsey and Hogg 2000; Gaertner *et al.* 1999; Dovidio *et al.* 1998). The CIIM emphasises that group boundaries can be re-drawn with the final aim of subsuming the in- and outgroup into one inclusive overriding superordinate category. The DIM, on the other hand, argues that a dual identity status can be created so that people hold two group memberships at the same time, generally combining one sub-identity with a superordinate identity. In other words, while people recognise a common group element, they also stay emotionally attached to their sub-identity.

This research found that members across all ethnic communities, event stakeholders and organisers were able to actively create and experience superordinate ingroup feelings at the IR4P and ISM events. While during these processes some people 'forgot' about ethnic differences or simply "didn't [care] whether people are Sinhalese, Tamil, or Muslim" (SC1: 28-37), others still felt connected to their ethnic sub-identity. In both cases, the events contributed to inclusive social identities along national lines, common interests, imagined factors, and organisational lines.

National Identity

Respondents argued that by including Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim communities as 'one team' into the event mix, a common Sri Lankan pride was established. The experience of 'Sri Lankanness' during the events was advanced through purposeful integration of marginalised groups, and through careful selection of overarching national symbols such as the national flag, anthems, and jerseys. Respondents felt that the team spirit generated in ethnically mixed

groups was a 'key experience' that contributed to an inclusive change in group categorisations. People "completely forgot their differences in nationalities, who they were and where they came from" (SC1: 35-37) which fostered feelings of a "Sri Lankan family" (A1: 261-264). While Wehling (2002, p. 523) argued that collective *Schlüsselerlebnisse* [key experiences] impress people and help to shape their political worldview, this study found that key experiences can have a deep socio-psychological impact on people's intergroup relations, attitudes and collective identities.

Interest Identity

Participation at the events connected people from different backgrounds through their shared interest identity as "sportspeople" (MC1: 490-494), "event supporters" (SP1: 100-102) or "peacemakers" (O4: 577-579). The love of sport and the desire to contribute to reconciliation efforts was something that was valued and shared by all; a communality which allowed people from deeply opposed groups to forget differences and combine and identify with others.

Imagined Identity

During the events people felt as though they were a part of 'something larger'. Referring to the IR4P, many of the German speaking respondents said that the multicultural flair of the event contributed to *Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl*. This term stands for togetherness, feelings of attachment, unity and spirit. A Tamil participant explained that running with the international athletes made him feel as part of a 'world community'. Here, being part of a world community reduces the salience of existing group memberships and instead creates a common social identity described by Anderson (1983) as an 'imagined community'. In the imagined world people connected through a shared spirit and deep sentiments.

Organisational Identity

Respondents commented specifically on the creation of a shared organisational identity for event participants. At the ISM event people were able to identify under an A.G.S.E.P.-layer, which allowed them to engage with others on a neutral level. Organisational symbols such as flags, logos and slogans provided a neutral link for different people to experience unity. In this way a change agent as an institution can provide a 'point of connection' for sportspeople from different backgrounds. For example, the identification as 'A.G.S.E.P. children' reduced anxiety and social distance, and provided young people with a 'taste of unity'.

Overall, experiencing points of connection with 'others' was not limited to one superordinate social identity, but comprised a mix of different inclusive social identities which helped people to create emotional bonds with members from outgroups. Some respondents suggested that they experienced multiple social identities during the events and bonded with others through the most suitable inclusive identity prevailing. For example, at different times Niro (SP1: 100-102) connected with others through his social identity as a sports player (interest), a Sri Lankan (national), or an event supporter (interest/organisational). Similarly, Axel (V3: 240-242) identified and bonded with others as "an international, a peace maker and a volunteer – depending on the context!" While academics and practitioners tend to see and treat identity as a given (Orjuela 2008), this research has revealed the opportunity to actively create and advance multiple social identities. This identity construction reflects a fluid process and represents the multiple aspects of identity formation that in the right environment can lead to togetherness, conflict mediation, forgiveness and reconciliation.

These findings indicate theoretical links to Tajfel and Turner's (1986; 1979) Social Identity Theory (SIT) presented in section 2.3.1. The events allowed people to see and define themselves as members of (newly created) ingroups, and the knowledge of this membership together with the value and emotional significance attached to it resulted in social identity feelings. During both events, individuals perceived social reality in terms of social categories or groups to which they belonged – a self-categorisation process that turned 'Me' into 'Us' and reduced the distance between 'Us' and 'Them' (see Simon 1999). As this new 'Us'-feeling resulted from common overarching interests, goals and visions, this research confirms the superordinate goals approach presented in section 2.3.4 as a suitable strategy towards reducing socio-psychological distance between people and groups.

As multiple social identities can be created through sport events, there is the need for a new model that is capable of allowing parallel inclusive social identities to be experienced. Building on the categorisation models presented in section 2.3.5, such a model needs to reflect opportunities for actively creating multiple social identities during contact situations, which allow an individual to think, feel and behave on the basis of the dominant inclusive social identity at that time. The model should therefore encourage people to connect with others according to one (or more) of the prevailing inclusive social identities. Simultaneously, the model has to allow individuals and groups to keep their sub-identities which has proven to be important at intergroup encounters between disparate groups (see Gaertner *et al.* 2000; Dovidio *et al.* 1998). Further conceptual and empirical research is needed to determine a model or framework that can guide the study on multiple inclusive social identities and categorisations.

6.4 THE ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CHANGE AGENT

The thesis aimed to identify the roles and responsibilities of a change agent in facilitating community development projects. In so doing, it focused on the Asian German Sports Exchange Programme (A.G.S.E.P.) as an international change agent working with Sri Lanka's disparate ethnic communities. Although there is a plethora of literature on Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, Coalter (2007) and Hariharan (2006) argue that an understanding of the involvement of external change agents such as NGOs in conflict-resolution and intergroup development is minimal, as there is limited empirical evidence on the change agent's roles within these processes. In particular, there is a dearth of research that focuses on the involvement and importance of change agents within sport events staged in crisis areas.

To address this gap, this research set out to identify and analyse the different roles and responsibilities a change agent holds in the Sri Lankan inter-community development process. The findings from the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews presented in section 5.4 highlight eight key roles for being a successful change agent. These include community participation; the building of trust; the establishment of networks; the provision of management and leadership skills; being socially responsible; developing resources; being innovative; and planning strategically for the long-term sustainability of projects. Each of these roles will now be discussed in relation to the relevant literature.

6.4.1 Agent for Community Participation

The role of being an agent and advocate for community participation requires the change agent to be a background supporter, inclusive co-operator and promoter of local responsibility. Sanoff (2000) argued that the two overriding purposes of community participation in development are to involve people in design and decision-making processes and, as a result, increase their trust and confidence in organisations; and to provide people with a voice in decision-making in order to improve plans, decisions, and to promote a sense of community by sharing common goals. Consistent with Sanoff's argument, this research found that during inter-community development projects a change agent must avoid acting as a dictating force. Instead, change agents should encourage involvement, participation and cooperation between residents, management, and community organisations as a supportive facilitator of 'bottom-up' ideas.

The change agent needs to be substantially involved in the *initial stages* of inter-community sport events, as it was found that without adequate professional and social skill development, communities could be overwhelmed and incapable of managing events. With a change agent in the background, community members felt comfortable and confident to participate in the staging of events. While previous sport related intergroup studies had shown that change agents play a central and powerful role within the inter-community development process (Stidder and Haasner 2007; Burnett 2006; Sugden 2006; Lawson 2005), this research argues for a gradual reduction of change agent input and control over time. Once communities have learned project management skills and have established reciprocal trust amongst each other, responsibilities of local contributors should increase progressively in a process towards local empowerment.

This strategy towards local empowerment requires careful consideration and negotiation. It became apparent that A.G.S.E.P. and the communities still face a significant challenge in achieving local ownership of events. The change agent needs to increase its commitment to transferring power and giving up its dominant position in the management of events, while the communities have to engage more strongly in the organising and implementation phases to become independent of external patronage. Critically, the change agent needs to transfer power and control to the communities in a cautious yet gradual process. If it is done too quickly, the communities will not have enough knowledge and experience in the management of events and they may not trust and cooperate with each other. If it is done too slowly, the communities do not benefit sufficiently, resources may be wasted and interest in the projects may be undermined.

6.4.2 Trust Builder

Interviewees highlighted that the change agent provided a point of trust for participating sport groups because of three key factors. First, the change agent's reputational capital from previous projects was identified by the locals as an important factor for the creation of trust. A.G.S.E.P. as an international yet locally grounded NGO was praised for its continuous social and economic contributions made to different Sri Lankan communities since the beginning of their social campaigns in 2002. Anu (P2: 147-148) highlighted that "they have always helped the people here, for example after the Tsunami". Previous projects gave communities confidence to expect another "event of great quality" (FGC 290-292). Reputational capital was the reason as to why the locals "simply believed in A.G.S.E.P". (TC2: 275-277) and trusted their management approach.

Second, in a country where trust between ethnic groups is generally absent, A.G.S.E.P. as an international and impartial facilitator, enjoyed high institutional trust and was described as "neutral people doing the right thing" (A1: 210-213). In line with Stidder and Haasner (2007), Sugden (2006) and Gasser and Levinsen (2004) it was found that an external organiser can encourage participation and mediate discussions, which facilitate social development processes and trust building. Respondents argued that without an impartial change agent as a trustworthy mediator the inter-community events could have not been staged.

Finally, the use of unifying symbols can contribute to intergroup and institutional trust. At inter-community events, symbols have a critical role to play in communicating a social message. It has been suggested that events with a powerful yet neutral theme are more likely to be embraced by the community (Filo *et al.* 2008; Chalip 2006; Getz 1991; Hall 1989). A.G.S.E.P.'s politically neutral label 'Connecting Sportspeople' avoided connections to any religious, ethnic or political groups by focusing on a positive sports factor in intergroup relations. Further, both A.G.S.E.P. events were staged under the encouraging social theme of 'Games for Peace'. The change agent's symbolic focus on sport and peace assisted in the creation of trustworthy relationships with all groups and took away potential accusations of organiser bias.

6.4.3 Networker

In their research on African-Caribbean communities Campbell and McLean (2002) demonstrated that people's main support networks are often within their local ethnic group and looking beyond community boundaries remains a difficult task. While bonding with a homogeneous group of people is often a straightforward process, bridging with people and groups from different

backgrounds can be problematic. Nevertheless, other scholars suggest that this challenge is a vital aspect of community development, as communities need to broaden their horizons and actively engage with other groups on a wider scale if they want to achieve lasting social change (Nicholson and Hoye 2008; Pedersen, Walker and Wise 2005; Estes 1994). This research revealed that within this change process the change agent holds two important functions; facilitating intergroup contact and establishing stakeholder networks.

The change agent was found to be a facilitator, an integrator and a bridge builder between groups. A.G.S.E.P.'s impartial facilitation efforts made people feel sufficiently comfortable to establish contact with people from other Sri Lankan and international groups at the event. Community members were not scared approaching 'others'; indeed, they enjoyed the opportunity to cooperate and establish a personal network of new friends. Facilitated by the change agent, this voluntary interlocking of relationships is what Stone (2001) describes as the 'structural' element of social capital, where loose networks are created which help to establish trust among groups.

The change agent opened up opportunities for communities to liaise and network with professional event stakeholders. While volunteers and local staff could gain first hand insights into working and cooperating with different Ministries, sponsors, security, aid agencies and the media, participants and spectators were able to establish personal contacts with people from the sport and business world at the events. Overall, people appreciated the opportunity to liaise with stakeholders and build personal and professional networks. In particular, the communities praised A.G.S.E.P.'s integrative networking with Tamil sport agencies and officials for the events. Clearly, there was a fine line between securing authentication from the Tamil Sports Council and upsetting the Sri Lankan government agencies, but community consultation and the use of

open and transparent communication reduced feelings of suspicion among stakeholders in the event network.

6.4.4 Leader

The Latin term *expertus* stands for an experienced, knowledgeable and skilled individual or group. Within a management context, an expert is seen as an educated and well-informed organiser, capable of directing and leading projects. Both the communities and organisers described A.G.S.E.P. as an event management expert and leader; however, they interpreted the term differently. While the community respondents generally expected A.G.S.E.P. to be a 'provider' of professional sport staff and event management personnel, the change agent itself focused on its role as a 'supporter' for sustainable development. It became obvious that the communities held a very 'traditional' view of the change agent. Considering A.G.S.E.P.'s long engagement in Sri Lanka, this traditional view has likely been built over time by the (dominant) change agent itself.

Respondents argued that the communities' lack of professional management and leadership skills prevented them from actively pursuing more responsibility in the organisation of events. Community members did not believe in their own strengths in 'making development happen' and they did not fully understand their capabilities in contributing to the event management process. The change agent as an expert leader needs to play a far greater role in assisting communities in discovering their own strengths and confidence, for example by including and training more local staff and volunteers.

A.G.S.E.P.'s current recruitment and staffing approach focuses predominantly on international contributors and fails to educate locals for leadership positions.

To empower local communities, change agents need to cooperate with community leaders or sport coaches, who are encouraged to pass on knowledge and train local volunteers in different sport and management fields. For example, 'train the trainer' programs (Burnett and Uys 2000) could be incorporated into the overall event planning process to create future leaders and sustainable benefits for communities. Clearly, the focus should be on building capabilities and not on providing external leadership.

6.4.5 Socially Responsible Advocate

Socially responsible personnel can make a valuable difference at inter-community sport events. To improve situations and relationships among people, social values such as altruism, social dedication, positive thinking and the stipulation of hope were mentioned as vital characteristics the members of the change agent team should possess. Respondents suggested employing respectful, committed and idealistic personnel and recommended a focus on volunteers, who bring with them a passion for a good cause. Particularly in a development world context, people should be willing to help, assist and work for others instead of being concerned with personal benefits.

At both the IR4P and ISM the change agent and communities worked together and demonstrated their vision of reconciliation and peace. One key to success was A.G.S.E.P.'s ability to include members from all ethnic groups and social classes in the events. They achieved this by providing free transport and accommodation for some of the Tamil and Muslim participants, organisers and volunteers. It was shown before that in a developing world context project organisers find it difficult to include all groups – particularly lower socioeconomic groups – in the organisation and implementation of community projects (Campbell and McLean 2002; Botes and van Rensburg 2000; Gittell

1980). This research argues that change agents have the social responsibility to give special consideration to such disadvantaged groups, as their inclusion resulted in a celebration of an idealistic 'togetherness in diversity'.

6.4.6 Resource Developer

For the general public, access to sport and event facilities in rural Sri Lanka is severely limited. To provide opportunities for leisure activity, A.G.S.E.P. in cooperation with the aid organisation *Peace Village International* helped build the sport complex in Nattandiya through financial and material contributions. Direct funding was also provided for the purchase of three mini-buses used for transportation of participants from rural areas. However, many local people were hoping that the communities would receive *"more help from the internationals"* (MC1: 322-323) in the future. In contrast, the internationals argued that the change agent should not simply continue to provide funds or materials for community projects. Instead, the task is to introduce the local communities to existing financial sources, and to educate them on how to generate external funding or sponsorship opportunities for community development.

A.G.S.E.P.'s genuine intentions towards community development and local empowerment seem to contradict their practical management approach which remains paternalistic. There is an urgent need to move towards a 'bottom-up approach' to generate local resources and achieve sustainable community development. Education for locals needs to be provided, community members need to be strategically included in the overall event management and local responsibilities need to be increased. This is what was missing at the ISM, where local communities were not sufficiently included although they could have played a significant role, e.g. in the language classes, as operational managers or volunteers.

Some internationals realised the absence of local staff and volunteers and complained about missing community involvement. Often the locals were simply too shy to make the first step to offer and provide human resources before and during the events. This suggests that change agents must identify ways to approach, encourage, include and develop local support. Overall, it was not clear whether A.G.S.E.P. appreciated the significant contribution local community members can and do make to the successful staging of events.

6.4.7 Proactive Innovator

There is a negative perception of NGOs in Sri Lanka. Local respondents complained that many NGOs have been inefficient and unsuccessful in providing interesting and inclusive social development programs for local communities. They highlighted the importance of organising proactive and innovative development projects, and they expected a successful change agent to develop new ideas and creative concepts to 'make a real difference' in communities.

Theoretically, A.G.S.E.P. seemed to understand the importance of proactive and innovative management. Prior to the events, they consulted people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds to achieve event acceptance and local backing – a strategy which is not common for organisations engaged in social development projects in Sri Lanka. In particular the openness of A.G.S.E.P. to engage with the Tamil Sports Council was described by locals and internationals as a challenging, delicate and uncommon strategy, and it proved to be successful in achieving respect and support from all communities. Having gained support the next step is to gain active involvement of community members. As suggested before, local contributions and responsibilities need to be increased to advance community capacity building.

Participants wanted the event program to be exciting and innovative. The meaning of 'innovation' in a developing world context is quite different to the way people from developed countries would interpret it. Local respondents reported that they enjoyed new activities such as swimming and creative art, which gave them the opportunity to exercise, learn and express themselves. While the opportunity to go swimming is taken for granted in developed countries, it was found to provide a special, exciting and innovative sport and learning experience for the rural Sri Lankan communities.

The overall event design also needs to respect and incorporate local traditions. For example, community members asked for their traditional sports to be included in the program. The introduction of culturally distinctive sports and activities such as cricket, caromme and ethnic dance were more enthusiastically anticipated than football or volleyball. While the latter activities might be attractive games in European countries, the Sri Lankan context required the change agent to be flexible and to re-design the event content.

While A.G.S.E.P. did adjust the event content according to local wishes, their initial exclusion of the traditional Sri Lankan sport activities suggests a lack of cultural sensitivity in designing the ISM event. Greater value can be achieved if the change agent does more than simply react: they need to be proactive and work closely with locals by asking for their input and recommendations. This is particularly relevant for events in societies where cultural norms may prevent people from expressing their needs.

Finally, the proactive strategy of combining sports with education proved to be successful in attracting children to learn specific skills. For example, before the start of sport games, students were taught basic communication skills, which they were then asked to apply in the 'exciting' swimming pool. This creative

and playful approach to teaching advanced people's individual skills, and contributed to a better understanding between people and groups.

6.4.8 Strategic Planner

The organiser group highlighted the change agent's role and responsibility in planning for sustainable community development. In this role, the change agent is expected to employ a strategic event management approach, which does not end with providing activities during the day, but goes beyond event borders. Chalip (2006) suggested the creation of ancillary events to further advance the social purpose of events. Similarly, the change agent needs to think forward to future intergroup projects, so that the positive gains made during the initial events are not lost. The postcard friendship program was one activity that allowed Sri Lankan children to keep in contact with their new friends. In some cases this even resulted in follow-up meetings and family invitations.

Interestingly, the role of a long-term planner was not identified by local respondents as a central factor in the change agent's work. This highlights the different foci of people: whereas the organisers were thinking of sustainable community development, the communities were often concerned with maximising immediate benefits and relief. It seemed that they did not have the foresight to realise or understand the importance of future benefits. Hence, there is a role for the change agent to explain the importance of strategic planning to communities, and encourage continuous involvement to achieve sustainable project development and community empowerment.

6.4.9 Philosophical Approach to Community Empowerment

The discussion showed that change agents need to be strongly involved in the *initial* stages of social development programs. Without adequate expert guidance and opportunities for socio-cultural and professional development, communities are likely to be overwhelmed and incapable of managing projects. Clearly, they need help "to engage in planned collective action in order to deal with social problems ... aimed at social change" (Kramer and Specht 1975, p. 14). Here, change agents have a strong responsibility in establishing reciprocal trust and networks between (disparate) groups. They are expected to provide guidance and leadership whilst incorporating community input and cultural knowledge into their overall management approach. Simultaneously, change agents are required to train locals for the upcoming challenges of program ownership.

As communities establish reciprocal trust amongst each other and learn project management skills from the change agent, the transfer of power can be initiated. During this process, the change agent progressively reduces its influence and allows communities to realise their own potential, create their own networks, and take over leadership. The philosophical approach that underpins this gradual development towards community empowerment is illustrated in Figure 36.

Figure 36: Model of community empowerment

Program Development over Time

Degree of Control
by Change Agent

Degree of Control
by Communities

Continuum of Individual Projects

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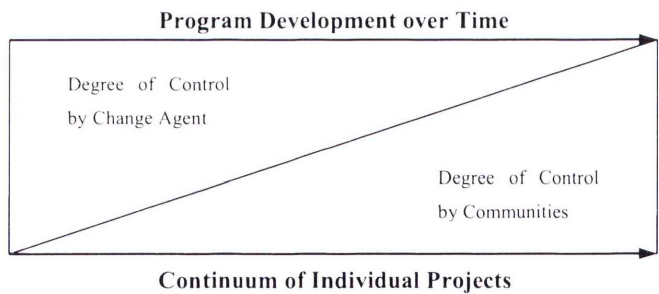
The 'Model of Community Empowerment' illustrates that communities and change agents have a varying degree of control of the different individual projects that form part of an overall development program. In the initial stages, change agents are largely in control of project planning and management processes, while the degree of community responsibility is low. In order to change power structures and to achieve community empowerment, a focus needs to be set beyond 'one-off' projects on a more continuous engagement of people and groups within a participative community. In a step-by-step process, expert knowledge, skills, responsibilities and ultimately control can thus be transferred from the change agent to the empowered communities, who are expected to guide and lead projects in the long-term.

This philosophical approach towards community empowerment should underpin the event management practices of change agents and communities who strive for sustainable social development as the final outcome of their initiatives.

6.5 MAXIMISING EVENT BENEFITS

In recent years a paradigm shift has taken place in parts of the 'event community' which moves beyond the planning for direct social impacts and focuses on pathways towards achieving lasting social benefits for communities (Chalip 2006, 2004). To understand how positive relations can be sustained and leveraged beyond events, this section discusses opportunities for maximising social event benefits.

6.5.1 Introducing Pre-Event 'Bonding Sessions'

The lead-up phase of events should become a focus area within the management of intergroup events. Respondents highlighted the importance of inter-

community 'get togethers' and 'bonding sessions' before the start of the actual events, as they can set the stage for positive social development. In line with the 'bottom-up' community participation approach to event management (Reid 2006; Getz and Frisby 1988) key stakeholders in events such as community representatives, school teachers, volunteers and supervisors should be given the opportunity to meet prior to the events and establish an 'event support group'.

While sport is often described as a 'universal language' that everybody understands common language skills are needed for people to manage and guide events. Respondents suggested that at the pre-event 'bonding sessions', communities and event organisers should prepare for the social, cultural, economic and linguistic challenges of inter-community events. With Sri Lanka being home to three official and non-related languages, the organisers could, for example, include language classes as one element into the pre-event phase. Keim (2003) found that the integrative function of sport activities can only occur if the language barrier between groups can be overcome. Community representatives, supervisors and volunteers should therefore be taught relevant English skills and basic commands to increase their communication skills, and their confidence in guiding and coordinating different groups at events.

6.5.2 Focusing on Ethnically Mixed Team Sports

Respondents proposed a stronger focus on ethnically mixed team sport activities to foster intergroup appreciation and social development. Team sports were identified as vehicles for reciprocal support and trust building, as interaction and cooperation were required to achieve superordinate group goals (Sherif 1979). Further, the ethnically mixed team sports activities held at the ISM met Allport's (1954) four theoretical conditions for creating intergroup harmony: (1) equal status within the contact situation, (2) intergroup cooperation, (3) common

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goals, and (4) support of authorities, law, or custom. Team mates had an equal status as 'sportspeople' or 'team members' during the matches, so that discrimination was not noted by any of the participants. Intergroup cooperation was achieved as people interacted and collaborated through the medium of sport, and team members contributed to the common goal of winning the match and celebrating together. Finally, A.G.S.E.P. and its partners provided authority and official approval to secure a comfortable and stress-free sport event framework.

For future sport events respondents suggested that players from different Sri Lankan communities should be combined into one 'national team', which may face a team of European volunteers as their opponents. As long as the focus is kept on the 'fun side' of the games, the application of a 'common enemy' approach (Galinsky 2002) is expected to merge the Sri Lankan groups without creating lasting negative impacts on the international team. Respondents claimed that in a carefully controlled and socially conducive environment the common enemy approach may well achieve an increase in team spirit among the Sri Lankan groups, who join together to win the match.

6.5.3 Enhancing Event-Related Socio-Cultural Opportunities

Event-related social activities can enhance people's overall event experiences. Similar to Chalip's (2006; 2004) recommendation of providing informal social opportunities around events, respondents highlighted the importance of implementing culturally relevant event-related activities open to all stakeholders. These supplementary functions should be staged in line with the social message and motto of the main sport highlight of the day. Looking back at the IR4P, cultural workshops and community street festivals could have been staged in the Nattandiya and Colombo communities to support and leverage A.G.S.E.P.'s 'Games for Peace' campaign.

In an attempt to provide people with an additional event-related social experience A.G.S.E.P. organised an after-event party; however, this proved to be unsuccessful in attracting considerable local attendance. The party did not cater for the demands of the local people, who were not used to attending celebrations late at night and could not find any public transport to get to the festival site. To cater for local demands and a culturally sensible set-up, the change agent could transfer the responsibility of planning the after-event celebrations to the communities.

If organised in accordance with local customs and demands, event-related events can provide an opportunity for event attendees and the host community to maximise event benefits. For example, Green and Chalip (1998) found that people who identify closely with a subculture expressed and celebrated at events, enjoy spending extra time with friends and like-minded people around the actual event. In addition to social benefits, this may provide additional flow-on effects for the host community. For instance, attendees might lengthen their stay beyond the event which can contribute to extra revenue for the local tourism and hospitality sector. In an attempt to leverage the event for the greater benefit, social opportunities around the main event should therefore be encouraged by event organisers, host communities and governments.

6.5.4 Combining Events with Regular Sport Programs and Exchanges

Communities should engage in both special events and regular sport programs. Regularly scheduled sport programs allow for a deepening and intensification of contacts and friendships, while large-scale special events such as inter-community festivals enable an extension of relationships to the wider community. This combination promises to cater for both the benefits of regular contact with familiar people (e.g. bonding, trust, confidence building) and the

special character of events as a booster for excitement and entertainment (bridging, celebrating, expanding perspectives). These findings concur with Skinner, Zakus and Cowell's (2008) argument that one-off events are important for strengthening people's connection to their community, while sustainable, ongoing sport programs are likely to have the most significant impacts on social capital.

To grow sport programs and to leverage the social benefits of events to the wider community, respondents recommended the creation of additional *Peace Villages* or multi-sport complexes in rural Sri Lanka. Regular sport development courses could be offered and exchange programs between *Peace Villages* could be organised. This idea links with the so-called 'twin-city' interactions that have been successfully implemented by the 'Open Fun Football Schools' (OFFS) in Eastern Europe and the Middle East (Gasser and Levinsen 2006, 2004). Here, municipal authorities partner with another municipality from across the ethnic divide to organise community football projects. If strategically planned, *Peace Village* exchanges may ignite community partnerships and continuous cooperation.

6.5.5 Focusing on Youth as Catalysts

A focus on the youth market is an important strategy to generate, sustain and multiply social event benefits. Respondents enjoyed A.G.S.E.P.'s focus on the young generation at the ISM and recommended a continuum of this strategic approach. When using youth as a catalyst for social capital and positive social change, it is important to provide them with the opportunity to experience feelings of intergroup togetherness and friendships. Only when people have engaged with 'others' and have experienced them as pleasant individuals, can

they provide a pathway for their friends, parents and the wider community to engage in intergroup activities.

Young people can act as a facilitator and multiplier of positive relationships. For example, parents who came to support their children at the ISM event started to engage in conversations when they saw their respective sons and daughters playing together. Other parents who engaged as supervisors, volunteers or spectators created new friendships with adults from both their own and other ethnic backgrounds. This demonstrates that the young generation can be an influential agent and transmitter of intergroup concepts, ideals, social values and responsibility. These attributes make them ideal catalysts for inclusive social development.

6.5.6 Leveraging Events

A.G.S.E.P. was able to generate and sustain a number of positive socio-cultural event impacts because they took an active role in networking and linking the events to different stakeholders. However, respondents realised that more needs to be done to extend and leverage event benefits and the peace message to a wider audience. The change agent and the communities should expand and intensify their connections with key decision makers to generate additional political, educational, promotional and financial benefits for the communities.

Support from different levels of government is important to multiply and leverage the 'sport for development' idea to the wider community. Governmental support could secure political backing, financial contributions and permission for the creation of additional sport complexes and the staging and leveraging of future inter-community sport events. The government as a strategic partner could for example stage ancillary events such as a street parade or a cultural festival that tie in with the sport event. Such leverage strategies

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could encourage more people to attend, lengthen visitor stays in the community and increase visitor spending (see O'Brien and Chalip 2008; O'Brien 2007; Chalip 2004). Simultaneously, to achieve social leverage, the government could use the sport events as a 'hook' to stage relevant social marketing and health campaigns, for instance educating people on important issues such as HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis or drug use.

The educational sector provides additional opportunities for event leverage. A closer cooperation with local schools could generate improved social and communication skills among children. It was suggested that opportunities for both social learning and language classes should be provided by educational bodies around inter-community events. From a social perspective, local schools could address human rights and community values through sport education. Armstrong (2004) in his analysis of the Don Bosco Youth Project (DBYP) in post-war Liberia showed that sport programs can be successfully combined with education and social, legal and/or health assistance for young participants. Similarly, A.G.S.E.P. could align their events with targeted social issues. They could cooperate with schools to communicate and teach norms and values such as intergroup togetherness and reconciliation, cultural understanding and intergroup appreciation, or equitable and socially just behaviour, which would prepare young participants for upcoming events and their daily lives.

Interestingly, the Sri Lankan Government has recently advocated ethnically mixed education projects and community exchange programs as a sustainable form of social intergroup development (Wijesinghe 2008; Daily News 13.11.2007). However, few projects have been implemented on a practical level (Seneviratne 2008). From a language perspective, linking the A.G.S.E.P. activities to school curricula can help to prepare youth for upcoming communication challenges inter-community encounters. At the IR4P and ISM

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events it was found that intergroup understanding increased when communication improved. Before events, local schools and educational institutions could contribute greatly to a wider inter-community understanding, if they taught participants basic terms, phrases and commands in English. Post event, schools could follow up on the positive experiences made and language skills learned at the events and secure lasting inter-community contact, e.g. through pen-friendships, school partnerships and exchanges.

The idea of using sport events for reconciliation generated interest from the media. However, respondents argued that for upcoming events, a more strategic cooperation with local, national and international media should be sought. In line with Chalip's (2006; 2004) argument for 'longer-term event leverage', the media could communicate an image of 'peace communities' to a wider audience. Before the events, organisers and communities could market 'peace events' through regional advertising and promotion campaigns and simultaneously encourage the media to showcase the 'peaceful host region'. After the events, the media could improve the image of communities and increase the reputational capital of organisers by reporting on the social outcomes of events, and by reflecting on the joint community efforts in designing a peaceful and inclusive environment 'for all'. Additional social leverage may be achieved by linking the social agendas of communities to the advertisement and reporting of events.

Finally, for the IR4P and ISM the organisers did not actively engage with local businesses to leverage the event. It was suggested that the communities could benefit from closer business partnerships and additional funding sources generated through events. On a small community scale, local businesses and sponsors may in the long run create "an event-related look-and-feel" (Chalip 2004, p. 230) in the communities by executing event related products,

promotions and theming tactics. For example, sponsors could use the peace theme on apparel such as T-shirts or friendship bands, or they could incorporate the peace theme into their event advertising and sponsorship campaigns. Additionally, local businesses could design special promotions targeted at event visitors, such as providing deals, vouchers or raffles tied-in with the events. However, the potential for business leverage needs to be seen in the context of rural communities in a developing world context as opposed to developed countries (O'Brien 2007; Chalip 2006; Chalip and McGuirty 2004; Chalip and Leyns 2002), where the socio-economic circumstances allow cities to invest a great deal in marketing and sponsorship campaigns.

6.5.7 Monitoring Events and Evaluating Outcomes

The findings of this study highlight a need for constant monitoring and evaluation of events throughout the event management process. It is the key to continuous improvement of events and, according to Allen *et al.* (2008), central to the realistic assessment and sustainable development of desired outcomes. To achieve improved social outcomes at sport-for-development projects, NGOs need to monitor the social relationships between communities during all stages of the event management process. As a consequence of monitoring activities, they may for example decide to adjust programs, change team patterns, or facilitate social bonds between individuals and groups.

Strategic monitoring should also be carried over to the post-event phase. Once an event is over, it is important to systematically evaluate event management mechanisms and social outcomes, in order to sustain and maximise event benefits. Furthermore, feedback collected from different event stakeholders can inform future planning and management activities (Coalter 2007). Additionally, the evaluation of long-term social event outcomes is necessary to provide

evidence of the longevity and profundity of direct and indirect impacts. Indeed, if the goal of events is to advance social development between disparate communities, the sustainability of relationships, inter-community partnerships and social networks beyond the event provide key areas for ongoing assessment.

6.6 DEVELOPING A FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH SPORT EVENTS

Conceptual frameworks are used in research to outline the links of the different literature areas and concepts, and to show their distinct relationships with each other (Veal 2006). Chalip (2006; 2004) argued that in the area of social event management there are no suitable frameworks available which guide the study of social utility of events. However, such frameworks are needed to foster practical research in the area of event impacts that can inform event planning and strategic management. In an attempt to fill this gap, this research proposes the Strategic Inter-Community Event Management (SICEM) framework (see Figure 37). The SICEM framework draws together the findings from the research and the literature on Community Participation and Development, Intergroup Relations, SIT, Event Management and Socio-Cultural Impacts. It describes an *ex ante* approach towards guiding the strategic investigation of inter-community sport events and is presented as a schematic community development process towards sustainable social development.

Figure 37: SICEM framework
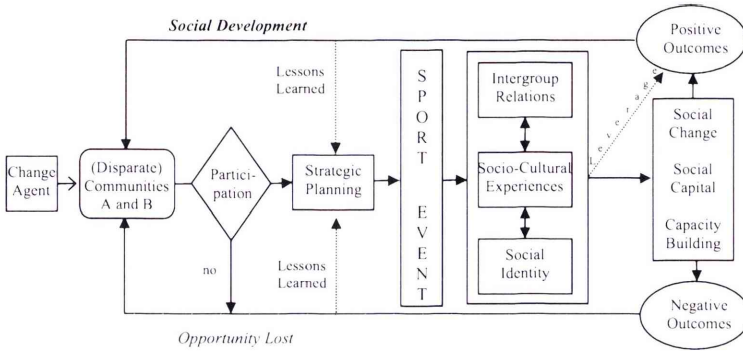
The starting point of the SICEM framework is a *change agent*, who identifies the *(disparate) communities A and B* as needing activities that can bring them closer together. These two communities have to decide whether *participate* in an inter-community sporting event. If they decide against participation, an *opportunity* for improving social intra- and intergroup relations is *lost*. On the other hand, if the communities decide to participate, they engage with each other and the change agent in cooperative *strategic planning*. At this stage local knowledge is combined with external expert input, which – according to the findings of this research – is the recipe for staging a culturally appropriate and professionally managed event. The strategic planning phase further includes a discussion on event partnerships with key stakeholders and leverage strategies that are implemented to maximise event benefits for the wider community.

Participation at the inter-community *sport event* leads to various *socio-cultural experiences* including socialising, celebration, or the enhancement of skills and capabilities. In regards to *intergroup relations*, this research found that sport events offer meaningful activities for bridging social gaps between groups, for

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example by encouraging teamwork, intergroup learning and reciprocal skill development. The leisure atmosphere prevailing before, during and after inter-community sport events is seen as conducive of new contacts to be made and relationships to be established. In regards to *social identity impacts*, sport events can strengthen community identification and create (or reduce) common ingroup feelings among different groups. This research highlighted that a change of categorising 'others' in group identity terms may be experienced. Former outgroup members may be re-categorised as new ingroup members under multiple inclusive social identities such as 'sportspeople' or 'peacemakers'. During the event, socio-cultural experiences, intergroup relations and social identities influence each other in a dialectic process. Positive social experiences can for example lead to an improved social connection with 'others', which in turn influences intergroup relations and behaviour.

The different impacts experienced at an event can lead to longer-term *outcomes*, such as an increase or decrease of the stock in *social capital*, *social change*, and community *capacity building*. For example, first contacts made at an event can be developed into strong friendships or inter-community networks. To further maximise social community benefits beyond event borders, strategic cooperation and *leverage* with the government, the educational sector, the business world and the media needs to be sought. These key stakeholders could for example engage and report about event-related activities such as street festivals, community workshops, cultural shows, or social/educational marketing campaigns. These processes are likely to lead to additional positive social outcomes and sustainable *social development* within and between communities.

On the other hand, communities and organisers have to be aware of the potentially destructive impacts and outcomes of events. For example, negative attitudes and behaviour experienced at events can decrease the stock of social

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capital. This outcome will limit opportunities for social development, as social stagnation or even setbacks in inter-community relations are likely to occur. This may lead to problems within and between communities, such as bias, prejudice, or stereotyping. As the SICEM framework is cyclical in nature, the outcomes of an event will influence (inter-) community life and people's attitudes and intentions to participate at the next event. At the same time, the event organisers can *learn* important *lessons* from the impacts and outcomes of the event, and they can address future challenges accordingly.

The SICEM framework highlights that community participation is central to social development. Inter-community sport events can play an enabling role in bringing disparate groups together and contribute to social development in an integrated way. For this to happen, events have to be strategically managed and leveraged to achieve the desired long-term outcomes. The focus needs to be on making things happen, rather than leaving them to chance, which suggests that the communities should be seen as both the source and the beneficiaries of the social development concept.

6.7 IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH SPORT EVENTS

Social development contains the three constructs social capital, social change and capacity building (Moscardo 2007). In reference to these constructs, this research has a number of implications for the planning and management of future inter-community sport events for event researchers, organisers, change agents, communities, government agencies and policymakers.

6.7.1 Develop Social Capital

Networks

Participation at inter-community events offers individuals and groups the opportunity to establish and grow contacts and networks. The research demonstrated that opportunities can be taken before, during and after the event. Before the event, they come in the form of positions on the organising committee; during the event they come in the form of volunteering, attending or participating; and after the event they come from contributions and involvement in follow-up activities. In all three instances social capital is created and advanced through *bonding* with like-minded individuals from people's own social group and *bridging* with people from other communities. To have lasting value, the new networks need to be sustained beyond the first contact, and strategies for follow-up events and community celebrations should be put in place by empowered communities and supportive change agents. To cater for the rising demand in reconciliation projects, the government should be approached for political and financial contributions. At the same time, the media should be strategically included both before and after events to further grow and leverage participation and interest in the peace theme.

Trust

Inter-community events contribute to social capital as trust is created on the interpersonal, intragroup, intergroup and institutional levels. It was found that playing together under a common theme and working together towards a superordinate goal, allows people from different communities to share experiences and establish confidence in others. Further, the research revealed that in a politically delicate environment, impartial change agents are significant players in the trust building process among disparate groups and between communities and the organisers. However, it was also suggested that one event may only provide communities with a 'taste of trust' and it depends on the

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follow-up activities and regular sport programs whether 'thick and deep trust' and reputational capital can be established. Therefore, before the events, 'bonding sessions' should be introduced to build comfort and trust among community representatives, organisers and stakeholders, while during events an increased focus on ethnically mixed teams and event-related socio-cultural opportunities can contribute to social bonding and bridging among new partners or friends.

Reciprocity

The research found that reciprocal engagement and relationships can be created through inter-community sport events. Reciprocity is described as a process of exchange that will be repaid by the receiver (Stone 2001), and this exchange was evident at both the ISM and IR4P events. Within an encouraging leisure environment, reciprocal exchanges of physical and moral support can transcend ethnic boundaries and allow people to share both knowledge and material with one another. Event participants and spectators engaged in an active 'give and take' at both events, which resulted in increased interpersonal and intergroup respect, appreciation and trust. Building on these positive outcomes, additional opportunities for reciprocal experiences among disparate groups should be provided, for example through mixed team sport activities and 'national games' that combine members of disparate ethnic groups.

Within a developing world context, it is important to note that the value of a service or resource is supposed to be reciprocal, but not necessarily equal. For example, differences in socio-economic status restricted the equal exchange of goods and services at the IR4P and ISM events. Often, the poorer Tamil community members were only able to repay the Sinhalese or Muslim groups by thanking them through friendly gestures, favours, or a few words of genuine appreciation. This demonstrates that reciprocal relationships should not simply

be judged on equality of repayments, but against the background of social, economic and political status.

Appreciation of Diversity

Inter-community sport events can lead to cooperation between previously disparate groups, which has an impact on people's social norms and values. If event participants, spectators and other stakeholders abide by the events' rules and add to the successful staging of events, then tolerance and respect among people can develop. It was determined that through cultural displays, performances, celebrations and intercultural learning, groups can benefit from each other and gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity. To build on these experiences and further advance social capital at future projects, diversity should be fostered around the events through the managerial and educational leveraging strategies suggested. For example, organisers should put more emphasis on cultural shows and make them an integral part of the program. Also, schools should become involved to prepare the young people with culture and language classes and to provide students with opportunities for lasting contact through inter-community school partnerships or exchanges.

Shared Memories

This research showed that inter-community events can generate shared social experiences, which can be developed into shared memories. When people remember 'special momenta' of events, they enjoy re-living and drawing from their memories, which adds to the stock of social capital. The more positive experiences and memories are created, the larger the stock of social capital becomes. Carefully choosing event symbols such as themes, logos and memorabilia, and related social activities facilitates generating positive experiences and memories. Follow-up events and regular sport programs

provide people with an opportunity to intensify and develop their sentiments, which will help them to stay emotionally connected with 'others' and the overall peace theme.

Summary

Communities can be seen as both the source and beneficiary of social capital. While inter-community events draw on the existing stock of social capital available in communities, strategic management makes communities plan for, invest and re-invest in bonding and bridging social capital. It can be concluded that a close cooperation between communities, change agents and other event stakeholders ensures that networks are formed, trust is built, reciprocity is prevailing, diversity is appreciated, and shared memories are created. If these elements are met, inter-community events can be described as a creator, vehicle and booster of social capital.

6.7.2 Achieve Social Change

In the context of this study, the achievement of social change refers to the development of common social identities and inclusive socio-psychological group categorisations. The research revealed that sport presents a cultural reference point to be shared with 'others'. Sport events as superordinate goals are able to reduce intergroup distance and create inclusive identity feelings, as they encourage people from different groups to come together and work towards a common purpose. This mutual process weakens group boundaries and changes attitudes and behaviour in the short term, which shows that sport events can provide people from disparate groups with a 'taste of inclusiveness' and 'momenta of shared identity'.

This research demonstrated that multiple inclusive social identities can be created through a sport event. People can connect with others along inclusive national lines, common interests, organisational identities and imagined factors. These findings extend the literature on social identity, as they suggest that communities, event planners, organisers and change agents can and should actively contribute to the generation of multiple inclusive social identities. Inclusive social identities can for example be created and fostered by encouraging ethnically mixed team work before and during events; by using unifying symbols and themes; and by providing culturally relevant and socially inclusive 'sports for all' activities.

While previous studies have suggested that inclusive social identities are created under the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) or the Dual Identity Model (DIM), this research calls for the development of an additional model which argues that different salient identities can prevail simultaneously. Such a new 'multiple inclusive identity model' increases opportunities for emotional bonding, as people can connect with others through the most suitable social identity prevailing at a particular time.

Overall, inter-community events can contribute to positive social change by generating 'momenta of shared identity'. However, the actual event is only one part in the process of achieving lasting social change. It is necessary for change agents and communities to provide additional opportunities for creating and sustaining inclusive shared connection points. Event organisers, change agents and peace activists need to seek out, encourage and engage in the planning, participating and leveraging of follow-up activities and regular social development programs – both sport event related and otherwise – to allow for existing inclusive social identities to intensify and for additional social identities to be developed.

6.7.3 Advance Local Capacities

Local capacities can be advanced if change agents are willing to transfer responsibilities to the locals under a 'bottom-up' management approach. In an attempt to empower communities, the change agent as a facilitator of community development projects needs to support and teach communities in the planning, organising and managing of sport events. It was revealed that volunteering in the events provides locals with a first insight into event planning and management, and with an opportunity to learn from event experts. To maximise these positive results, more community members need to be actively approached and encouraged to participate as event volunteers and support staff following the philosophical principles of the 'Model for Community Empowerment' (see section 6.4.9). Pre-event community workshops and cooperative coaching sessions under a 'train the trainers' approach could be conducted to transfer valuable management skills, technical knowledge and overall control to community members.

Active participation as event athletes or spectators advances local capacities on a physical and socio-cultural level. The events allowed people to improve their sport, language and social skills, while expanding their cultural horizons. One way these capacities could be maximised is through closer cooperation with schools and educational departments. By integrating sport events or sport weekends into the school curricula, children and youth groups are given the opportunity to showcase their talent, learn new customs and concepts, and understand and appreciate cultural diversity. It was found that the Sri Lankan government still needs to utilise the nexus between the social utility of sport events and school education.

6.8 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

This thesis set out to achieve a greater understanding of the role of sport events in contributing to social development between disparate communities. In so doing, it makes a number of significant contributions to the body of knowledge concerning the social utility of inter-community sport events.

First, a major contribution of this research is a greater understanding of the experiences resulting from inter-community sport events between disparate groups in a developing world context which extends the academic literature on community event experiences and impacts (Small 2007; Reid 2006; Delamere *et al.* 2001). In-depth interviews identified various experiences under eight underlying themes, namely Socialising, Trust, Reciprocity, Networks, Learning, Cultural Celebration, Attitudes, and Management Tensions. From a practical perspective, these experiences need to be considered when planning and managing events with the final aim of enhancing intergroup relations and social capital in divided societies.

A second major contribution of this study is the identification of how inter-community events impact on people's social identities and group categorisations. It was revealed that within a supportive sport event environment, disparate groups can actively create and experience inclusive social identities along national and organisational lines, common interests and imagined factors. These social identities can be experienced simultaneously, and people are able to bond with 'others' through the most suitable inclusive identity prevailing at a certain time. However, neither of the available contact categorisation models – DCM, MIDM, CIIM and DIM – provide a suitable framework for multiple and simultaneously experienced identities. This thesis therefore calls for further research to be conducted on the design of inclusive

multiple social identity models and frameworks for improving intergroup contact and relations.

A third contribution of this research is the identification of specific roles and responsibilities an international change agent is invested with at inter-community sport event development projects. Respondents highlighted that development towards community participation, trust building, establishment of networks, leadership, social responsibility, resource development, innovation, and long-term planning are important elements of a change agent's work. The identification of these roles and responsibilities extend the academic literature on the management of 'sport for development projects', in which there has been relatively little empirical work done (Coalter 2007). Further, these findings have practical implications for an inclusive and responsible management style of change agents, event organisers and sport agencies operating in a developing world context.

An additional contribution of this research is the deeper understanding of how sport event benefits can be sustained, grown and leveraged beyond event borders. Strategies identified to maximise social event benefits include the staging of pre-event 'bonding sessions'; a focus on ethnically mixed team sports; the provision of social opportunities around the main event; the combination of special events with regular sport programs and exchanges; a focus on youth as catalysts; and the leveraging of event benefits. By implementing these strategies, events can advance social capital, social change and local capacity building, which has flow-on effects to the community at large. The findings extend the academic literature on strategic event planning and event leverage (O'Brien 2007; Chalip 2006, 2004), as they provide a focus on community event leverage for social purposes – an area which has thus far received limited empirical research.

Finally, on a philosophical level, this research introduced the 'Model for Community Empowerment'. This model underpins 'bottom-up' community projects that aim to achieve sustainable social development in the developing world. On a practical level, the process oriented SICEM framework can help guide inter-community event planning and management. Against the overall trend of event assessments and evaluations *ex post*, this *ex ante* framework contributes to the strategic study of social utility of (inter-community) sport events. The SICEM framework can underpin practical research in the area of event impacts, outcomes, leverage and legacies. The SICEM framework fills a gap in the literature, as currently there are no specific frameworks available which describe and visualise the social processes of (sport) event management for social development.

6.9 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Event researchers, planners and governments are becoming increasingly aware of sport events' socio-cultural potential. Despite this growing enlightenment it is argued that our understanding of this phenomenon still has some distance to travel. The following discussion looks at the various ways in which research on this topic may be advanced.

Long-Term Studies

Given earlier discussion, long-term development studies are recommended to assess the sustainability of social outcomes, and therefore the overall contribution of sport events in the inter-community development process. While sport events have shown to be a successful starting point and catalyst for social development among communities and participants, it is not clear how durable the newly established relationships are. The question remains if a lasting change in intergroup relations and social identities can be achieved through inter-

community sport events. As continuous community engagement, increasing responsibility and local event ownership are described as success factors for projects in developing countries, long-term research is needed to determine whether projects actually develop, friendships endure and networks continue to flourish. Also, it needs to be investigated if the lessons learned and recommendations made about sport events' potential for social development are actually understood, remembered and incorporated by organisers, stakeholders, policymakers and the wider community.

Comparison of Communities and Stakeholders

The focus of this research was the exploration of the social potential of inter-community sport events and their role in contributing to social development. This qualitative study did not specifically identify the differences in viewpoints between the different ethnic groups and/or event stakeholders. It would be a valuable extension to this research if a larger (quantitative) study could evaluate and compare people's expectations and experiences of inter-community events along demographic and behavioural characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, area of residence, or involvement in the event. In particular, future research should take account of more random participants and bystanders to highlight the 'voices' of those not directly involved in the event. This segmentation process may provide a better understanding of specific group differences and could contribute to a more targeted event planning and management approach. For example, it could determine what action is required to change the way specific groups feel, or which activities are the most relevant for certain groups to increase teamwork and trust building. It would also be possible to see if the event has a greater effect on some groups than others, what the relationship is between intragroup and intergroup dynamics, why this is the case, and what can be done about it.

Multiple Inclusive Social Identity Model

The research found that inter-community sport events can create multiple inclusive social identities for participants and other event stakeholders. At an event, different social identities can exist simultaneously. This suggests that social identity is a 'dynamic construct', which can be influenced by certain social contexts. The existing group categorisation models (see section 2.3.5) do not provide suitable frameworks for the discussion and analysis of multiple social identities. To fill this gap, further theoretical research is required to design a 'multiple inclusive social identity model', which can guide the empirical study of how social contexts can best produce inclusive changes to the structure and the meaning of social identities and categorisations. So far, categorisation research has focused mainly on the relationship between two groups: the ingroup and the outgroup. However, the findings of this study suggest that researchers should look beyond this dichotomy and explore the relationships within, as well as between, different groups and sub-groups. It is important to investigate how people in different contexts are making sense of pre-existing and newly created identities to understand the relationship between social identities and social action.

Towards 'Best Practice'

The use of the case study approach for this research enabled an in-depth analysis of two inter-community sport events. The case study approach, however, limits generalising the findings to a broader context, which is particularly true considering Sri Lanka's specific socio-cultural and political context. Further empirical research in different settings is therefore needed to validate the concept of inter-community events for social development, and to confirm the SICEM framework as a suitable guide for the management of intergroup development projects.

Collaborative research agendas could be developed between different research institutions engaged in sport (event) development projects. Such agendas would help the development of more holistic monitoring and investigation methods and instruments. From a qualitative perspective, research could evolve around an examination through case studies of selected project sites in divided societies. A mixed methods approach including focus groups, observations and in-depth interviews could be used, as this research has proven this combination to be appropriate for an in-depth analysis of a specific case. Indeed, a closer focus on critical and self-reflective observational research would be helpful to prevent reification of stakeholder views, and to generate a strong analysis of what works, what does not work, and why. From a quantitative perspective, survey-based questionnaires and post-project evaluations could be implemented as an adjunct to qualitative work. Systematic and comparative research of different sport event development projects can thus lead to the identification of both strengths and weaknesses, and advantages and disadvantages in managing approaches. The resulting lessons learned would contribute towards a 'Best Practice' in inter-community event planning and development.

6.10 LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

For decades, hostility and prejudices have prevented most forms of social contact between Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim communities in Sri Lanka. People speak different languages, go to different schools, know little about each other's culture, and learn history that glorifies 'the self' at the expense of 'the other'. This research has shown that if strategically planned and managed, inter-community sport events can provide an attractive and effective platform for intergroup contact and an environment conducive to achieving positive social development between disparate communities.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this research. It was found that participation at inter-community events leads to various socio-cultural experiences. On the positive side opportunities to socialise, interact and cooperate with 'others' contribute to cultural learning, feelings of increased trust and safety, and the establishment of networks. On the negative side, social development may be undermined through pessimistic attitudes and management tensions around events. The different experiences increase or decrease social barriers between groups, which has consequences for the way people see and categorise 'others' in group identity terms. If positive experiences dominate and social connections are enabled, the creation of multiple inclusive social identities among groups can be achieved. This supports the belief that active involvement in inter-community events can contribute to inclusive social change and a sense of togetherness and belonging.

This study has further revealed that external change agents are in a pivotal position in facilitating development projects between disparate communities. They are required to find the right balance between guiding a project and allowing communities to engage and participate. They need to be innovative and responsible advocates for social capital and capacity building, facilitating the creation of trust and networks between local communities. Knowing about these responsibilities, change agents should act as background supporters of projects, not as dictating forces that dominate development. Indeed, they are required to gradually transfer event responsibilities and control to the communities to achieve local empowerment and sustainable social development.

This research suggests a focus on strategic planning in order to maximise event benefits. Before the events, change agents and communities are encouraged to engage in 'bonding sessions' to get to know each other, and to decide on leveraging strategies through cooperation with the government, media and

business sectors. During events, a focus on ethnically mixed team sports and the event-related socio-cultural experiences provide opportunities for participants and spectators to experience 'togetherness in diversity'. Post event, community partnerships and exchange programs increase the likelihood of sustaining and multiplying positive social outcomes to the wider community. Here, the strategic combination of regular sport programs and infrequent 'highlight events' secures ongoing opportunities for both bonding and bridging social capital.

The thesis concludes that inter-community sport events can be used as vehicles, catalysts and boosters for social development between disparate communities. They have the power to advance social capital, foster inclusive socio-cultural change and add to local capacity building. While inter-community sport events should be encouraged and expanded as part of an active social development process, it is too much to expect sport events to have a major impact on overall inter-community relations in the absence of a political settlement in divided societies. However, when integrated within a larger agenda of social, educational and political support and inclusive reforms, inter-community sport events can make a modest contribution to resolving conflict and bridging divides between disparate communities.

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