

Radboud Universiteit



SPORT AND RECONCILIATION IN AMBON

The effect and potential of sport for development and peace within the reconciliation process of Ambon.

Master's thesis research



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Preface

Growing up sports had always something magical. Not only did I dream of becoming a professional football player like most of the eight year old boys in the Netherlands, but when playing sports it gave me a feeling of belonging. Together with a team striving for a common goal, all together in the same jerseys. It also gave me a feeling of satisfaction when seeing you develop your talents and witness progression.

This passion for sports didn't run away from me and during my studies I became more interested in the wider social impact of sport and not merely the effect on myself. Especially in the global south sports at times was a beacon of hope, for instance the World Cup in 2010 in South Africa was perceived as a great way forward. It was the first World Cup on African soil and brought worldwide attention to the continent and its legacy was perceived to bring greater economic development to South Africa and the rest of Africa.

Or the heartwarming story that football contributed to end the civil war in Ivory Coast and united the divided and warring groups again as star player Didier Drogba held a plea for peace on national TV after a qualification match of the national team and challenged the president to end to civil war¹.

These examples are inspiring but can be over romanticized at the same time. It is hard to prove what the actual contribution of sports in these two examples is and what the social impact of sport really contains. This research is a result of the passion for sports and the questions raised on the actual social impact of sports.

In this research the focus lies on the contribution of sport and peace and sport programs to the reconciliation process in the Moluccan islands in eastern Indonesia. This province was subject to years of violence and civil wars with eventually thousands of deaths and even more people being displaced. There are and were some sport for development and peace (SDP) initiatives that aim to contribute to community development and reconciliation on the Moluccan islands and this research focuses on the outcomes of these programs as well as on the potential of sport in a reconciliation process.

In the process of conducting this research I have received great help and support. First, from International Sports Alliance. The staff of ISA has been very helpful throughout the research and provided great networks and other sources of information which helped a lot in conduction this research. In particular I want to thank Anne van Nistelrooij for giving me the opportunity to start my research internship at ISA and Leonie Hallers for giving me a chance to start my professional career at ISA and implement the findings of this research in practice. I also want to thank Yara Hoppenbrouwers for her feedback on the first draft of this research.

Secondly, I want to thank my supervisor from the Radboud University, Haley Swedlund, for her support and guidance from the very beginning. She has challenged me to dig deeper and think every part through, over and over again. Her expertise has been of great help and it is safe to say I've learned a lot from her in this process. I felt like a younger me again playing sport and experience development and progress, with this research as the eventual result.

¹ See for instance: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/international/2318500/Didier-Drogba-brings-peace-to-the-ivory-coast.html>

Summary

Sport as a tool for development and peace is a relatively understudied phenomenon in peace building efforts as well as a phenomenon which effects due to its complex social context in which it takes place, are hard to prove.

This research provides some evidence of its effect and looks at its potential by focusing on the role of SDP within the reconciliation process in Ambon, capital of the Indonesian province Maluku, Eastern Indonesia. This island group was subject to a range of violent conflicts and wars between Muslims and Christians which resulted in thousands of death, even a larger number of people being displaced and a divided society as the most visible scare of the conflict which officially ended in 2002. After the conflict several local peace building efforts have been started which have had some results. One of these efforts, on a very small scale, is sport for development and peace programs which aim to foster greater cross-religious group cooperation and social capital building through sport.

This research has examined three of these programs and provides some evidence that the SDP programs and sport itself are facilitators of contact moments between the divided groups from where relationships can be built. It shows that the programs trigger participants to cooperate together and that the sport field can serve as a neutral and non-political place where divided groups meet and from there start building relationships.

Simultaneously, the research shows limitations in the program design, based on theoretical models, which might limit the positive effect of the SDP programs. Examples of these limitations are the lack of involvement of a wider range of social interventions and non-sport disciplines in order to make a larger impact and move beyond primarily facilitating contact moments. Also the lack of local ownership and local involvement in the program design shows a dependence on Western funding and activities which creates a misbalance of power. When the funding stops, this research shows that activities stop as well which limits the sustainability and lasting impact of the program.

This research also provides insights on aspects that are worth considering and move beyond the used theoretical models. SDP programs in Ambon, as might be the case in other developing countries, deal with limited public spaces, sport facilities and financial support in relation to these facilities. The poorer groups within the population of Ambon have limited access to sport programs. In particular women, children and people with a disability are being excluded from participation in and organization of sport activities.

Also, the location of sport facilities for SDP programs can be of influence on the eventual outcomes. This research shows that programs which are organized within a Christian or Muslim village trigger more cooperation and cross religious understanding as the groups visit each other's villages, something they haven't done before and with a likelihood of a greater experience of the other narrative than when meeting each other on a 'neutral' field.

On the other hand this case shows that the neutral sport field located between Muslim and Christian neighborhoods makes it easy accessible and both groups come to this site with a potential for contact moments with the other group which might lead to further building of social capital.

This research provides some interesting insights on the effect of SDP and its potential. Yet, it remains a complex phenomenon which requires a wide range of research methods to further research the contribution of SDP in reconciliation. There is a need for evidence of what these moments of contact, created on the sport field, contain and how they can become meaningful with lasting reconciliation

outcomes and thereby one can have a greater understanding of the actual role of sport in this process.

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1. Project framework

The newly elected president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, hands the trophy of the Rugby World Cup over to the captain of the South African 'Springboks' after they just defeated New Zealand in a thrilling final. In 1995 this event was perceived as an aggressor for national reconciliation, as the black president and the white captain hold the trophy together and the only black player on the team celebrated the victory together with a further all white team. South Africa was coming together after apartheid officially ended and sports, in this case rugby, was seen as a great tool to foster wider reconciliation amongst white and black South Africa (Hogland & Sundberg 2008, p 805).

Sport is one of the most popular leisure activities amongst people across the globe. Almost everyone loves to play, attend, watch, listen to, talk about, experience and even feel sport at any level of performance. Local community sport events are attended by family and friends and widely popular international sport events or competitions allow fans to follow sport teams all around the globe to loyally support 'their' team (Schulenkorf, Thomson & Schlenker 2011, p 105).

Sport is considered as a language that all people in the world speak and there is a widespread belief that sports have the power to create a more cohesive, peaceful and more equal society (Spaaij 2009, p 1109) ((Dyreson 2003) in Schulenkorf, Thomson & Schlenker 2011, p 106). It is in that line that Nelson Mandela once said that:

"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. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than government in breaking down racial barriers."²

The notification that sport reaches a large part of the world's population and has a large social component where it can foster positive social development is an argument that is substantiated by several scholars within the debate on the social impact of sport and specifically in terms of development. Sport can form an ever-useful 'hook' that provides mainstream development practices a classroom and public audience unlike any other tool (Hartmann & Kwauk 2011, p 295). Sports can be used as a vehicle that can reach communities with messages in a way that politicians, multilateral agencies and NGOs cannot as it operates beyond the radar of most national governments' domestic and foreign policies (Levermore 2008, p 183) (Kidd 2008, p 371).

Besides the example above of sport used as a mere symbolic tool to foster greater reconciliation on the national level in South Africa, sports might also have a role in reconciliation within local communities and build bridges between divided communities. This is where this research will focus on. Can sport not only be an aggressor or symbolic start for nationwide reconciliation initiatives, but does sport and sport activities themselves foster greater cross religious, political and cultural understanding, cooperation and eventually reconciliation? Is Mandela's notification merely symbolic or does sport foster real development, reconciliation in this sense, on grassroots level with tangible results?

² See for instance: <http://internationalpoliticalforum.com/nelson-mandela-sport-has-the-power-to-change-the-world/>

To answer this question, the focus area of my research will be on the east Indonesian island group the Moluccas and more specifically on its capital Ambon.

Ambon makes an interesting case, as the Moluccas have suffered from a religiously based conflict in the midst of democratic transition. In 1999 the extent of violent outbursts between Muslims and Christians of the Maluku province rose and even resulted in wars. Eventually thousands were killed in a spiral of violence over the following years (Bertrand 2002, p 57). What is especially interesting about the Maluku conflict is that there can be found a diversity of peace building efforts right after the conflict, amongst which sport is one of them.

During the violence between Christians and Muslims there were a number of social groups and individuals that initiated interreligious dialogue and established intergroup meetings. These groups sought to find peaceful solutions by using the religious roots of peace and non violence, as well as local traditions of intergroup cooperation. The Ambon case indicates that this 'religious peace building' can be a form of conflict transformation as it gained ground in and across local communities plagued by violent conflicts (Quartuby 2013, p 361).

Yet another example of local peace building is the implementation of the 'adat', an Indonesian, customary law. By revitalizing a shared adat which rearticulates identity and common ethnicity rather than the tensed contradictions based on religious differences to some extent peace was restored. The adat emphasizes on kinship and neighborhood relations which is transcending religious distinctions, hence religiously based tensions. Although the revitalization of adat may not be a panacea or prevent all future conflicts in the region, it does offer one possible avenue for easing the religious tensions present in post conflict North Maluku, as a significant amount of the violence in Indonesia has been based on religion (Duncan 2009, p 1099-1100).

This research will focus on a third peace building strategy used in Ambon on a small scale and that is the deployment of sports as a tool for peace building and reconciliation. Sport as a tool for peace building is fascinating as it remains mainly a neutral, non-political and non-religious sphere. Unlike religious peace building or the revitalization of traditional laws it doesn't force or trigger action amongst local communities based on political or religious assumptions. It operates from its power of attraction and the natural effects of people willing to join each other on the sports field and start building relationships from there. In this research I will focus on three programs that aim to foster greater reconciliation and youth development with aspects of reconciliation. Although there is a limited amount of sport programs executed in Ambon, it is still very relevant to study these programs and look at the actual results of these programs as well as its potential for future development initiatives.

The effects of sport for peace building programs remain generally under studied and by evaluating the programs and results this research aims to answer the question if sports has a legitimate ground in Ambon as a tool for peace building and reconciliation. This research then can be a 'lesson-learned' for the sport for peace building sector in Ambon and discover if there is a potential larger role conceivable for sport in the reconciliation process. By providing a little more evidence on the effects and outcomes of sport for peace building programs, this research will also contribute to the wider complex puzzle of the role of sports in peace building in general.

1.1 Scientific relevance

The field of sport for development and peace building, henceforth SDP, remains understudied. Recognition of the role of sport as a potential engine of development and peace is largely absent in social sciences but also doesn't appear on the radar of many policy makers, NGO's and other

organizations (Levermore 2008, p 184 -185). The unique feature of sport is that it is a cultural, normative and physical way of engaging people. Yet, the impact of these attributes is rarely studied (Kidd 2011, p 606). Van Eekeren et. al. (2013) argues that it is also hard to research the contribution of sport, as it takes place in a complex social context in which various factors influence the final outcomes of sport for development programs (p 38).

Coalter (2010) in (Sugden 2010, p 270) argues that what is required is a developmental approach based on the de-reification of 'sport' and a concentration of understanding the social processes and mechanisms which might lead to desired outcomes for some participants or some organizations in certain circumstances. The caution and discretion of Coalter is something I want to relate to in my research and build further on.

This research will only investigate some programs and some of the outcomes amongst some participants of the program. By focusing on a small amount of programs and participants, this research aims to keep track of the specific conditions and complex social context in which these programs take place. It provides a first step of mapping sport for peace building initiatives and come up with insights whether sports has a legitimate role in peace building and reconciliation in Ambon for future initiatives. This study then is a starting point for further researching and mapping of the SDP sector and step by step providing pieces to the complex puzzle of the effects of SDP programs.

1.2 Social relevance

From 1999 till 2002 one of the most violent outbursts of the post-Suharto era was fought out on the Moluccas, an archipelago in the eastern part of Indonesia. This conflict was mainly between Christians and Muslims and from 1999 to 2002, thousands died and hundreds of thousands were displaced (Brauchler 2009, p 873). During the Suharto era identities and religion became highly politicized and the relationship between Muslims and Christians became tensed. This eventually led to the conflict in Maluku, shortly after the resignation of Suharto (see for instance Bertrand, 2002). Canadian political scientist Bertrand (2004) claims that the Maluku mayhem was Indonesia's first experience with large-scale Christian Muslim violence (in Al Quartuby 2013, p 351). The first large-scale riot erupted in January 1999 on the last day of the holy Muslim Month of Ramadan. A minor incident involving a local minibus driver and local youth turned into three days of bloody rioting. Some blaming the Christian driver for wounding his Muslim attacker and others recount that the driver was attacked and had to flee.

The violence spread from Ambon City to other communities around Ambon city. Christians tended to target Muslim migrants and burned down many of their markets and shops. Muslims attacked houses and districts where Christians were the majority and several of these areas were burned to the ground.

These incidents resulted in several deaths and widespread destruction in and across Ambon city. After a very short respite in Ambon city, the conflict began to spread to neighboring islands in central Maluku. This continuing violence around Ambon island soon fed renewed rioting in Ambon city. By early March, Ambon city was turned into a 'war zone'.

As a result of this escalation in violence and the participation of trans-national jihadist groups, the previously stable Ambon became the site of devastating interreligious wars. These wars eventually lasted for many years until September 2002. (see e.g. Quartuby 2013, Brauchler 2009, Bertrand 2002).

After September 2002 the violence quickly decreased, mainly because of the local peace building

initiatives as discussed in the section above, which emphasized on religious dialogue and the implementation of traditional laws. This eventually led to an official ending of the conflict.

Although the conflict has ended and violence has strongly decreased, reconciliation is far from fulfilled. In the recent past numerous violent outbursts illustrate that Maluku society still can be tensed at times (See chapter 4.1 for more information). Another legacy of the conflict is the divided society, which is at stake in Ambon city and the rest of Ambon island. Many neighborhoods and villages are divided along religious lines and Christians and Muslims live separately for the larger part of their lives.

Due to an ineffective legal system and the inability of the Indonesian government to put together a functioning truth and reconciliation commission, peace still cannot be restored by legal means or an official search for truth, as is often so prominently promoted in the literature on reconciliation (Brauchler 2009, p 872).

This research investigated if besides religious peace building and the implementation of traditional laws, sports has fostered greater reconciliation in Ambon society. Based on the findings this research will evaluate the three SDP initiatives and define if sports have a base within Ambon for further improvement of the relationships between Christians and Muslims.

This research also aims to form a 'lesson-learned' for SDP agencies and other development organizations who want to use sports in peace building efforts. Several development initiatives have extremely idealized beliefs about sport's positive, pro-social force. These initiatives assume that simply having a sport program or initiative of some kind will automatically and inevitably serve the development goal of socialization, education and intervention. This could not be further away from the truth (Hartmann & Kwauk 2011, p 289). Kidd (2008) argues that International SDP is still in its infancy, woefully underfunded, completely unregulated, poorly planned and coordinated and largely isolated from mainstream development effort and here lies the challenge for the next years for scholars, activists and teachers (p 376).

This research aims to give a realistic overview of how sport can be used and what claims can be made about the role of sport. By doing so I hope organizations involved in this research and other development organizations have a more empirical based image and develop a more realistic view on the outcomes of their work and for future programs.

1.3 Type of research

The research that I will conduct is a practice-based research. My research aims to relate to the discussions within the literature on SDP and provide some evidence of outcomes of a specific SDP project in Ambon. This type of research is called a design directed research where the researcher will diagnose and analyze a problem and will come up with recommendations (Verschuren & Doordewaard, 2007 p 57). In my research, the problem is the lack of empirical evidence on the role of sport in the field of development and the oftentimes extremely idealized beliefs about sport's positive, pro social force of several development initiatives.

In this research I will look to what extent sport has fostered reconciliation in Ambon and based on these findings what the potential for sport and peace programs is. This research will form a 'lesson-learned' for future SDP initiatives aiming to use sport for building reconciliation.

Based on my findings I hope to add a small piece to the complex debate within the literature on the direct causal variables of sport for development. I also want to illustrate a more empirical and realistic overview of the role of sport, offering a counterpart to the oftentimes idealized an positive view of sport by development organizations. This leads to the following research aim:

The aim of this research is to critically investigate the effect and potential role of sport in fostering greater reconciliation between Muslims and Christians in Ambon. By doing so I hope to provide a more evidence based perception on SDP and a 'lesson-learned' for development organizations aiming to use sport as tool for peace building in post-conflict societies.

Linked to my research goal, my research question is as follow:

To what extent do sport for development and peace programs foster greater reconciliation in Maluku and what is their future potential ?

As stated above, the research aim is twofold. This research will first look at the execution of the three sport for development programs in and around Ambon and the effects in terms of reconciliation. Secondly, based on these findings, this research will look at the further potential of SDP programs when taking the evidence and limitations of the three programs in this research into account. That is also why this research question is twofold and integrates two separate questions. To what extent have the programs fostered greater reconciliation and secondly what is the future potential of sport for development initiatives.

Within the research questions there are some key concepts which are important to address and further explain. The first is 'sport for development and peace programs'. Reduced to this research the SDP programs contain a total of 3 distinct programs which have been present in the recent past or are still present in Ambon. In the chapter 'Methodology' the case will be further explained. The second concept is 'greater reconciliation'. Reconciliation is hard to define and it is hard to determine in what stage a community in terms of reconciliation is and when reconciliation is achieved. In this research I will look at signs of reconciliation, mainly focusing on the different stages of reconciliation. I will use theoretical frameworks that divide the reconciliation process into several stages. This research will mainly look at the early stages of the process which contains acquaintance with and acknowledgement of the other narrative and the building of lasting relationships. The third concept is 'Maluku'. Maluku consists of numerous islands. For this the focus is limited to the island Ambon and neighboring island Saparua in order to have a more tangible approach and research.

The last concept is 'future potential'. This research focuses on the outcomes of the projects and its limitations. With this data this research will look at the potential for future SDP initiatives and comes up with a lesson-learned and advice of certain aspects worth considering. Some of this data can be applicable to SDP in different contexts and some might be specific for the Ambon context. In this sense future potential will contain some general claims as well as claims specifically for the Ambon context.

Attached to the research question, the following sub-questions need to be answered:

- **To what extent do the relations between Muslims and Christians remain tensed since the official ending of the conflict?**

The conflict officially ended in 2002, but that does not mean the tensions between the two groups fully disappeared. With this question I want to examine to what extent the relationships improved and to what extent there are still tensions present. As my focus lies on reconciliation it is important to know what still needs to improve or which aspects of the relationship already have improved since 2002.

- **What is the potential of SDP in the reconciliation process in Ambon?**

To get a good understanding of what SDP is and what it contains, it is important to answer this research question. The answer of this question elaborates on the theory on reconciliation and the theory of SDP to come up with an overview of how sport can contribute in the reconciliation process.

- **What are the effects and limitations of SDP initiatives in Ambon?**

This question explores the initiatives and programs that are currently present or have ran in the recent past. It collects evidence from participants and other stakeholders within the SDP sector. Based on the theoretical overview from the previous sub-question it will examine the projects and look at the strengths and flaws.

- **What can be the future potential of SDP initiatives in Ambon?**

This question looks at the findings of the previous sub-question and based on the evidence and limitations of the three SDP programs, this section comes up with a 'lesson-learned' and overview of what the potential for future SDP initiatives is.

2. Theoretical framework

Sport as a tool for development is a relatively new concept and subject to a large discussion. This chapter addresses the main concepts within the theory on sport for development and peace (SDP) as well as the main points of discussion and critiques.

2.1 Sport for development theory

The perception that sport might have a unique attraction to a large public encouraged the usage and recognition of sport as a vehicle to enhance existing development initiatives by key policy makers such as the United Nations and Unicef (see for instance Levermore 2008, Van Eekeren et.al. 2013, Kidd 2008). Sport that is integrated in, or used as, development initiatives is widely known as Sport For Development (henceforth SFD). SFD theory provides an interdisciplinary model for non-traditional sport management practices. The theoretical foundations and assumptions suggest that SFD initiatives can facilitate personal development and social change by embracing non-traditional sport management practices through an interdisciplinary framework. It is believed that the blend of sport with cultural enrichment activities (e.g. arts, dance and music) and global citizenship education (e.g. global issues awareness, human rights and environment) can provide a framework for personal development, cross-cultural acceptance and collaboration and social change (Lyras & Peachy 2011, p 311-313). Others may use the definition as proposed by Levermore and Beacom (In Njelesani & Cameron & Gibson & Nixon & Polatajko 2014,) and define SFD as 'all types of organized physical activity that may serve as a tool for development and peace'(p 791).

2.2 Impact components

Within SFD theory and programs there are different targets and impact areas in which SFD can operate. Njelesani & Cameron & Gibson & Nixon & Polatajko (2014) define SDP in three general impact categories; (1) social change, (2) health promotion and (3) economic development (p 791). Levermore (2008) categorizes SFD programs into six clusters (p 185-186):

- Conflict resolution and intercultural understanding
- Building physical, social, sport and community infrastructure
- Raising awareness, particularly through education
- Empowerment
- Direct impact on physical and psychological health, as well as general welfare
- Economic development/poverty alleviation.

For my research one particular impact area is most interesting. This is the cluster, as Levermore (2008) describes in the previous part, of conflict resolution and intercultural understanding. In a broader sense programs operating within this field are considered Sport for Development and Peace and in relation to SFD the term is more extensive and particularly takes into account the peace building component. Within my research I will use the term Sport for Development and Peace (henceforth SDP) when talking about sport for development.

SPD is a recognized strategy of social intervention in disadvantaged and divided communities throughout the world (Kidd 2011, p 603). 'Sport events are believed to promote dialogue,

integration and peaceful understanding among disparate groups, even when other forms of negotiation have not been successful' (Schulenkorf, Thomson & Schlenker 2011, p 105). Reconciliation through sport can be achieved on various levels. Høglund and Sundberg (2008) identify three different levels of how sport can contribute to greater reconciliation, related to their case South Africa:

- *Reconciliation at the national level through symbols*

Sport can provide a space to represent the idea of the country being a multicultural nation or "rainbow nation". In the 1992 Olympics, South Africa's first Olympic appearance since the 1960s when international anti-apartheid protest led to its exclusion from the event, the Olympic team, consisting of both black and white athletes, flew in an airplane covered by the country's flag. This provided an opportunity to utilizing sport as a way to portraying the political and social shift of the nation.

- *Reconciliation through communal activities*

A direct use of sport can be found in demobilization and integration processes, rehabilitation of child soldiers and the use of football in refugee camps. In addition, through football tournaments and competitions, people have a chance to network with members of other communities. Sport constitutes an easy and low-cost opportunity for people to socialize and to strengthen community ties.

- *Reconciliation through individual development*

The use of sport for individual development is based on the idea that in order to be at peace with society you have to first be at peace with yourself. In order to achieve this, a number of SDP programs in the country use life skills training, gender empowerment, HIV awareness in addition to the football component of these interventions (p 807-814).

2.3 Discussion

Several scholars see the potential of sport as a catalyst for reconciliation and peace building. However, not all agree that sport is inherently a useful tool to foster reconciliation. For many, sport is viewed as a physical activity always associated with competition among nations or teams for pride and glory. Modern sport has a highly ambiguous relationship to ethnic and national conflicts. Sport has been used in populist manifestations of militarism, jingoism and violent nationalism (Guilianotti 2011, p 207). English writer and journalist George Orwell once referred to sport as 'war minus the shooting' and in his opinion: 'serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence'³ Participants within SDP programs might also experience that sport places stress on intergroup relations, as sport has a competitive nature and rivalry, with an emphasis on winners and losers (Schulenkorf, Thomson & Schlenker 2011, p 107).

2.4 Over romanticizing

Another point of discussion is the romanticizing of sport as the motor of development. The notion that sport automatically leads to positive development is rather too simplistic and might not be true in some cases. As stated in the above paragraph, sport can also have negative effects related to the competitive nature and rivalry of sport. Also several SDP initiatives have extremely idealized beliefs about sport's positive, pro-social force. These initiatives assume that simply having a sport program or initiative of some kind will automatically and inevitably serve the development goal of

³ George Orwell (1945) (quoted by A. Cardenas (2012))

socialization, education and intervention. This could not be further away from the truth (Hartmann & Kwauk 2011, p 289). Also Coalter (2010)(in Lyras & Peachy 2011) provides a cautionary tale for SPD efforts. He questions the overly romanticized, communitarian generalizations about the power of sport for development (p 211-312). Hartmann and Kwauk understand the power of sport as an 'empty form', that is, 'like any other tool, technology, or social practice whose meaning, use, and impact is dependent on the ways in which it is employed on how and to what ends it is used' Hartmann (2003) (in Hartmann and Kwauk 2011, p 289).

2. 5 Sport plus

If sport participation has positive effects, it appears to be an indirect outcome of the context and social interaction that is possible in sport rather than a direct outcome of participating in sport (Kidd 2011, p 606). To be effective, SDP needs to be integrated or 'mainstreamed' with all forms of development, to concern itself with social resources as well as individual empowerment and to take on a self-critical edge (Kidd 2011, p 608). Coalter (2010) makes a distinction between three different classifications of SDP approaches.

- *Traditional forms* with an implicit assumption or explicit affirmation that such sport has inherent developmental properties for participants.
- *Sport plus* whereby sport is adapted and often integrated with parallel programs in order to maximize their potential.
- *Plus sport* in which the popularity of sport is used as a type of 'fly paper' to attract young people to programs of education and training (p 298).

Within the literature it is widely believed that eventual positive outcomes are achieved when sport is used in either *Sport plus* or *Plus sport* approaches. E.g. Jarvie (2011) argues that the contribution that sport can make must be built upon a wider coalition of sustained support from social and progressive policies (p 250). Hartmann & Kwauk (2011) emphasize that SDP-programs should be linked to educational, economical and several social components to make more of an effort and become 'Sport Plus' interventions with several links to non-sport components. The success of any sport-based social interventionist program is largely determined by the strength of its non-sport components, what it does with people once they are brought into the program through sport (p 290).

2.6 Strategies of impact

Positive development outcomes of SDP are thus linked to the addition of non-sport components of the program or project. Some scholars provide frameworks of sport and non-sport components that might determine the success of SDP programs. Kidd (2011) makes clear that in SDP initiatives:

- Participants must feel that the program meets their needs and that they have been consulted in the design and delivery of the program.
- Participants must have genuine access, including equipment and transportation to the programs. Participants must feel physically safe, connected to the program, personally valued, economically supported and personally and politically empowered and hopeful for the future. Projects should be clean, affordable and enjoyable.
- There must be skilled and committed administrators coaches and volunteers who must enjoy the confidence of the intended beneficiaries and their communities.
- The benefits of sport participation and sport initiatives cannot be understood in isolation from other social and material conditions. To be successful, programs

should be closely linked to other interventions, especially in education, health, employment and youth development.

- Programs must be sustainable and must have a lasting ongoing impact.
- Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E) must be appropriate to the intended beneficiaries and outcomes. Every initiative should be monitored and evaluated and results must be shared with the participants and published in open sources (p. 605).

Lyras & Peachy (2011) provide an interdisciplinary model for non-traditional sport management practices (see table 1) which contains five components, which includes the sport and non-sport components, to guide SDP programs and monitor outcomes of these programs (p. 314)

Table 1.

Sport-for-development theory's components of effective SFD policy, program development and implementation

Impact assessment	Organisational	Sport	Educational	Cultural Enrichment
Apply scientific monitoring and evaluation methodology (validated instruments, detached data analysis and objective interpretation)	Increase social capital through ongoing training of all engaged stakeholders	Apply sport practices based on moral values and principles (existence of vision and philosophy)	Create child-oriented conditions for positive learning experiences	Enrich sport intervention curricula with cultural activities (e.g. arts, music, dance, theatre, poetry, short movie making)
Assess the impact of SFD programs and policy across time and space	Build the capacity of and empower local stakeholders based on their needs and unique potential	Create inclusive mixed teams (ethnicity, gender, competence level)	Create reward system to reinforce positive attitudes, thoughts and behaviors (Social Cognitive Theory, role playing, cognitive and behavioral approaches, positive role models)	Apply multidisciplinary framework with global and local issues (e.g. human rights, global environment, international relations, peace and cross-cultural understanding, technological literacy)
Utilize mixed methods approach and collect data from multiple sources of information (triangulation, reports, pre-post questionnaires, audiovisual data, journals, focus groups)	Foster an inclusive, collaborative environment (e.g. inter-group contact principles: equal status, potential friendship, common goals, institutional support, intergroup corporation)	Merge traditional with non-traditional sports and physical activities (e.g. soccer, treasure hunt, martial arts)	Facilitate conditions for optimal engagement in every sport and non-sport activity (flow and peak experiences)	Make mental and practical associations between sports and real life experiences (e.g. human rights, environmental issues, community-based initiatives, life skills, spirituality)
Assess organizational components and identify attributes that leverage positive outcomes	Promote the development of innovative SFD programs, products and services (changes within)	Provide a variety of sport and physical activities to attract and sustain a more representative population	Use real life sport and non sport challenges to achieve educational objectives (constructivist Pedagogy and Problem-Based Learning)	Create clusters to initiate community based creative engagement and participation (e.g. community-based sport and non-sport initiatives)
Identify organizational components that hinder positive change and development	Facilitate transformational leadership	Utilize the principles of the educational component (Sport-for-Development Theory)	Create groups with similar interests	Utilize olympism as a framework of inclusion
Identify and assess SFD related social psychological and societal indicators	Ensure sustainable recourses and institutionalize innovative organizational culture	Encourage coaches and instructors to serve as educators, positive role models and agents of positive change.	Empower individuals by assigning preference and interest based roles	Create positive entertaining experiences and facilitate innovation and outreach
Apply research ethics at all stages and respect local sensitivities (conflict, political complexity and implications)	Build local and global platforms to establish synergies with local and international SFD stakeholders (e.g. universities, NGOs, policymakers, practitioners) Utilize inclusive decision	Facilitate conditions for optimal engagement (flow and peak experiences) by keeping a balance between skills and challenge	Promote empathy, care and creative thoughts and actions in every sport and non-sport activity	Embrace local culture and promote global perspective and appreciation

2. 7 Lack of evidence

As mentioned before, some SDP programs are over romanticized and lack realistic views on their objectives. Nonetheless, some scholars acknowledge that sport as a tool for development and peace has potential and some provide frameworks of how to use sport to foster greater development. What remains unclear is what exactly the contribution of sports is within the debate on SDP. There are several arguments that clarify this absence of practical results and outcomes of SDP programs.

First, practical results and outcomes of SDP programs are largely missing, hence non-existing because the implementation of these programs is hardly studied (Kidd 2011, p 606) and there is too little research on the sufficient conditions and processes needed for achieving positive outcomes in specific settings (Jarvie 2011, p 249). Secondly, the recognition of the role of sport as a potential engine of development is largely absent from the social sciences literature. Within the international development literature majority of the texts or journals do not even include a cursory mention of the role of sport within development (Levermore 2008, p 183). Thirdly, it is hard to prove direct causal relationships between sport and overarching development outcomes. Health is the only variable that has a direct and causal relationship to sport participation. Other outcomes are indirect and correlate with a variety of other factors. Sport takes place in a complex social context in which various factors influence the final outcomes of sport for development program (Van Eekeren et.al. 2013, p 38)

Not only in the scientific sphere, but also the social context provides little evidence of significant impact of SDP. In many cases, the sport programs are poorly planned and do not provide practical evidence about their effectiveness. Despite some heartening success stories in SDP, 'international SDP is still in its infancy, woefully underfunded, completely unregulated, poorly planned and coordinated and largely isolated from mainstream development effort and here lies the challenge for the next years for scholars, activists and teachers' (Kidd 2008, p 376).

2. 8 Neo-colonialism

As addressed before, in order to make an impact, SDP programs should be linked to, or integrated in, other development practices and form *Sport plus* or *Plus sport* approaches. As these approaches, and in particular *sport plus*, emphasize on fostering social change, this approach is subject to a highly relevant discussion. The discussion I'm referring to addresses whether the practices and policies of mostly western based SDP organizations realized in non-western societies isn't a new form of colonialism, whereby western perspectives and values are implemented without negotiation and are not taking the non-western perceptions into account. As my research takes place in a former colonial background and my focus is on Dutch related SFD initiatives, this discussion becomes highly relevant. Although this relation between Dutch SDP programs and the former colonial Maluku context is not my main focus point within my research, I will address this issue and briefly discuss the influence and effects of this relation within the SDP context.

Hartmann & Kwauk (2011) distinguish two visions on this possibly tensed discussion. A dominant vision in which sport essentially functions to maintain and reproduce established social relations and a more radical interventionist approach, in which sport is intended to contribute to fundamental changes and transformations in social life (p. 286-287).

It is this dominant vision that is subject to cautious attention. Hartmann & Kwauk emphasize that the dominant vision can have hegemonic characteristics as sport interventions oftentimes have a 'Western-based' agenda in which Western sport interventions have assumptions about proper behaviors, rules of engagement and personal aspirations are embedded within the interventionists and leave little room for youth to reciprocate and influence society with their own understandings. As a result, mainstream development practices ignore local practices, local knowledge, the socio-cultural and political-economic contexts as well as the needs and desires of communities themselves (p. 292-294). Coulter (2010) (in Lyras & Peachy 2011) argues that the rapid growth of NGO's advocating this vision represents new forms of neo-colonialism, where the main leadership and strategies being formulated in the West are viewed as promoting new forms of dependency (p. 312). The radical vision contains sport initiatives that centers on processes of empowerment emancipation and liberation involving the full and active participations of those previously marginalized. In this sense, development comes to be, not something that can be done to or for people, but a process that must be undertaken with others and thus creates places to negotiate beyond western assumptions rather than to tutor and educate by these western perceptions (Hartmann & Kwauk 2011, p 294).

Several scholars therefore argue that the discourse of SDP should be shifting towards a less centralized vision whereby the global south is not being neglected. Future research and writing should engage more effectively with all stakeholders and listening to the voices of communities where sports-based interventions are being considered, but also the views of policy makers and funding bodies working in Northern and Southern areas (Levermore & Beacon 2012, p 134-135). Also Sugden (2010) agrees on this view by adopting a critical left-realist approach that provides both reason and method to be engaged in SDP and fully accounts the local context and connects with wider national and regional policy processes of SDP initiatives.

3. Methodology

My research takes place in the form of a case study. The case I have studied for this research consists of three SDP programs that have been executed in the recent past or are still present in Ambon. This section will further elaborate on the case studied in this research. The case will thereby be further explained, as well as the strategy chosen to research the case.

The case study has won popularity amongst scholars for the past 40 years, because predominant research models at that time failed to provide evidence to develop the programs and adequately explain success or failure within educational research and evaluation. Alternatives that included participant perspectives, as well as implementation and interpretation of events in their socio-political contexts were needed.

The case study was one of a number of approaches that embodied these features in reaching an understanding of specific curriculum projects. Through the development of case study research the past 40 years by broadening the data collection strategies, the practice of case study research has also extended to other practice professions, particularly nursing, health care, social work and medicine and case study is now a widely accepted research approach. (Simons 2009, p 13-18).

3.1 Case study motivations

My research question asks for evidence that explains success or failure of the three SDP programs (which will be explained later on). It also asks for an evaluation of the programs upon which recommendations and limitations for future programs will be made.

Case study research takes into account the perspectives of stakeholders as well as implementation and interpretation of events in their socio-political contexts. Reduced to my research participant and stakeholder perspectives are an important feature as I will evaluate three SDP programs and identify perspectives of stakeholders and to what extent they feel the programs have reduced tensions and/or improved relations between Muslims and Christians. Thereby this research will evaluate the execution of the programs and address limitations and potential for future initiatives. Case studies, in contrary to surveys and experiments rely on analytical rather than statistical generalization. While statistical generalization is achieved when results from a correct sample are generalized to a larger universe, analytical generalization is the generalization of "a particular set of results to some broader theory," (Yin, 1994, p 36).

Another argument to choose case study research as research strategy is the fact that this form of study will focus on a phenomenon in its real-world context (Yin 1994, p 13). The data collected comes from real life experiences and constructions. It is these experiences and constructions that I'm aiming to collect in order to see if sport for reconciliation has a legitimate ground in Ambon. The study will collect first hand 'real' data in a natural setting that moves beyond primarily questionnaires in a survey or the data derived from an experiment. It allows the researcher to go more in-depth with the analysis of experiences and opinions within the case by doing in-depth interviews and observations. In this way the researcher is able to catch and follow up these experiences and opinions who might remain more superficial in a survey or experiment.

Also, evaluation and judgment of programs is inherently political. 'Evaluation has consequences for who gets what, whose interest are served in an evaluation, who stands to gain or lose by the findings of an evaluation' (Simons 2009, p 17).

A case study approach might be a useful tool to move away from this politicized sphere by including a wide range of stakeholders varying from participants to trainers and policy makers. By doing so this research is accessible and involves multiple audiences with a wide range of perceptions, values and experiences. In this sense, the case study research emphasizes inclusiveness and variety with no emphasis on particular stakeholders or perceptions or order of importance (Simons 2009, p 18). Therefore a case study moves away from becoming politicized as it aims to have a spectrum of perceptions with no majority on either side of this spectrum.

Within the literature on case study research several definitions are addressed. According to Simons (2009) these definitions differ from emphases in relation to philosophical, methodological and epistemological preferences. What they have in common is a commitment to studying a situation or phenomenon in its 'real life' context, to understand complexity, and to defining case study other than by methods (qualitative or otherwise) (p.20). I want to highlight one definition by Yin (1994) as he defines case study as:

A case study is an empirical inquiry that

- *Investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when*
- *The boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. (p. 13)*

What is interesting about this definition is that case study research assumes that examining the context and other conditions related to the case(s) being studied are integral to understanding the case. There is an in-depth focus on the case, as well as the aim to cover a wider range of contextual and other complex conditions.

It is also for this reason I want to conduct a case study research. My research question is an enquiry of several contextual and complex conditions related to the case of SDP projects in Ambon. Examples of this context and conditions are the experiences of participants, the objectives of the policy makers within the organizations and my own experiences in the field of SDP as program officer at International Sports Alliance (ISA). The case study research goes beyond the study of isolated variables where the data is likely to come from multiple sources of evidence.

3.2 Caution

The case study research is the best strategy to answer the main research question. However, this does not mean the strategy is flawless. There are some aspects that need to be viewed with caution. First, the fact that a case study takes into account the perceptions of several stakeholders on different levels means that a case study is an appropriate way to create a more comprehensive overview of the case and its outcomes. The danger that might occur here is that the claims made based on the data from the case are too generally formulated. If I, as a researcher, based on my study made the claim that sport does foster greater reconciliation in Ambon, then this does not automatically say that sport fosters greater reconciliation in general. Because the case takes into account the wider social context and complex construction around the case, the outcomes are also specifically related to that specific case and do not necessarily say something about a distinct phenomenon that might show similarities.

The claims I would make are therefore made with great caution and discretion which is in line with Coalter (2010) in (Sugden 2010) as he argues that what is required is a developmental approach

based on the de-reification of 'sport' and a concentration of understanding the social processes and mechanisms which might lead to desired outcomes for some participants or some organizations in certain circumstances (p 270). The eventual claims are just an exposure of a specific case, which might give some insights of some programs on whether sport has a legitimate ground in reconciliation.

The second aspect that needs to be taken into account is the complexity of the case. A case study emphasizes on the wider context and complex construction of the phenomenon being researched. This might give a more comprehensive overview, but simultaneously it is hard to prove the claims being made. The case consists of complex structures and it is hard to prove if the SDP programs have a direct effect on participants, hence greater reconciliation. The SDP programs as a case are embedded in the 'real-world' context, which makes it hard to prove if the program fostered greater reconciliation or if the participants were subject to other factors outside of the case that might be of influence. Van Eekeren et. al. (2013), for example argues that it is hard to research the contribution of sport, as it takes place in a complex social context in which various factors influence the final outcomes of sport for development program and that only health is a direct outcome of sport participation (2013, p 38).

3.3 The case selection

This case study research takes form in a collective case study, where several cases are studied to form a collective understanding of the issue or question (Simons 2009, p 21). In this research, I will look at three SDP programs organized in the recent past or with activities taking place in the present. These several cases collectively form a better understanding of the role of SDP in greater reconciliation in and around Ambon and its potential for future programs.

The first program is the volleyball project which was organized by Ambon based NGO Arika Mahina, the Mobilae Maluku Foundation (MMF) and executed by two Dutch volleyball trainers from the Dutch volleyball association NeVoBo on Ambon's neighboring island Saparua.

The project consisted of two ten day training sessions which took place in October 2010 and a second training which took place in October 2011. The project was a 'train the trainer' program in which local sport trainers were equipped with teaching and volleyball skills in order to improve their lessons and teaching skills. The overarching objective was to improve the amount and quality of sport activities and sport participation amongst youth⁴. Eventually the aim was that this led to sport activities which exceed individual sport activities in a single community and transformed into activities where the divided groups from separate villages came together and visit each other neighborhoods and by doing so contribute to greater relationship building and reconciliation⁵.

Within the project a total of 28 participants spread out over the two training sessions, participated in the training. They came from four different villages (desa's) Siri Sori Kirsten, Siri Sori Islam, Ullath and Ouw, whose interrelation became tensed during and after the conflict and people didn't want to visit the other villages.

The second program is the WordCoaches program, a CSR program of the royal Dutch football association (KNVB). WordCoaches aims to equip local football trainers in developing countries to become better football trainers and use football for greater community development.

⁴ See <http://www.mobilaemalukufoundation.com/eerste-missie-volleybalcursus-saparua/>

⁵ Interview with general director of Arika Mahina, 15 september 2014

Besides football specific skills, WorldCoaches also focuses on teaching life skills which focus on topics such as addiction, environmental issues, criminality, HIV/aids and the position of women. The overall aim is that these coaches become role models for local youth and teach these youth football skills but also skills to deal with the above named social topics. This is done by providing coaching workshops of 5 - 10 days by a Dutch WorldCoach trainer⁶.

WorldCoaches is working in several countries over the world amongst which also Indonesia and in which Ambon is a focus area. In 2014 there have been organized two WorldCoaches training sessions in Ambon in July and October and WorldCoaches trained a total of 42 local trainers.

The third examined program is the Sport leadership & life skills program, organized by the International Sports Alliance (ISA) in which I have participated as a program officer and organizer of this training sessions.

The training took place in September 2014 in Ambon, when there was a 5 day training workshop from two ISA trainers with the aim to educate 18 local sport teachers from organizations from Ambon, Timor and Papua on their teaching skills as well as to integrate life skill education within and around the sport activities. After the 5 day workshop the participants were requested to conduct a 10-week homework assignment in their own community. In March 2015 a second 'refresher' training has been organized with the same group of participants to share experiences about the first training as well as the 10-week homework assignment.

The overall aim is to educate local sport leaders how to facilitate sport and life skills activities on regular basis whereby youth eventually have the opportunity to become 'agents of change' who have developed to right skills and tools to shape their own future and contribute to positive community development⁷.

There are several reasons for selecting the above programs. The most practical reason is that these programs are the most relevant programs executed in Ambon. There were a few other activities but these were onetime events who were incidentally executed and didn't provide data or any form of appropriate track record. The volleyball project also happened in the past, but participants, organizers and other relevant data were still available. The WorldCoaches and Sport leadership & life skills program are two of the few sustainable and currently active programs to research with a commitment of several years.

Another valuable reason for this selection is that the volleyball project has ended as the funding stopped and in this sense it is interesting to see what the project has achieved after it stopped. It can provide insights if there is any lasting impact and it provides a lesson learned from the past for future initiatives. The other two programs are ongoing and provide more detailed insights on what they currently have achieved as well as what the potential and potential pitfalls are in their future activities.

There is also a difference in strategy and approach between the three programs which makes it possible to look at different ways of executing programs and one is able to compare data as well as conducting an analysis from different perspectives. The volleyball project is more of a dialogue SDP model whereby it reaches out to communities by forging relationships founded upon informal practical cooperation. The project has a 'train the trainer' component whereby the SDP agency

⁶see <http://www.worldcoaches.nl/nl/main/what-we-do/>

⁷ See <http://www.isa-youth.org/approach/>

trains local volunteers to become SDP teachers and practitioners and then return to their host communities to implement programs. It has a clear objective of aiming to build stronger relationships amongst divided groups.

The sport leadership and life skills program in some way, as well as partly the WorldCoaches program have more of a critical SDP model in which the implementation of life skills contributes to inter-communal transformation, contributing a facilitating role that builds everyday communication trust and common interest between divided communities (Guilianotti 2011, p215-222).

By comparing and analyzing these different perspectives this research aims to show how a certain strategy has effect on the results or potential of SDP in the reconciliation process.

A last motivation for selecting these cases is that they all use a different sport as the volleyball project focuses on volleyball, WorldCoaches on football and the sport leadership and life skills program has a sport broad approach in which sport coaches from every sport discipline can be educated. By comparing and analyzing the several cases, this research will look at to what extent this particular sport or sport broad approach can influence the effect and potential of SDP programs in Ambon.

Besides an analysis of the three above explained programs I have engaged other stakeholders who are involved in the sphere of reconciliation and/or sport related to community development. The table below gives an overview of the different organizations as well as the persons with whom I have conducted interviews, evaluations and conversations.

Table 2. overview of organizations, stakeholders and programs within the case

Organization	Program	Interviewees	Subject
Arika Mahina	Volleyball program to foster better cooperation between gym teachers	Ina Soselisa (founder of Arika Mahina) 5 participants of this program	Explanation of the program / experiences from participants
LSM Cergas,	Coordinating organization for several SDP initiatives.	Paulien Joel Parrera (Founder of LSM Cergas)	Explanation of the concept / the role of sport in Ambon and management of SDP in Ambon.
WorldCoaches	Train the trainer program with an aim to develop the local community through football	Michael van der Star (responsible for program in Indonesia) Joop Kols (as trainer active in Ambon)	Football in Indonesia / evaluation of program in Ambon / experiences from the training
ISA	Sport leadership & life skills course	Marian Berg (ISA trainer) Bart Kleijweg (ISA trainer)	Evaluation of the program / local understanding of SDP
KONI	Responsible for wider sport structure of Ambon	Alfred Lodewyk Apituly (Secretary general of KONI)	Sports structure in Ambon / sports as binding factor
Maluku Interfaith Institution	Promote dialogue between Muslims and Christians	Jacky Manuputty (founder of Maluku Interfaith)	Reconciliation in the wider context / role that sport

3.4 Case study design

Within my case I want to test how sports and SDP programs can contribute to reconciliation and peace building. The Sport for development (SFD) theory provides interdisciplinary models for non-traditional sport management practices. The theoretical foundations and assumptions suggest that SFD initiatives can facilitate personal development and social change by embracing non-traditional sport management practices through an interdisciplinary framework. It is believed that the blending of sport with cultural enrichment activities (e.g., arts, dance and music) and global citizenship education (e.g., global issues awareness, human rights and environment) can provide a framework for personal development, cross-cultural acceptance and collaboration, and social change (Lyras & Peachy 2011, p 311-312).

However, there is a lack of empirical evidence to prove or challenge these statements. By focusing on this case, I will test the above stated theoretical assumptions. By collecting more data and performing an analysis of SDP cases, I can also extend the theory by adding my findings to the ongoing discussing within the literature of SDP. By intensively focusing on a few projects, I will also be able to look at opportunities and pitfalls when using sport for reconciliation. My case study provides interesting outcomes and comes up with an advice for the projects themselves as well as for other sport related efforts willing to achieve reconciliation who are in the phase of concept or project design.

This case is a collective case study and it also has the characteristics of an 'evaluation case study'. An evaluation case study needs to discern the value of the program or project that constitutes the case. This type of study would include how different people and interest groups valued the program. Within this perspective I engage participants in the process as well as other multiple stakeholders (Simons 2009, p22). Through this form of case study I will be able to look at opportunities and pitfalls when using sport for reconciliation and writing a recommendation, by evaluation the previous sport programs.

3.5 Data collection

One of the most important sources of information for case study information is interview data. Most case studies are about human affairs. These human affairs can be reported and interpreted through the eyes of specific interviewees, and well-informed respondents can provide important insights into a situation. (Yin 1994, p 84-85). This is also appropriate in my research, as I will look at perceptions of sport for reconciliation programs and if stakeholders have the feeling that they have developed better relationships with the other through the practice of sports.

I have conducted interviews with a focused nature. Focused interviews are interviews in which a respondent is interviewed for a short period of time in the form of a conversation. These interviews may remain open-ended, but the researcher is more likely to follow a certain set of questions derived from the case study protocol, looking for more specific information (Yin 1994, p 85). The reason to choose this type of interviewing is that I, as a researcher, am looking for specific information, feelings and perceptions to see if respondents sense or experience a certain form of reconciliation through the sport program. A non-structured, open-ended interview is therefore less

appropriate, as respondents provide a wide range of information on several topics. In this way data analysis becomes too broad because of the variety of subjects. As a researcher I'm more interested in specific information, perceptions and experiences of certain aspects within a program. Therefore I follow a certain set of questions and have conducted structured interviews.

Most of the interviews are transcribed. From other conversations I have summaries or evaluation reports. For analyzing this data, I have used the simple strategy of marking important information, sections or relevant quotes. I have used several colors to mark different categories of information. By doing so, I have created a simple overview of important parts in the data which are easy to use. I am mainly interested in the experiences and perceptions of participants and other stakeholders in the different projects. This strategy of assorting the information gives direct insight on information useful for my thesis and quotes I have used to discolored evidence of reconciliation.

The second source for data is me as a participant, who has conducted participant observations and thereby gained relevant information. The roles a researcher has within the case when conducting observations may vary. This role can contain:

- Serving as a staff member in an organizational setting
- Being a key decision maker in an organizational setting
- Being an participant within the sport program (Yin 1994, p 88).

Reduced to my research, I have taken the role as a staff member in an organizational setting. During the period of my research I was working as a program officer within the International Sports Alliance (ISA). ISA is sport for development NGO and also active in Ambon. Within the organization I am responsible from our program in Indonesia and this contains the organization of the sport leadership and life skills training that took place and which is also be used as a research unit. I have had evaluation sessions with the trainers who executed this training and have maintained relations with partner organizations on Ambon.

There are some major benefits in serving as a staff member in an organizational setting. The first is to gain access to events and groups that otherwise might be inaccessible (Yin 2014, p 116). Through my work I had direct contact with partner organizations, and I was organizing a training that served as a research object. In this way I had direct contact with and access to relevant stakeholders who provide relevant data for my research.

A second benefit is the opportunity as a staff member to view the case from inside and thereby portray an accurate overview of the case (Yin 2014, p 117). Through my work experience as a staff member, I gained relevant knowledge in the field of my research and became an insider within the case. This helped me to better interpret the case as well as the data collected within the case.

A third a last advantage is that as a staff member I had the ability to change minor events (Yin 2014, p 117). I have arranged meetings with the trainers of the SDP initiatives to ask them about their experiences and perceptions. This is only possible as a participant in the case as the reading of documents or conducting interviews as this assumes a passive researcher.

Participant observations as data collection strategy is also a strategy that faces some challenges. The major challenges relate to the potential biases being produced. As a staff member, I'm no longer an external observer that evaluates from outside of the case. It thereby can be hard a times to find a

balance between participant or observation. A researcher with a role as participant is more likely to become a supporter of the organizations, persons and programs which might affect the critical approach of a researcher (Yin 2014, 117).

The tradeoffs between the opportunities and challenges of participant observation have to be seriously considered and that is also what I have done prior to my research. This role gave me extra and relevant knowledge and insight in the field of SDP. Also, the case being studied was very accessible and I was able to gain relevant information from it. During my research I was well aware of my role as staff member. Since my research collects perspectives, experiences and is examining the execution and outcomes of SDP initiatives this triggers me automatically to be critical. This research will also be used within ISA as a critical evaluation of sport and reconciliation and therefore is a critical approach requested and I this has helped me to find a balance between participant and observer.

A third and smaller data source are the use of relevant documents. To support the data from interviews and observations I have consulted several documents that are complementary to the other sources. Self-evident is the fact that I have used a wide range of literature on SDP upon which I have examined the SDP programs. Also evaluation reports of the programs and a fact-finding report on the sport structure in Ambon are examples of documents used in this research.

3.6 Triangulation

My main data collection strategy is the conduction of interviews. I have also discussed the use of my role as participant observer and in addition the use of documents as my data collection strategies. A good qualitative case study is a study that presents in-depth understanding of the case. Thereby, many forms of qualitative data should be collected. From interviews, to documents, to observations (Creswell, 2007 p 98). The use of multiple sources of evidence is called triangulation and is seen as a major strength of case study data collection because you are not dependent on data source which can have several biases and limitations. (Yin 1994, p 91).

3.7 Expectations versus first impressions

This research is a collective case study that tests the theory on successful SDP interventions. In this sense the Ambon case has proven the potential of sport, but also the general claim that International SDP is still in its infancy, woefully underfunded, completely unregulated, poorly planned and coordinated and largely isolated from mainstream development effort and here lies the challenge for the next years for scholars, activists and teachers (Kidd 2008, p 376). Based on theoretical models, it shows that the SDP projects in Ambon were not integrating other development interventions and lack a sense of local ownership. Also examples that move beyond the theoretical models about the sport facilities and location of the executed programs show that the strategy and planning of SDP initiatives remain open for discussion. It was very interesting that the pitfalls and limitations of SDP agencies as addressed in the literature were also present in the Ambon case and served as a confirmation of the general literature on SDP.

Before conducting fieldwork I haven't paid a large amount of attention to the local sport culture and setting of SDP in Ambon. Also the literature doesn't mention the local setting as a large variable on the result of SDP. When I started with my fieldwork, I directly noticed the limited sport structure in terms of facilitations and public spaces and, in the conversations with participants and trainers of the projects, I noticed that facilities and sport attributes are limited and might be of influence to the

process reconciliation or other forms of development. In this sense this is challenging the existing literature that doesn't take into account the local setting and sport structure and this case proves it can be of influence.

A last aspect what I would like to address in this section is the role of Dutch organizations within the SDP sector. The Dutch, from a historic perspective have a sensitive relationship with Indonesia and Ambon and my first expectations where that people in Maluku might have a sense of hostility or grievance towards Dutch organizations telling Moluccans how things in the sport world should be done.

At the start of my research I felt a very friendly relationship based on kinship and family ties. Dutch football can be found in the streets and all participants were happy to participate in the projects and were hoping for new initiatives. I discovered a dependence within Ambon society on Dutch SDP organizations and no local ownership at all. Instead of a relation based on hostility, it was a relationship based on dependence. A relationship with a misbalance of power where a danger lies of a non-liberal hegemonic approach.

4. Empirical chapters

The empirical chapters consist of three distinguished chapters which all together provide an extensive and comprehensive analysis of the Ambon case and aim to answer the question whether sports can foster greater reconciliation in Ambon.

The first chapter will elaborate on the current situation in post-conflict Ambon. Post-conflict Ambon is by some scholars (see e.g. Lowry & Littlejohn 2006, Al Quartuby 2013, Brauchler 2009 and Duncan 2009) considered as a success in terms of the peace building efforts. However, as this chapter will show, there are still several remaining challenges and reconciliation is far from completed.

The next chapter addresses the process of reconciliation and looks to what extent sport for development en peace (SDP) initiatives might foster reconciliation. This chapter looks at theoretical frameworks within SDP literature and the potential of SDP programs in reconciliation efforts. Also, this chapter looks at two models of reconciliation which divide reconciliation in several phases whereby it is questionable if sport and in particular SDP initiatives can contribute in the later stages of reconciliation.

The third chapter looks at three SDP initiatives that took place or still are present in and around Ambon. It focuses on the design of the program with the preconditions and theoretical frameworks of chapter two in mind. Furthermore this chapter will look to what extent reconciliation through these programs is achieved and further discover the potential role of SDP in future programs.

4.1.The state of reconciliation in post-conflict Ambon

As explained in the section on the social relevance of this research, the Moluccas were one of the most violent scenes during the disturbances and violent outbursts in Indonesia after the nation was transitioning from an authoritarian Suharto regime towards a democracy. The conflict in the Maluku province, mainly between Christians and Muslims lasted from 1999 till 2002 and killed thousands and hundreds of thousands were displaced (Brauchler 2009, p 873).

This chapter will briefly explain the dynamics of the Maluku conflict, but will mainly focus on the process of reconciliation after the conflict. This chapter shows that although official peace is achieved and the peace building according to some (see e.g. Lowry & Littlejohn 2006, Al Quartuby 2013, Brauchler 2009 and Duncan 2009) is considered a success, reconciliation is far from completed and Maluku society faces several remaining challenges.

4.1.1The Maluku conflict

When talking about the conflict between Christians and Muslims this reflects to Muslims and Protestants as in Indonesia Protestants are referred to as Christians (Kristen) and the fighting was mainly between Muslims and Protestants (Van Klinken 2001, p 3), henceforth Christians. Traces of tensions between Muslims and Christians in Maluku can be found within the colonial heritage of Indonesia, within the politics during and right after the Suharto era as well as locally within the Maluku society.

First, the interrelation between the two groups in Maluku became politicized as the Dutch, as the colonial ruler, favored the Christians as the local commander of power. Maluku was a classical case of European colonialism, enforcing economic and political institutions that hindered long-run development. During their domination the Dutch created a spices monopoly and forced the Ambonese out of their mountain villages down to the coast where the people and the clove cultivation could be controlled more easily. Separate Christian and Muslim villages were created, ending the pre-colonial tradition of cohabitation based on kinship and created villages who rely more heavily on religious coexistence (Braithwaite et. Al. 2010, p 148). The Dutch colonial policy also segregated and opened divisions between Christians and Muslims by providing opportunities for Christians in the colonial army and civil services all over Indonesia as the Muslims from Maluku were left in desperate poverty once the spice monopoly collapsed (Braithwaite et. Al. 2010, p 149).

In the post colonial era after World War II, divisions between Christians and Muslims came to light during the Suharto era. Under Suharto's regime, Muslims were generally marginalized, as Suharto's government mainly existed of Christians and Javanese moderate Muslims. In the late 1980s however, Suharto seek more support from Muslims groups and Muslims saw increasing opportunities for advancement and Christians at all levels of government were replaced. These politics, more than elsewhere, heightened tensions between Christians and Muslims in Maluku as Moluccan Christians became defensive, as they were worried about Islamization of the government and a loss of their dominance in the region (Bertrand 2002, p 67-68).

During the Suharto rule a policy was implemented in the 1970's in which Indonesians were encouraged to migrate across the nation to move to less populated regions (Lowry & Littlejohn 2006, p 410). This influenced the balance of Maluku population as well and Muslims moved to the Moluccas and disrupted the balance of Muslim and Christian inhabitants as Muslims became a majority in Maluku and gained increasing control of the local trade and established successful small

businesses whereby the “outsiders” threatened the balance between Christians and Muslims (Bertrand 2002, p 72).

After 30 years of authoritarian rule the resignation of President Suharto further disturbed the balance between Christians and Muslims in the Maluku. The transition from an authoritarian state towards democracy had been quite sudden and people were unprepared for it. In Maluku, Muslims were concerned that Christians might reassert their local dominance, while Christians feared the creation of a state which favored its large Muslim majority and became scared of possible Islamization of Maluku (Bertrand 2002, p 58).

Locally, the increased tensions between the two groups came to light in a traffic incident in January 1999 in Ambon city involving a local minibus driver and local youth. Some blaming the Christian driver of wounding his Muslim attacker and others recount that the driver was attacked and had to flee. This incident is widely perceived as the cause and starting point of a series of rioting and armed conflicts in which also the colonial heritage and Suharto era had their influence on the increasingly tensed relationship between the Muslims and Christians.

The violence spread from Ambon city to other communities around Ambon city. Christians tended to target Muslim migrants and burned down many of their markets and shops. Muslims attacked houses and districts where Christians were majorities and several of these areas were burned to the ground. These incidents resulted in numerous deaths and widespread destruction across Ambon city. After a very short respite in Ambon city, the conflict began to spread to neighboring islands in central Maluku and eventually also to North Maluku where the conflict was even more violent and destructive (Van Klinken 2001, p 5).

The continuing violence around Ambon Island soon fed renewed rioting in Ambon City. By early March, Ambon city was turned into a ‘war zone’. As a result of this escalation in violence and the participation of trans-national jihadist groups, the previously stable Ambon became the site of devastating interreligious wars (see e.g. Quartuby 2013, Brauchler 2009, Bertrand 2002).

These wars eventually lasted for several years until the last incident in September 2002 and in September 2003 the civil emergency imposed by the national Government was lifted leaving Maluku society divided along religious lines, Muslim versus Protestant (Lowry & Littlejohn 2006, p 411). The Maluku mayhem was Indonesia’s first experience of large-scale Christian Muslim violence (Al Quartuby 2013, p 351).

4.1.2 Local reconciliation

The Maluku conflicts caused at least 5000 casualties and close to 700.000 people were displaced (Crisisgroup.org, 2002). Remarkably, after the last incident in September 2002 tensions quickly decreased due in part to tremendous fatigue of the local population (Lowry & Littlejohn 2006, p 411) and several local peace building and reconciliation initiatives (see e.g. Lowry & Littlejohn 2006, Al Quartuby 2013, Brauchler 2009 and Duncan 2009).

In 2003, for example, a group of forty Muslim and Christian leaders met to talk about rebuilding their communities and creating a common narrative for recovery and reconciliation. During this 5-day meeting, the participants created new patterns of interactions, transformed their relationships and established a set of collectively carried goals in order to continue the reconciliation and rebuilding process (Lowry & Littlejohn 2006, p 409-415).

Another local reconciliation initiative was the use of a traditional and cultural concept; *pela*. The *pela* system contains of alliances between two or more villages, irrespective their dominant religion. *Pela* pacts were concluded after incidents, such as local conflicts or accidents between the warring villages. For a long time *pela* was the vehicle of an ethnic religion of the Ambonese people, which transcends Islam and Christianity dynamics and integrated the Central Moluccan population. The reason why it did not prevent the religious wars in Maluku was because *pela* pacts usually function on the village level and have little influence on politics of the central government and religion. After the wars *Pela* became a symbol of brotherhood, reconciliation and peace for the war torn Central Moluccan society and stakeholders tried to re-enact the historical meaning of the *Pela* pact (Brauchler 2009, p 878-879).

Religious peace building is a framework upon which more local organizations tried to establish peace and foster greater reconciliation. Provokator Perdamaian (Peace Provocateurs) is an informal voluntary association of a small group of Christians and Muslims whose main objectives are to provoke peace, reinforce amity and reduce tensions and the escalation of violence in Ambon city. This interfaith alliance is interdisciplinary and engages students, journalists, academics and religious leaders from both sides.

One of the main achievements of the initiative was the prevention of wider escalation of recent mass violence from Ambon to wider Maluku. This violence occurred on September 11, 2011 when the United States commemorated the tenth anniversary of 9/11, simultaneously communal violence between Christians and Muslims broke out. These outbreaks were sparked by the suspicious death of a Muslim motorcyclist. The police reported that his death was an accident, but family and some local Muslims were convinced, on the basis of the evidence of wounds in his back and the fact that the incident took place in a Christian Neighborhood, that he had been killed by Christians. An important strategy of the Peace Provocateurs is the use of social media to respond to some people or groups who multiply false information or try to call for reprisals for recent events. Messages, twitter and other tools helped to reach out to groups and despite some casualties, it contributed to limiting the scope of the 2011 conflict (Al Quartuby 2013, p 359-361).

4.1.3 Violence and division

The previous section gives a brief overview of some local initiatives that have been established and contributed to the process of peace building and reconciliation. It gives hope and to some extent implies that local peace building has been achieved. However, reconciliation is far from being achieved as modern-day Ambon still has several visible scars of its violent past.

“Reconciliation has been described as the apex of a long process of conflict termination and being tantamount to a stable, warm peace” Hothstein, 1999 (As cited in Auerbach 2009, p 291). The violent outbreak on 11 September 2011 in Ambon city suggests that conflict might still just be a spark away. Just like the major wars in 1999 the outbreak in 2011 was fanned by a single traffic incident with controversy roles for Christians and Muslims.

The recent past also shows that violence, riots and conflict amongst Mollucans erupts more often as is seen in July 2014 when 5 people were killed in violent clashes between two warring villages⁸. In 2012 one was killed and several were injured in another clash between two villages on Saparua, a

⁸ See: <http://thejakartaglobe.beritasatu.com/news/two-warring-villages-maluku-enter-peace-talks/>

neighboring island of Ambon⁹.

With every similar incident or outburst the fear exists that the violence will erupt in large-scale conflict and a reenactment of the 1999-2002 Maluku wars will arise. Up till now the relatively minor scale conflicts have failed to spread out to a larger area, but it shows that the relationship between Muslims and Christians at times remains fragile. Especially in traffic accidents in a Muslim area and the driver was noticed as a Christian or the other way around the fear of new violent incidents are present and they can have disastrous consequences as people get killed or injured¹⁰.

Besides the at times occurring tensions and on some occasions violent outbursts, the most visible consequence of the Maluku wars is the geographical division between Muslims and Christians within a divided Maluku society.

The divided society is a heritage of the colonial history of the Moluccas. During their domination the Dutch created a spice monopoly and forced the Ambonese out of their mountain villages down to the coast where the people and the clove cultivation could be controlled more easily. Separate Christian and Muslim villages were created, ending the pre-colonial tradition of cohabitation based on kinship and creating villages who rely more heavily on religious coexistence (Braithwaite et. Al. 2010, p 148).

During and after the wars these distinctions became more politicized and the legacy of this violence is that society is far more deeply segregated than it had ever been before (Van Klinken 2001, p 5). This is a remaining challenge when it comes to reconciliation and finding a balance to accommodate values, ideologies and interest which sometimes opposite sharply to each other (Manan 2010, p 128). It is thereby not only a challenge to overcome a geographically divided Maluku society but also the divide in peoples mind, thinking in divided communities.¹¹

4.1.4 Non-truth

Besides fragile reconciliation on community level, reconciliation in the political and institutional sphere has been far from completed. Within the literature on reconciliation there are scholars who argue that apology, forgiveness, remorse and empathy should be seen as a part of the political process. Others emphasize that these sentimental processes seem rather unrealistic and advocate for a more rational route such as coexistence and accepting the world 'as it actually is' (Auerbach 2003, p 292).

Within Indonesia, the government has not been able to cope with the pressure and tensions from the Maluku conflicts and the government is incapable to manage and solve the conflict (Sukma 2003, p 248). The legal system of the Indonesian government failed to create a functional Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and peace still cannot be restored by legal means or an official search for truth cannot be put together. In Maluku there has not been enforced a law to deal with the conflict and the official peace talks in Malino (Sulawesi) in 2002 never released the 'truth' they uncovered (Brauchler 2009, p 872-873).

Braithwaite et. Al. (2010) on the contrary argue that Maluku might be a case that is challenging the theoretical assumption that reconciliation without truth is not possible, as they conclude that considerable reconciliation has been accomplished in Maluku without much local or national truth. (p

⁹ See: <http://thejakartaglobe.beritasatu.com/archive/bloody-clashes-in-indonesias-maluku-claim-another-life/>

¹⁰ Interview with Jacky Manuputty: 10 September 2014, Ambon

¹¹ Interview with Jacky Manuputty: 10 September 2014, Ambon

193-194).

Regardless which perspective one might take, the process of reconciliation is not fulfilled. Whether it is the lacking of official local and national truth as part of the process or that reconciliation manage to move beyond or even without this truth finding. Current Moluccan society shows that relationships between the two groups at times are fragile and breakable. As this chapter has shown, division exists between the groups, both physically and mentally. These relations need to be restored first, before official truth finding can be found or before Maluku can present itself as a case of fulfilled reconciliation without official national or local truth.

4.2 Capacity and potential of SDP in reconciliation process

This research focuses on the role of sports and in particular SDP programs within the reconciliation process in Maluku. Reconciliation is a broad concept. It is a process of many years and many phases whereby it is difficult to determine in what phase a state, society or country is situated and when a reconciliation process is finished. As the previous chapter has shown, local initiatives have had some success in peace building and reconciliation but simultaneously several challenges still remain, in the recent past there were several violent outbursts and Maluku society is still largely divided between Muslims and on the other side Christians, both physically and mentally.

This research will not primarily analyze where Maluku society stands and to what extent the reconciliation process is fulfilled. This is much wider analysis than has been conducted in the previous chapter. It is also not the aim of this research to investigate further in the this discourse of reconciliation in Maluku society. This research rather focuses on if sports can contribute to build relationships and foster greater reconciliation in terms of overcoming the mental and eventually physical division between Muslims and Christians.

This chapter will focus on theoretical concepts within the SDP literature and looks at two frameworks of reconciliation processes to determine whether SDP has a legitimate ground in fostering greater reconciliation and if so to what extent. This chapter therefore remains to have a more conceptual character and emphasizes on opportunities and potential.

The latter chapter will go more in depth into the practice and examines the execution of some SDP initiatives and collects data on reconciliation outcomes based on the theoretical frameworks and discussions in this chapter.

4.2.1 Reconciliation frameworks

Within the reconciliation literature there are some scholars that provide frameworks that clarify the process of reconciliation and what the important aspects within this process contain. Auerbach (2003) created the Reconciliation Pyramid (see fig. 1) as a metaphor for presenting several stages stakeholders have to overcome on their way to reconciliation. The pyramid contains of a total of seven stages of reconciliation until one reaches the top.



Fig 1. The reconciliation pyramid. See Auerbach (2003) p. 303.

The pyramid starts with the stages acquaintance and acknowledgement in order to get familiar with the other's narrative and then acknowledge the other narrative without necessarily accepting them as true. The next phase is creating the ability to identify with and understand another person's feeling hence creating empathy. The next step is assuming partial responsibility amongst both sides. These four phases are typical 'people-to-people' moves as the latter stages are more politically loaded as they imply readiness for restitution or reparation for past wrongs and publicly apologizing and asking for forgiveness. The last stage will then be to incorporate both sides into a common narrative of the conflict (p 340-310).

Bar-Tal (2000) emphasis on the importance of psychological reconciliation which refers to "a societal-cultural process that encompasses the majority of society members, who form new beliefs about the former adversary, about their own society and about the relationships between the two groups" (p 356). In this sense reconciliation is not a formal process, because it requires a change of societal beliefs. In line with the first 4 stages of Auerbach's (2003) reconciliation pyramid this societal-cultural process one can see as well as a 'people-to-people' approach and strategy and not as a formal process.

The reason for choosing these frameworks is because they emphasize different phases and stages of the process and show that reconciliation is not a single event or process. There are multiple layers and levels which has to be reached in order to create sustainable and stable reconciliation.

When looking at Maluku society and the findings of the previous chapter, one could argue that the reconciliation process remains in the first stages of the Auerbach (2003) pyramid and the process hasn't been capable yet of forming mutual new beliefs about the former adversary, own society and relationship with the other group as addressed by Bar-Tal (2000).

Based on this claim it is interesting and valuable to see what the contribution of SDP can be as these early stages of reconciliation require a 'people-to-people' approach and strategy and non formal processes as both scholars address. Sport is being seen as a catalyst of intergroup interaction, bringing people together and facilitate dialogue and integration (Schulenkorf et. Al. 2011, p 105), hence a 'people-to-people' approach par excellence.

4.2.2 Role of sports

Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) has become a recognized strategy of social intervention in disadvantaged and divided communities throughout the world (Kidd 2011, p 603). In 2003 the United Nations adopted a resolution where the role of sport as a tool for development was officially acknowledged. Since then, sport became a prominent and increasingly powerful tool for development in the international community (Hartmann & Kwauk 2001, p 284).

National and international sport organizations, governments, non-governmental organizations, universities and schools have conducted programs in low-and middle-income countries and the disadvantaged communities of the First World to assist sports development, humanitarian relief, post-war reconciliation and broad social development under the banner of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) (Kidd 2008, p 370). Furthermore, 2005 was named as the United Nation's Year of Development and Peace through Sport.

Post-war reconciliation is ,amongst other things, in which sport and SDP, as is increasingly believed, becomes a tool to catalyze or facilitate reconciliation processes as sport events promote dialogue, integration and peaceful understanding among disparate groups (Schulenkorf et. Al. 2011, p 105). Hence, sport can serve as the facilitator in this 'people-to-people' reconciliation and change of mindset approach as mentioned in the previous section.

Sport has the benefit that it is widely popular all over the world and can be an ever-useful 'hook' that provides mainstream development practices a classroom and public audience unlike any other tool (Hartmann & Kwauk 2011, p 295). Because of its popularity it can reach communities with messages in a way that politicians, multilateral agencies and NGOs cannot, as it operates beyond the radar of most national governments' domestic and foreign policies (Levermore 2008, p 183), (Kidd 2008, p 371).

An example of how sport can foster greater reconciliation is the case of South Africa directly after the apartheid regime. Høglund & Sundberg (2008) identify three different levels of how sport can contribute and catalyze reconciliation processes:

- **Reconciliation at the national level through symbols**

Sport can provide a space to represent the idea of the country being a multicultural nation or "rainbow nation". In the 1992 Olympics, South Africa's first Olympic appearance since the 1960s when international anti-apartheid protest led to its exclusion from the event, the Olympic team, consisting of both black and white athletes, flew in an airplane covered by the country's flag. This provided an opportunity to utilizing sport as a way to portraying the political and social shift of the nation.

- **Reconciliation through communal activities**

A direct use of sport can be found in demobilization and integration processes, rehabilitation of child soldiers and the use of football in refugee camps. In addition, through football tournaments and competitions, people have a chance to network with members of other communities. Sport constitutes an easy and low-cost opportunity for people to socialize and to strengthen community ties.

- **Reconciliation through individual development**

The use of sport for individual development is based on the idea that in order to be at peace with society you have to first be at peace with yourself. In order to achieve this, a number of SDP programs in the country use life skills training, gender empowerment, HIV awareness in addition to the football component of these interventions (p 807-814).

In this research, the focus lies primarily on the last two strategies of this example, based on communal and individual development. The programs that have been studied in this research focus on cross religious cooperation and the development of youth through life skill training within the sport activities and community outreach sport events to raise awareness on the issue of cross religious and cross cultural cooperation and acceptance.

4.2.3 Concepts of sport and reconciliation programs

The increased popularity of using sport as a development and reconciliation tool has been described in the previous section, as well as some of its potential. This section will elaborate on the next step; the conceptualization and design of SDP programs that have the objective of reconciliation and peace building in order to see what concepts and aspects of programs should be implemented to foster the desired outcomes, hence greater reconciliation in this case.

Guilianotti (2011) provides a distinction within the SDP sector by creating a framework of three ideal-type models of peacemaking and reconciliation agencies.

- **Technical SDP model:** This model is underpinned by a 'realistic' 'positivistic philosophy and the SDP agencies are centered on utilitarian intervention with measurable goals to be

achieved within delimited periods. The technical model was particularly evident during the late 1990's and early 2000s. This approach oftentimes contains in advance equipped activities with training manuals and other equipment to achieve a certain goal with an in advance composed target group, for instance to teach children effected by war how to play proper games.

- **Dialogical SDP model:** This model is based on a interpretative and communicative philosophy whereby it understands conflicts as socially constructed that are marked by lack of social contact, trust and effective mediation between warring groups. These approaches seek to facilitate the positive re-foundation of social relations between communities. Within this model sports involves mixed teams to help to build inclusive social capital across the communities by forging relationships founded upon informal practical cooperation. A 'train the trainer' component is common whereby the SDP agency trains local volunteers to become SDP teachers and practitioners and then they return to their host communities to train more volunteers and to implement programs.
- **Critical SDP model:** The critical model features a reflective and critical approach to the work of SDP initiatives. Critical SDP agencies pursue deep inter-communal transformation, contributing a facilitating role that builds everyday communication trust and common interest between divided communities. This model engages with diverse community groups: not just young people, but also parents, families, friends, village elders who all contribute to project successes which are oftentimes long term aspirations (p 215-222).

These models are ideal-types. In reality most SDP agencies are a combination of either two of these models and is it hard to place SDP initiatives under one category. However, these models are helpful to label and categorize to some extent the analyzed organizations and projects in this research.

Linked to the case in this research, the researched programs can be labeled as Technical SDP model Dialogical SDP model and critical SDP model. WorldCoaches for instance uses a common manual in every area they work in and with an in advanced composed target group, they don't adjust the program to the specific local context in Ambon. The volleyball project by Arika Mahina falls more under the category of a dialogical SDP model with a clear 'train the trainer' component to trigger the participants to organize sport events where Muslim and Christian youth come together and play sports. The training sessions organized by ISA are more focused on youth development and deeper inter-communal transformation and this ambition is within ISA also perceived as long term aspirations.

Other scholars have emphasized on specific elements and concepts within the design of SDP program models, which are essential to gain the desired outcomes.

The fist aspect is the concept of creating 'sport-plus' approaches. These kind of programs are based on the assumption that to be effective, SDP needs to be integrated or 'mainstreamed' with all forms of development, such as links with educational, economical and several social components to make more of an effort and thereby take on a self-critical edge (Kidd 2011, p 608), (Jarvie 2011, p 250). The success of sport-based social interventions is then largely determined by the strength of its non-sport components (Hartmann & Kwauk 2011, p290). There can also be a distinction made between 'sport-plus' and 'plus-sport' as Coalter (2010) describes these as:

- *Sport plus* whereby sport is adapted and often integrated with parallel programs in order to maximize their potential.
- *Plus sport* in which the popularity of sport is used as a type of ‘fly paper’ to attract young people to programs of education and training (p 298).

Secondly, table 2 gives a comprehensive overview of ingredients SDP programs should contain in order to be executed well and gain the desired outcomes (Lyras & Peachy 2011, p 314). Important aspects within these schemes include an approach which links sport with other social interventions and non-sport components as is argued before. It also emphasizes a multi local stakeholder approach with an ongoing training and engaging of local stakeholders. But also serving the needs of disadvantaged communities in terms of developing expertise and support (Skinner et. Al. 2008, p 265). This requires active citizenship and the need to seek mutual ground (Burnett 2010, p 39). This approach relates strongly to the previous addressed critical SDP model for implementing agencies.

Table 3.

Sport for development theory's components of effective SFD policy, program development and implementation. See (Lyras & Peachy 2011, p 314).

Impact assessment	Organisational	Sport	Educational	Cultural Enrichment
Apply scientific monitoring and evaluation methodology (validated instruments, detached data analysis and objective interpretation)	Increase social capital through ongoing training of all engaged stakeholders	Apply sport practices based on moral values and principles (existence of vision and philosophy)	Create child-oriented conditions for positive learning experiences	Enrich sport intervention curricula with cultural activities (e.g. arts, music, dance, theatre, poetry, short movie making)
Assess the impact of SFD programs and policy across time and space	Build the capacity of and empower local stakeholders based on their needs and unique potential	Create inclusive mixed teams (ethnicity, gender, competence level)	Create reward system to reinforce positive attitudes, thoughts and behaviors (Social Cognitive Theory, role playing, cognitive and behavioral approaches, positive role models)	Apply multidisciplinary framework with global and local issues (e.g. human rights, global environment, international relations, peace and cross-cultural understanding, technological literacy)
Utilize mixed methods approach und collect data from multiple sources of information (triangulation, reports, pre-post questionnaires, audiovisual data, journals, focus groups)	Foster an inclusive, collaborative environment (e.g. inter-group contact principles: equal status, potential friendship, common goals, institutional support, intergroup corporation)	Merge traditional with non-traditional sports and physical activities (e.g. soccer, treasure hunt, martial arts)	Facilitate conditions for optimal engagement in every sport and non-sport activity (flow and peak experiences)	Make mental and practical associations between sports and real life experiences (e.g. human rights, environmental issues, community-based initiatives, life skills, spirituality)
Assess organizational components and identify attributes that leverage positive outcomes	Promote the development of innovative SFD programs, products and services (changes within)	Provide a variety of sport and physical activities to attract and sustain a more representative population	Use real life sport and non sport challenges to achieve educational objectives (constructivist Pedagogy and Problem-Based Learning)	Create clusters to initiate community based creative engagement and participation (e.g. community-based sport and non-sport initiatives)
Identify organizational components that hinder positive change and development	Facilitate transformational leadership	Utilize the principles of the educational component (Sport-for-Development Theory)	Create groups with similar interests	Utilize olympism as a framework of inclusion
Identify and assess SFD related social psychological and societal indicators	Ensure sustainable recourses and institutionalize innovative organizational culture	Encourage coaches and instructors to serve as educators, positive role models and agents of positive change.	Empower individuals by assigning preference and interest based roles	Create positive entertaining experiences and facilitate innovation and outreach
Apply research ethics at all stages and respect	Build local and global platforms to establish	Facilitate conditions for optimal engagement	Promote empathy, care and creative thoughts	Embrace local culture and promote global

local sensitivities (conflict, political complexity and implications)	synergies with local and international SFD stakeholders (e.g. universities, NGOs, policymakers, practitioners) Utilize inclusive decision making to promote individual and collective actions.	(flow and peak experiences) by keeping a balance between skills and challenge	and actions in every sport and non-sport activity	perspective and appreciation
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The above model is a helpful tool in analyzing SDP organizations and programs. In the next chapter more emphasis will be on the executing organizations and their programs in Ambon. This model along with the remarks of the other scholars in this chapter will be the framework for the analysis of the programs and organizations in Ambon. Also, the findings in the next chapter will challenge this model and remarks to some extent.

4.2.4 Skepticism

The above theoretical claims approach SDP from a perspective that it can have effect and create positive change in relation to reconciliation. SDP is however also subject to different forms of skepticism.

Firstly, some scholars raise a more psychological question on the meaning of sport. Previously sport was emphasized as a 'glue' to connect people, to reach out to disadvantaged communities. On the contrary sport has also competitiveness, rivalry and distinction and exclusion within its characteristics. For many, sport is viewed as a physical activity always associated with competition among nations or teams for pride and glory. Most people don't engage in sport to achieve certain societal ends, but rather for enjoyment, health and spend time with friends and family. It can create different types of social capital with particular forms of social inclusion and exclusion (Spaaij 2009, p 1111).

Participants within SDP programs might also experience sport to worsen intergroup relations as sport has a competitive nature and rivalry, with an emphasis on winners and losers (Schulenkorf et. Al. 2011, p 107).

Modern sport can also have a highly ambiguous relationship to ethnic and national conflicts. Sport has been used in populist manifestations of militarism, jingoism and violent nationalism (Guilianotti 2011, p 207). English writer and journalist George Orwell once referred to sport as 'war minus the shooting' and in his opinion: 'serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence'¹².

Secondly, criticism is put on the unrealistic claim making of some SDP agencies. Some assume that simply having a sport program or initiative of some kind will automatically and inevitably serve the development goal of socialization, education and intervention. This could not be further away from the truth (Hartmann & Kwauk 2011, p 289). Also Coulter (2010)(in Lyras & Peachy 2011) is cautious with SDP efforts. He questions the overly romanticized, communitarian generalizations about the power of sport of sport for development (p 211-312).

Another point of critique is that it remains unclear what exactly the contribution of sports is within the debate on SDP. There are several arguments that clarify this absence of practical results and outcomes of SDP programs.

¹² George Orwell (1945) (quoted by A. Cardenas (2012))

First, practical results and outcomes of SDP programs are largely missing, hence non-existing because the implementation of these programs is hardly studied (Kidd 2011, p 606) and there is too little research on the sufficient conditions and processes needed for achieving positive outcomes in specific settings (Jarvie 2011, p 249).

Secondly, the recognition of the role of sport as a potential engine of development is largely absent from the social sciences literature. Within the international development literature majority of the texts or journals do not even include a cursory mention of the role of sport within development. (Levermore 2008, p 183).

Thirdly, it is hard to prove direct causal relationships between sport and overarching development outcomes. Health is the only variable that has a direct and causal relationship to sport participation. Other outcomes are indirect and correlate with a variety of other factors. Sport takes place in a complex social context in which various factors influence the final outcomes of sport for development program (Van Eekeren et.al. 2013, p 38).

not only in the scientific sphere, but also the social context provides little evidence of significant impact of SDP. Some studies show intercommunity sport events offer potential to go beyond the symbolic value of spectators sport events and encourage people to experience firsthand the social power of intergroup celebration. It is however too much to expect sport events to have a major impact on overall intergroup relations in the absence of a political settlement in divided societies (Schulenkorf et. al. 2011, p 117).

In many cases, the sport programs are poorly planned and do not provide practical evidence about their effectiveness. Despite some heartening success stories in SDP, 'international SDP is still in its infancy, woefully underfunded, completely unregulated, poorly planned and coordinated and largely isolated from mainstream development effort and here lies the challenge for the next years for scholars, activists and teachers' (Kidd 2008, p 376).

4.2.5 North-South relations

Another discussion within SDP is highly relevant for this research and focuses around the nature of SDP agencies. The interventions are oftentimes implemented by western organizations in the global south. These power relations are subject to a broad discussion within the SDP literature and is highly relevant for this research as the focus lies on SDP agencies with a Dutch link and implementing these programs in a former Dutch colony.

Much of the discussion has to do with the dominant and hegemonic character SDP agencies from the global north can have when implementing in the global south whereby the south has little room for agency within the implementation and execution process of SDP programs. Thereby SDP might create a neo-colonial perspective and orientalist approach (Darnell 2013, p 1011).

Hartmann & Kwauk (2011) distinct two visions on this discussion. A Dominant vision in which sport essentially functions to maintain and reproduce established social relations, and a more radical interventionist approach, in which sport is intended to contribute to fundamental changes and transformations in social life (p. 286-287).

It is merely this dominant vision which is subject to cautious attention and which links to a neo-colonial perspective. Several scholars emphasize that the dominant vision can have hegemonic characteristics as sport interventions oftentimes have a 'Western-based' agenda in which Western sport interventions have assumptions about proper behaviors, rules of engagement and personal aspirations are embedded within the interventionists and leave little room for youth to reciprocate and influence society with their own understandings. As a result, mainstream development practices

ignore local practices, local knowledge, the socio-cultural and political-economic contexts as well as the needs and desires of communities themselves. See for example: (Hartmann & Kwauk 2011), (Darnell 2007), (Darnell 2010), (Levermore & Beacom 2011), (Sugden 2010), (Coalter 2010).

The radical vision provides to some extent an answer to the dominant, hegemonic and neo-colonial vision. The radical vision contains sport initiatives that centers around processes of empowerment, emancipation and liberation involving the full and active participations of those previously marginalized. In this sense, development comes to be, not something that can be done to or for people, but a process that must be undertaken with others and thus create places to negotiate beyond western assumptions rather than to be tutored and educated by these western perceptions (Hartmann & Kwauk 2011, p 294).

Several scholars therefore argue that the discourse of SDP should be shifting towards a less Western centralized vision whereby the global south is not neglected. Future research and writing should engage more effectively with all stakeholders and listening to the voices of communities where sports-based interventions are being considered, but also the views of policy makers and funding bodies working in Northern and Southern areas (Levermore & Beacon 2012, p 134-135).

Also Sugden (2010) agrees on this view by adopting a critical left-realist approach that provides both reason and method to be engaged in SDP and fully accounts the local context and connects with wider national and regional policy processes of SDP initiatives (p 270).

The radical vision corresponds with the previous discussed aspects that should be implemented within SDP programs to be effective. Engaging local stakeholders during the design and execution of the program, facilitate transformational leadership but also integrating traditional sport and games are examples of these aspects that match the radical vision on SDP.

As mentioned before, this discussion on power balances is relevant in the examined case as all programs and organizations have a certain link with the Netherlands and the programs are executed in a former Dutch colony. In the later chapter this relationship will also be part of the analysis to see how the power balance within all the programs is constructed as well as to what extent the relationship between former colonizer and former colony plays a role in relation to the outcomes of the different programs.

4.3 The effect and limitations of SDP agencies in Ambon within the reconciliation process

The previous chapters showed to some extent the current situation in Ambon society and especially the remaining challenges in terms of reconciliation and addressed theoretical concepts of how and in what way sport might contribute to further reconciliation. This chapter will provide an analysis of the three examined SDP programs on the basis of these theoretical concepts and analyze to what extent these programs have fostered greater reconciliation in Ambon society. Furthermore, based on the data these programs provide this chapter will provide possible concepts for future SDP programs and future research on sport and reconciliation.

4.3.1 Reconciliation outcomes

First, this chapter will focus on perceptions and experiences of reconciliation through the examined sport programs, based on interviews with participants, trainers and staff within these programs. To some extent some of these programs provide real and tangible evidence of SDP projects which have improved relationships amongst Muslims and Christians participants and achieved reconciliation to some extent especially in the early stages of Auerbach's (2003) pyramid. The volleyball project organized by Arika Mahina in cooperation with the Dutch volleyball association (NeVoBo) provides some interesting perceptions on how this project improved relationships.

Through this project we became much closer by playing sport together. Before the project we didn't have much contact, but now we still have contact in terms of playing volleyball. We play matches together and we bring the balls and the Muslims provide the net. In the Muslim village they have a concrete playing field and we only have grass. That's why we go over there to play¹³.

All five interviewed participants of this project emphasize that through this project a form of cooperation between the two divided groups was started. As the participant in this example addresses, before the project there was not much contact and the project triggered the participant to cooperate and also to visit the Muslim village. All five participants declared that this cooperation was started after they participate in the volleyball project and that they didn't have much contact with the other group before.

The interaction between the groups stays related to the sport activities and there is no evidence of participants have experienced any further reconciliation. However, the fact that there was created a higher amount of cooperation and groups visiting each other's villages refers to the first stages of Auerbach's (2003) reconciliation pyramid and the phases of acquaintance and acknowledgement. The participants, through this sport program, get more familiar with the other and by visiting the other in his or her village is to some extent acknowledgement of the other. According to the model of Auerbach (2003) these are the first steps in the reconciliation process.

Another participant explained that stimulating participants to work together and organizing tournaments fostered a range of social events where Muslims and Christians came together.

¹³ Interview with respondent of volleyball project, 11 September 2014

Through the volleyball project the binding between the two religions became better. After the project we started to organize sport events together. That didn't happen before the project. When the sport activities are finished there is a ceremony with trophies and a party where we eat together. All Christians and Muslims interact and mingle. Muslims cheer for Christians and Christians cheer for Muslims¹⁴.

As this participant declares, the project can have a greater effect on the local community and not only on the participants that participate directly in the project. The organization of the sport activities provide a site where both groups come together and as it appears mingle and interact. This interaction does not always happen naturally and as seen in this example of this participant sport can be a facilitator for bringing the distinct groups together and give them an opportunity to meet each other. Also this example relates to the stages of acquaintance and acknowledgement in the reconciliation pyramid of Auerbach (2003).

One Christian participant mentioned that during the project he built a relationship with a Muslim participant and became actual friends while before the project he didn't know much Muslims and had no friendships with any Muslim. During Muslim feasts, such as the end of the Ramadan he goes to visit his friend and vice versa.¹⁵

Again sport in this sense facilitated the creating of this friendship which even moves beyond acquaintance and acknowledgment and links with the phase which Auerbach (2003) calls 'empathy' in which one has a feeling of understanding and empathy for the other narrative. It is however questionable which role sport played in building this relationship. It facilitated the meeting of both groups and created a site where the building of this relation could take place. The building of this relationship itself is however constructed by the involved persons in a context outside the sport program and it is uncertain to what extent sport has contributed.

Other examples of this facilitating role of sport and SFD programs can be found in the WorldCoaches program. The sport program aims to educate and equip local football trainers who will provide local youth with training programs with integrated life skills. However, as one of the WorldCoach trainers addresses, the sport program became a site for families of the participating children to meet each other and build relationships.

On the first day of our training the mothers of the children on the field were sitting separately. The Christian mothers on one side and the Muslim mothers on the other side. After two days you saw that the mothers start interacting and were sitting next to each other. Some invited everyone from the training to come over after the session to have dinner, Muslims and Christians together¹⁶.

Again sport in this sense has a facilitating role and it is the reason why the two groups came together and again contributes to the first stages of reconciliation. It appears that the sport field is a 'neutral' place which has the power to overcome religious division which Ambon society is dealing with. As these examples show, it can break away from the division between Christians and Muslims and be a place for meeting each other.

¹⁴ Interview with respondent of volleyball project, 11 September 2014

¹⁵ Interview with respondent of volleyball project, 11 September 2014

¹⁶ Interview with trainer of WorldCoaches program, 22 January 2015

Within the WorldCoaches program there is also some evidence that within the sport activities acts that can be labeled as reconciliation outcomes, can occur. In the WorldCoaches program Muslim and Christian trainers participate together in the project as well as Muslim and Christian groups of children. During the project they start each day with a prayer. Muslims and Christians together, they also eat together and joke together ¹⁷.

Again this shows that sport can be a 'neutral' place with no emphasis on religion at all. Through the sports activity the participants are aware of the religious expressions of the other and get more familiar with the differences. As this example suggests, the participants also experience that there are also similarities as they pray together, eat together and joke together. These are all signs of relationship building and phases of acquaintance, acknowledgement and empathy in regards to reconciliation.

In the previous examples the sport activities were all attached to a SFD program with a specific design and aim to also achieve social outcomes beside the sport related outcomes. Another example in Ambon shows that sport itself, without any social program or any intended outcomes has also the potential to contribute to foster greater relationship building and cross-religious understanding. Every Sunday early in the morning, just after sunrise, people from Ambon town and surrounding desa's come to the sport field in the center of Ambon town. It is one of the few public and free accommodations to play sports and every Sunday Muslims and Christians go for a run on the track, play football or several other sports.

There is no social program attached to this event and people show up on own initiative. This started a couple of years after the conflict when the people felt safe to leave their own villages and come to this public space to mingle with the other group ¹⁸. The fact that people go to a 'neutral' place and play sport together with the other group can be a valuable and rather symbolic step in the further reconciliation process as the sports field in this context breaks through the barriers of a divided Maluku society and shows that sport is an excellent means to gather and bring people together and it attracts both Muslims and Christians in a neutral, non-religious and non-political space.

The sport accommodation is a meeting place for both groups and the sporting field serves as an opportunity to make contact with the other narrative. In this example but also the other examples this seems to be the most important outcome of the SDP programs and sport activities in general. If this contact and building of relationships is meaningful and interactive a non-superficial resolution might occur, hence greater reconciliation in this case (Van Eekeren et. al. 2013, p 62).

4.3.2 Limitation in outcomes

The above examples from the volleyball project, the WorldCoaches and also the example of the sport activities on Sunday show to some extent that sport does and can foster relationship building and greater cooperation amongst divided groups. As the data shows, groups came together and relationships were built that didn't exist before. Sport, in this sense can be a facilitator for contact opportunities to get to know the other and the other narrative.

The opportunity for contact is however a rather complex term and hard to measure. The data provides some evidence of relationship building, which belongs to the first phases of reconciliation, but what the results of this relationship building and contact moments are, is not clear. In a single case this contact turned into a lasting friendship and in other cases this turned into more cooperation

¹⁷ Interview with trainer of WorldCoaches program, 22 January 2015.

¹⁸ Interview with representative of KONI Ambon, 17 September 2014.

in organizing sport activities. How these contact moments related to dealing with the conflict and lasting reconciliation between the divided groups remains unknown. The sport project takes place in a complex social context with a lot of factors of influence on the eventual outcomes (Van Eekeren et. al. 2013, p 38). It is hard to determine how these contact moments and start of relationship building contribute to eventual reconciliation and what the contribution of sport programs is besides the facilitation of contact moments as there are many other social factors influencing this process. The only evidence that this research has collected show that meetings between the divided groups take place, but it doesn't show where these meetings lead to and if they are meaningful.

This complex social context makes it also hard to measure the exact outcomes. The data is conducted from qualitative interviews with trainers and participants. By asking them about their experiences a researcher is retrieving indirect information or as some might say 'second order typifications' (Baxter & Eyles 1996, p 510). In the interviews the participants talk about their experiences but the researcher is not present when these experiences are created. In this sense it is hard to discover to what extent the contact moments led to further reconciliation effects and to what extent sport or SDP programs contributed to these reconciliation effects.

Furthermore, the programs like WordCoaches and the sport leadership & life skills program of ISA pursue deep inter-communal transformation through life skills programs. Again numerous factors might have influence on this program, which makes it hard, if not impossible, to distinguish the contribution of the SDP program. How do you measure life skills like respect or acceptance? Also it is hard to measure to what extent the participants master these life skills and what effect these life skills have in relation to communal reconciliation. This research didn't focus on these outcomes and doesn't provide any evidence about the effects of the life skills program of WorldCoaches and ISA.

Further research should consist of a more comprehensive combination of research methods and monitoring and evaluation tools which go more in depth on the individual experiences of participants but also look from other perspectives and approaches on the outcomes of SDP programs to get a more in depth analysis and better understanding of where these contact moments have led to and to determine how SDP contributed to further reconciliation amongst the divided groups. Later on in this chapter I will go more in-depth on this specific topic.

Another interesting aspect when looking at the data is that the outcomes and in this sense thus contact moments and start of relationship building occurs both intended and unintended. The volleyball project had cross religious cooperation as a main objective and the moments of collaboration and relationships are intended. The examples of the WorldCoaches and especially the example of the sport activities on Sunday on the public sports accommodations show that these moments of contact can occur unintentionally as well. The WorldCoaches program emphasizes on life skills which might relate to reconciliation outcomes such as acceptance and respect, but the fact that families come together to watch the training and invite each other over for dinner was no intended outcome of the program. In the example of the public accommodation there was no social program attached to these sport activities and the moments of contact can occur by just going to the field and play sports.

The data shows that the social benefits of sport do not necessarily occur intentionally as a result of well-designed SDP programs, which is in line with the argument of some scholars, see e.g. (Spaaij 2009, p 1112). This fact might also influence the claims about the effect of SDP programs as the data

in this case shows that moments of contact and relationship might occur in sport activities without any involvement of a SDP program. This makes it difficult to claim whether these outcomes as contact making and relationship building are a direct result of the SDP program or if this a unintentional benefit of the sport activity.

4.3.3 Limitations in execution

Besides the above discussed limitations about the claim making of the gathered data, there can also be found some limitations in the execution of these programs when taking the theoretical concepts of the previous chapter into account.

The first aspect is the inclusion of a wider range of non-sport interventions to enlarge the impact as indicated in the model of Lyras & Peachy (2011). This model suggests that successful SDP initiatives should integrate other cultural initiatives as well as a multidisciplinary framework with global and local issues, for instance, human rights, peace and cross-cultural understanding (p 314).

This was not the case in the examined programs as they have only focused on sport as the main intervention and have not included other non-sport initiatives.

As the evidence shows, sport and SDP programs have facilitated actual moments of contact and relationship building amongst divided groups. As addressed before in order to have non-superficial results, this contact should be meaningful and interactive (Van Eekeren et. al. 2013, p 62).

Other interventions and multidisciplinary frameworks might help to create this meaningful and interactive contact. In the examples in this case sport facilitated the moment for contact to occur but didn't guide this process away from the sport related contact. The participants of the volleyball project as well as the trainers from the WorldCoaches program all declared that it triggered more cooperation in sport, but none of the interviewees mentioned any interaction which deals with peace and further cross-cultural understanding¹⁹. It might have occurred unintentionally, but from the program itself the moments of contact were just facilitated during the training, but stopped directly after that. There were no other interventions with a aim to build further on these moments of contact and potentially create meaningful and interactive contact as the model of Lyras & Peachy (2011) suggests.

It would be interesting to see if the inclusion of a wider range of interventions would contribute to further reconciliation and move beyond just contact and relationship building into a sphere of talking about and discussion the conflict, hence further stages of reconciliation. Therefore, SDP projects need to connect with cultural, religious, political and other social interventions, to have greater impact. (Coalter 2010, p 300).

A second practical consideration related to the theoretical concepts of the previous chapter is which sports will be included in the program. The Lyras & Peachy (2011) model argues that working SDP programs should include a variety of sports to attract a wider range of stakeholders and also mix sport with traditional games to create more local bounding (p 314).

The volleyball project and the WorldCoaches program focus on only one sport. The sport leadership and life skills program from ISA aims to educate sport leaders and invites participants from every sport and use a wider range of games and activities that are sport broad. In practice however it turns out that the majority of the participants are football trainers.

Football is one of the most popular sports in general and oftentimes chosen as the main sport of the intervening agency, which is also the case in Ambon. Using football can serve as valued method of

¹⁹ Interview with respondents of volleyball project, 11 September 2014

connecting with a large part the local community who is attracted by the football programs, but on the other hand, football is heavily gendered and segregated, able bodied boys can be seen as the primary beneficiaries of the programs, but girls and people with a disability remain excluded (Njelesani et al. 2014, p 803).

Besides the fact that football is the most followed and most played sport in Indonesia it is however not appropriate for national reconciliation efforts like the previous mentioned example in South Africa during apartheid where rugby was seen as a national symbol and pride which bounded black and white South Africa when winning the world title (Hoglund & Sundberg 2008, p 807-814).

Football in Indonesia is national wide followed but the national team doesn't develop mutual admiration and support amongst the different groups within the country. People identify themselves rather with local football teams from their own community or city (Adams 2002, p 302-303), hence SDP programs using football to promote mutual support and cooperation have no national team as a mutual symbol to attract different groups of people or relate to within their program.

A third practical factor is the scale of the examined programs. Development and reconciliation are long-term processes. In order to create significant impact SDP agencies regarding these issues should run sustainable programs executed on a regular basis (Schulenkorf et. Al. 2011, p 117).

Both the WorldCoaches program and the ISA training projects are long-term projects with a commitment to Ambon in their programs for several years. The amount of activities executed however stays limited to an average of 2 -4 training sessions a year with around 20-30 participants in each session. It is expected in both training sessions that the participants afterwards continue to organize sport activities for around 30 youth and engage them on regular basis in sport and life skills programs. A group of an estimated 900 youth per training receive these sport activities and life skills training in which there might be opportunities to connect with the other group and building relationships. These amounts of youth represent just a small part of the Moluccan society and with no other linkages to other social interventions it is hard to expect any wider and significant reconciliation amongst Moluccan communities.

The volleyball project consisted of two training sessions of 1 week each in which the 28 participants were trained in volleyball technique and triggered to cooperate with the other groups from other villages, but stopped afterwards because of a lack of funds²⁰.

It is therefore questionable if this initiative have significant impact in the reconciliation process. The projects only engage a limited number of participants and a few groups of youth from some desa's in or around Ambon town. The volleyball project shows some evidence of relationship building and better cooperation amongst the divided groups within this project, but it is impossible to make the claim that this program has contributed heavily to a wider reconciliation process within Ambon. The reconciliation outcomes relate the only a few sport teachers and not a significant part of Moluccan society.

Limited local ownership is a forth limitation within these programs. According to Kidd (2008) participants must feel that the program meets their needs and that they have been consulted in the design and delivery of the program (p 605). Also Lyras & Peachy (2011) in their model address that the local stakeholders should be included in order to have a sense of inclusiveness, belonging and local ownership (p 314).

All researched programs are implemented by either Western (in this case Dutch) organizations or

²⁰ Interview with general director of Arika Mahina, 15 September 2014

with Dutch funding and it is hard to identify any local responsibility for the implemented SDP projects²¹. The WorldCoaches program is executed through a universal trainings manual which is not context specific for Ambon and doesn't include local stakeholders in the program design. The Sport leadership & life skills program does include local stakeholders in the curriculum development. The program in Ambon however just started and there cannot be found a sense of local ownership as the participants haven't mastered the curriculum yet and are not able at this moment to make this curriculum fully their own²².

The volleyball project started with a readiness assessment in the local communities where the eventual training took place. There were talks with the different groups to discuss their needs and exam if the communities were ready for the trainings program²³. It is an example of the inclusion of the local stakeholders in the design of the program. However, the actual training was executed by two Dutch trainers who left after two one-week training sessions which aimed to trigger the participants to organize sport activities for a short term. After the Dutch trainers left and the programs officially stopped, also the amount of activities stopped as all interviewed participants of this program declared that they don't organize a lot of sport activities anymore and that they would like to have more training and continuation²⁴.

The interviews show that also in the volleyball project there is not much local ownership as the trainers stopped organizing sport activities after the funding, hence the project stopped. It shows a sense of dependence on the Dutch training and the local trainers feel no responsibility for the continuation of the program as they are hoping for new programs, but don't show any signs of a willingness or readiness to start activities themselves.

The dependence on the programs and funding shows a certain power dynamics that is at stake within the relationship between the Moluccan society and the Western (Dutch) organizations. The Western organizations are dominant and in control where the trainers are seen as experts and the organizations as a source of funding and the most important actor responsible for actions to happen. Maluku remains the subject with little agency and determination (Darnell 2007, p 574). Here shelters the danger of a non-liberal approach (Darnell 2010, p 401) where Western organizations determine the agenda of activities. In order to create sustainability the programs should be anchored in the local community with local ownership and full control power over themselves (Shinoda 2008, p 98).

4.3.4 Future SDP programs

The SDP programs in this research show some real evidence of some first steps within a reconciliation process and the examples in the beginning of this chapter show that SDP programs and sport activities are a facilitators for moments of contact and relationship building between distinct groups and distinct narratives.

Simultaneously the evidence shows some limitations in relation to some of the theoretical concepts of the previous chapter e.g. the The Lyras & Peachy (2011) model, which indirectly provides a lesson-learned for future programs.

Due to the lack of involvement of other social interventions and multiple disciplinary frameworks these contacts were not always meaningful to become a lasting social result of the program. Also the limitation of the range of sports and the limited scale of the programs make it hard to talk about any

²¹ Report Factfinding peace and sport programme (2007) NKS & Baileo Maluku

²² Evaluation with ISA trainers, 26 September 2014

²³ Interview with general director of Arika Mahina, 15 September 2014

²⁴ Interview with respondents of volleyball project, 11 September 2014

significant and lasting reconciliation amongst the wider Maluku society.

For future SDP interventions these limitations should be taken into account and consider program designs which include a wider range of social interventions as well as a wider scale of sports and traditional games as well as to enlarge the group of participants and other stakeholders as well as a greater local sense of ownership.

In order to create more local ownership one might look at the critical SDP model as stated by Guilianotti (2011) which pursue deep inter-communal transformation, contributing a facilitating role that builds everyday communication trust and common interest between divided communities. This model engages with diverse community groups: not just young people, but also parents, families, friends, village elders who all contribute to project successes which are oftentimes long term aspirations (p 215-222).

This critical SDP model remains a challenge as the SDP sector in Ambon is dependent on funding which wants to see direct results and a multi annual plan of creating local ownership step by step is hard to sell as SDP has to compete for limited resources. In general this frequently leads to projects being developed to fit the funding criteria, with the potential to compromise beneficiaries' needs and promote organizational mission drift (Coalter 2010, p 307).

Future SDP programs require a sense of creativity on how to create this local ownership and create a lasting and sustainable impact (Kidd 2011,p 605) and find a way where they are able to run the program without limiting the participants agency and ability to identify themselves with the program, and experience local responsibility and ownership which continues when funding runs out and Western SDP organizations are retrieving.

Besides some of the limitations of the programs that can be found with the theoretical frameworks of the previous chapter, this research also discovered some limitations that were not addressed in these theoretical frameworks, but might be of influence and worth considering for future SDP initiatives. The model of Lyras & Peachy (2011) addresses required conditions for successful SDP programs. It however assumes that the context where these programs are executed and implemented is ready to receive these programs. The Ambon case shows that there are factors that can be of influence and might limit the effect of SDP which the model takes for granted.

Within Maluku as might also be the case in other development countries across the globe, SDP faces several geographical difficulties. The Maluku islands, including Ambon have in general a hilly relief with a lot of mountains and volcanoes. In Ambon it is hard to find any flat spaces. This, quite practically, makes it hard to build any sport fields or accommodations, and when feasible they are rather expensive and operationally difficult to construct.

It might be intertwined with the geographical difficulties in Ambon, but the amount of sport facilities in Ambon, as again might be relevant in other developing countries, is limited. There is a lack of public spaces, financial support and government support to promote recreational sport.²⁵ Most of the sport facilities are linked to schools, military, government or private initiatives. The poorer groups within the population of Ambon have limited access to sport programs. In particular women,

²⁵ Report Factfinding peace and sport programme (2007) NKS & Baileo Maluku

children and people with a disability are being excluded from participation in and organization of sport activities.²⁶

In future program design SDP agencies thus should examine these challenges related to limited sport accommodations and facilities and the effects of exclusion these limited access to sport programs can have. Especially when the SDP programs train local trainers for whom these are everyday challenges.

The eventual location where a SDP program takes place is also a factor of influence which is not mentioned in the theoretical concepts that have been discussed in this research.

The WorldCoaches program and the ISA training sessions are organized on public fields in the center of Ambon town. All participants leave their villages and come to this central place hence also the moments of contact between the different groups occur in a central place and not in their daily surroundings.

When talking about reconciliation it might be an option to go into the several surrounding villages so that Christians are stimulated to come to Muslim desa's and vice versa²⁷. To get a larger experience of the other narrative by visiting the village then by just meeting at a central place which might limit the reconciliation process more.

The volleyball project shows evidence that this strategy can work. The project included 28 teachers from four desa's and after the first days of theory and getting to know each other they went to the different villages to do the training and organized volleyball matches, which led to lasting results:

People didn't like to visit a Muslim or Christian desa. With this project people got in touch with each other and now Muslims from the desa Siri Sori Islam can play volleyball with Christians in their village Siri Sori Kristen²⁸.

Although not mentioned in the theoretical concepts of SDP, the location of the events is worth considering and can trigger the eventual outcomes of the project as seen in the volleyball project. SDP agencies should examine the 'playing field' and consider appropriate locations by also emphasizing on the social effects of this location and be more aware of these dynamics when choosing the location for their programs.

It is also dependent on the condition of the relationships between the divided groups. When the groups are willing to meet it might be interesting to locate the program within the villages. What is seen in the example of the central and public sport field where groups of both Muslims and Christians play sport on Sunday is that the reason they come there is because of its central site and the 'neutral' ground between Muslim and Christian areas of the town²⁹.

SDP agencies should be aware of these dynamics and engage the local groups when thinking of locations for SDP programs. Is there an interest to meet the other and experience the other narrative within the village or are people more interested and comfortable in sport in a site where it moves away from this distinction of narratives on a more central and neutral place.

²⁶ Evaluation report: Landenprogramma Indonesië/Molukken rond organisatie- en programmaontwikkeling inzake Sport en Duurzame Ontwikkeling op de Molukken (2011) Nederlandse Sport Alliantie (NSA) en Network Sport & Maluku (NSM)

²⁷ Interview with Jacky Manuputty, 10 September 2014

²⁸ Interview with general director of Arika Mahina, 15 September 2014

²⁹ Interview with representative of KONI Ambon, 17 September 2014.

4.3.5 Future research

This research has focused on the analysis of three sport programs by looking at the program design and the perceptions of participants and trainers as well as my own experiences while working as a program officer for ISA.

As stated before the dynamics of the SDP programs take place in a complex social context with several actors who all have influence on this context and therefore it is hard to determine what exactly the effects of SDP programs are on the reconciliation process.

This research provides some evidence of SDP programs and sport activities that facilitate moments of contact and relationship building which led to greater cooperation and in a single case to lasting friendship. What remains unknown is an extensive analysis of what happens after the moments of contact and relationship building. How is the process of building social capital constructed? Social capital in this sense is the informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals (Fukuyama 1999, p 1).

Coalter (2010) in (Sugden 2010, p 270) argues that what is required is a developmental approach based on the de-reification of 'sport' and a concentration of understanding the social processes and mechanisms which might lead to desired outcomes for some participants or some organizations in certain circumstances.

Future research should focus on this wider understanding of the social processes and mechanisms that happen after these contact moments with a more extensive range of methods that go further than participant perspectives and conduct a census of groups and group memberships in a given society, and the second, to use survey data on levels of trust and civic engagement with the other individual (Fukuyama 1999, p 6). Also the use of focus groups, observations and most significant change measurement methods to capture the personal stories of the participants of the SDP programs is needed, which colorize the meaning of these moments of contacts that happen and measure the building of social capital and life skills such as acceptance and respect.

This research shows evidence that sport is a useful way of creating contact moments and facilitate relationship building. It is however too limited to make any claims on the wider impact and content of these relationships, therefore a more comprehensive research with a wider range of research methods is required to get more grasp of what the contribution of SDP programs are in this complex social context and where these moments of contact can lead to.

The sport leadership and life skills program as well as the WorldCoaches program focus on the education of life skills for further youth and community development. This research has provided some evidence that during the WorldCoaches program some contact moments were created and relationships were built as families, both Muslim and Christians invited each other over for dinner.

This research does not provide any evidence of the effect of the teaching of this life skills.

As stated before in order to research that a wider range of research methods is required to provide any evidence for the effect of these life skills. Potential examples of these would be to look at significant change amongst the participating youth of these sport programs and involve their direct environment of schools, parents and friends as well as observation techniques to see to what extent they have learned life skills and to what extent these life skills have contributed to any reconciliation outcomes. This will not only add to the scientific debate on sport for development and peace, but this new information will also help SDP agencies in their program designing and help to think of ways how these moment of contacts can be facilitated better and how these moment of contacts and

teaching of life skills can lead to meaningful and interactive contact so there will be a greater likelihood for real and lasting reconciliation outcomes.

4. Concluding remarks

This research has examined three different sport for development and peace programs in and around Ambon. The aim of this research was to discover to what extent SDP programs can foster greater reconciliation outcomes and simultaneously looked at the limitations which provide a 'lesson-learned' for future SDP programs and future research. The three programs have been examined by looking at their design, implementation as well as the collection of perceptions of staff and trainers within the activities and the experiences of participants of the programs. Also I have used participation observations serving as an employee of ISA, where I was responsible for the execution of one of these examined programs.

This research will contribute to the debate on the complexity of the social context in which SDP programs take place which makes it hard to prove the results of SDP as well as the fact that the SDP sector remains understudied. By looking at some programs and some evidence of reconciliation outcomes in certain circumstances this research has contributed to further mapping the SDP sector in terms of its effect and potential as well as contributing to further research of this understudied domain.

Socially, this research has showed that sport has a role in the reconciliation process in Ambon. As this research has demonstrated, there are some local initiatives that have contributed to further reconciliation, but at the same time there are remaining challenges as Maluku society remains to have intergroup tensions at times and the fact that it is still largely a divided society. Besides other social interventions, this research provides evidence that also sport can play a role in the reconciliation process and showed some first results in terms of reconciliation.

So was Nelson Mandela right when he said sport has the power to change the world? After this research I must conclude that this is quite a large claim and this research shows no evidence that sport changed the conflict dynamics in Ambon to a large extent and that this is too much of a task for sport alone.

However, this research provides evidence that sport facilitates moments of contact and relationship building which eventually can lead to meaningful outcomes. The question then is to what extent this is still the benefit of the SDP program.

The interviews with participants, staff members and trainers of the sport programs show that there were several contact moments where divided groups came together and especially in the volleyball project the participants cooperated with the other group and visited the villages to organize sport events which they hadn't done before. It also shows that these outcomes happen intentionally as well as unintentionally as in another examples sport participation on a field on 'neutral' ground between Christian and Muslim areas can also be a site for inter group contact and relationship building.

Simultaneously, this research shows some of the limitations in the SDP policies which might limit the reconciliation outcomes as well when taking some theoretical concepts into account, for instance the model of Lyras & Peachy (2011). One important aspect is the integration of a wide range of stakeholders and other social interventions, which was not done in neither one of the three programs. The motivation for this inclusion is to have a larger outreach amongst the community as well as more layers within the interventions which increases the likelihood of these contact moments to become interactive and meaningful to have lasting reconciliation outcomes.

Another aspect is the lack of local ownership as this research shows that all programs are depending on Western funding and in most cases a western based program design. This dependence on external factors creates a misbalance of power and a danger for a non-liberal approach where the implemented context has no ownership and self-determination of the program. It also shows that there is no local responsibility for the program and as the volleyball project shows, if the funding stops, the effects also decline as all interviewed participants declared that they don't organize any sport activities anymore where they bring both groups together.

SDP agencies should consider these limitation in future policy. Besides these limitations, the Ambon case also shows some aspects regarding sport facilities that might be of influence in developing countries worldwide and that are not mentioned in the used theoretical models. There is a lack of public space and support for sport facilities as most facilities are linked to schools, military, government or private initiatives. The poorer groups within the population of Ambon have limited access to sport programs. In particular women, children and people with a disability are being excluded from participation in and organization of sport activities. It is important to take this notification into account when training local trainers who face these challenges in their everyday work.

Also the location of sport facilities for SDP programs can be of influence. The volleyball project showed that playing in one of the divided communities triggered more cooperation as the groups visit each other's villages in order to play sport with a likelihood of a greater experience of the other narrative then meeting them on a 'neutral' field.

On the other hand the example of the neutral sport field shows that the neutral character of the field between Muslim and Christian neighborhoods makes both groups come to this site with a potential for contact moments with the other group.

SDP agencies in their future policies should be aware of these dynamics in regards of location and limited facilities and engage the local groups when thinking of locations for SDP programs. Is there an interest to meet the other and experience the other narrative within the village or are people more interested and comfortable in sport within a site where it moves away from this distinction of narratives on a more central and neutral place.

As addressed before, SFD programs take place in a complex social context. This research shows that sport is a useful facilitator of contact moments where relationships can grow, which eventually lead to reconciliation outcomes. It is yet unclear what the exact value of these contact moments is and what these contact moments contain. Also when participants in the WorldCoaches program and sport leadership and life skills program learn life skills it is unclear what the effect of this life skills in the relationship with others and how it relates to reconciliation outcomes.

Further research is required to deal with these questions. What is needed is a more extensive and comprehensive approach with a wide range of research methods e.g. observations and most significant change approaches which include not only participants but also the direct environment of parents, friends, schools and other stakeholders to look at the effect and content of these contact moments and the effect of the life skills programs on youth in relation to reconciliation outcomes.

This type of research will not only add to the scientific debate on the effect of development and peace, but this new information will also help SDP agencies in their program designing and discover how these moments of contact can become more meaningful and lead to tangible reconciliation

outcomes. For now this research provided some warming stories and evidence of first phases of reconciliation, but further effect remains in the sphere of hope and assumption. Further research could eventually answer the question if SDP is limited to this role of contact facilitator or that the potential moves beyond this and can create lasting impact and actual social change and thereby clarify to what extent Mandela's notification that sport does have the power to change the world is true and if so, how it can be achieved.

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