EXPLORING SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE INTERVENTIONS'
ENGAGEMENT OF TARGET COMMUNITY NEEDS: THE CASE OF CYPRUS

by

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A Thesissubmitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Science at George Mason University, and the degree of Master of Arts at the University
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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my father, mother, and grandparents for their unwavering support of my educational pursuits.

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First, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Omar Grech, whose guidance enabled me to pursue a topic that drives me. I also want to thank the professors who have provided me with new knowledge and perspectives while being supportive every step of the way. I am especially appreciative of the support of the program advisor, Thanos Gatsias, whose attention to detail and experience provided a calming presence amidst the program's incredible pace. Thanks also to my family and the friends made through this program as I am incredibly fortunate to have such support.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PeacePlayers International Cyprus .... PPC
Sport for Development and Peace... SDP
Sport for Development Theory ....SFDT

ABSTRACT

EXPLORING SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE INTERVENTIONS'
ENGAGEMENT OF TARGET COMMUNITY NEEDS: THE CASE OF CYPRUS

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George Mason University, 2017

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This thesis explores the ways that Sport for Development and Peace Programs
incorporate local community input in planning and implementation. Selecting two
programs operating in the Cypriot conflict – DOVES Olympic Project and PeacePlayers
International Cyprus – the thesis explores each program's interactions with the local
community to discover the extent of local community input and participation to
communicate local needs. Through the constructivist paradigm, semi-structured
interviews are used to collect the experiences of facilitators and participants of both
programs. Analyzing the lived experiences and perceptions of community members
familiar with the programs represent important data to better understand community
participation and its value to programs doing intercommunal work in Cyprus.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Sports for Development and Peace programs (SDPs) represent a relatively new technique in the development and peacebuilding intervention spaces. Sport's relative newness as a formally recognized vehicle in this field sparks a lively debate between proponents and critics as to sport's ability to better achieve international development and peacebuilding goals. Conversely, the discussion on community participation in the development field can trace its history for more than 40 years. The Cyprus conflict has a lengthy history that continues to see the Cypriot island divided without the presence of violent conflict in the present context. This introductory chapter will serve to present the question of this thesis; the justifications for the question; a background of the Cypriot conflict; and finally provide an outline for the rest of the project.

Exploring the Research Question

Research Question: *How do SDP programs engage local communities in designing and implementing programs to account for the needs and goals of local stakeholders?*

International development and peacebuilding interventions historically seek new methods to increase their impact and efficacy on target communities. Lewis notes the presence of a "perpetual present" in international development where often changing language and "buzzwords" in those spaces are caused by a frequent discussion of new approaches that promise better chances of success than those currently utilized; this is

due to the desire to achieve better results.[1] This phenomenon led to the acceptance of

community participation as the means to improve development initiatives.   Various

factors contribute in to the search for the means to improve planning and delivery of

interventions. Some of these include considerations for evaluations, and the related

phenomenon of securing funding for project sustainability. For some in the development

sector, these two concerns for project sustainability overshadowed local community

beneficiaries and their needs.[2] The focus on target communities represent a turn toward

identifying and meeting their needs through their programming. Some interesting

questions arise relating to local community needs: How are these needs identified? Who

decides what needs are important for inclusion in programming? Who then is included

for these needs? Outside of improving outcomes for the target communities, the trend of

focusing on community needs comes from the idea that addressing these needs is a key

toward increasing intervention outcomes.[3] Many projects are beholden to donors – those

who wield significant power and influence over the development and peacebuilding

processes without being involved in the day-to-day operations on the ground. Such

control leads to a sense of paternalism in development and peacebuilding projects that

many have acknowledged and criticized.[4] Focusing on participatory methods and local

needs are part of the shift toward bottom-up approaches. These bottom-up approaches are

aimed at empowering the community to help themselves, but development practitioners

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[1] Lewis, "International Development and the 'Perpetual Present.'": 33.
[2] Ibid.: 35.
[3] Botes and van Rensburg, "Community Participation in Development: Nine Plagues and Twelve Commandments":53-54; Hickey and Mohan, "Towards Participation as Transformation: Critical Themes and Challenges.": 23.
[4] Black, *Development in Theory and Practice:* 160; Botes and van Rensburg, "Community Participation in Development: Nine Plagues and Twelve Commandments.": 42.

like Black note the challenge it poses to traditional models of donor control from the top downward. This is but one lesson that SDPs can draw upon from development and peacebuilding intervention history.

While SDPs draw on many lessons and practices from the traditional international development field, research on community participation in SDPs is relatively light. Much of the existing scholarship on community participation in SDPs draws on the concept of community partnerships and empowerment of the local communities to create technical manuals for SDP best practices. While these manuals serve a purpose to guide future practitioners, the key issue in utilizing participatory methods to build local partnerships in current programs exists. In terms of scholarly work informed by theory, the work of Lyras in intercommunal efforts in Cyprus to develop a Sport for Development model and theory and Schinke et. al in aboriginal participatory research approaches examines cultural praxis and partnerships to develop SDP projects which tap into the building of relationships within the community.[5] The fact that such efforts to provide academic scholarship to SDPs and community participation are rare within the SDP space reveals a large gap in the literature. This is significant since SDP practitioners and researchers have sought validity and wider acceptance in the development and peacebuilding space during the past two decades. A deeper exploration of these background issues will occur in the subsequent literature review in the next chapter.

Due to the scarcity of community participation in the SDP literature, especially in the context of Cyprus, efforts to begin filling the gap of informing actual SDP program

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[5] Lyras and Welty Peachey, "Integrating Sport-for-Development Theory and Praxis"; Schinke et al., "Moving toward Trust and Partnership.": 202.

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design and implementation practices represent the primary focus of this thesis. While the contributions to this space mentioned above contributed significant research, the dearth of literature overall necessitates a focus to prevent this thesis from overreach that could hamper its contribution. This one thesis cannot provide definitive answers on local participatory practices of SDPs alone. With this understanding in mind, the focus turned toward identifying the types of methods utilized by SDPs in a case study. Combining the considerations on participatory methods' focus on local needs and the questions surrounding those needs, the question developed for this thesis's inquiry became: "How do SDP programs engage local communities in designing and implementing programs to account for the needs and goals of local stakeholders?"

This question was chosen for a number of reasons. Taking the question's focus on SDP participatory practices to account for local needs, this thesis will focus on how programs design and implement their interventions. In these two areas, overarching philosophies of these projects can be explored through this question. This includes top-down, bottom-up, or potentially a combination of the two approaches. Understanding the philosophies behind SDP structures can provide interesting insight as to the level of success of participatory approaches and their willingness to apply these methods. A similarly related issue that can be uncovered by this question is how the SDPs identified local needs and what processes they utilized to decide which needs would be incorporated.

An important exercise in justifying the question in focus also involves outlining the key assumptions of the thesis. This form of disclosure will inform the element of

discovery because semi-structured interview data collection provides the possible avenue

of falsification of these assumptions for the case study.[6] The assumptions cover three

areas: sport in the development and peacebuilding space; community participation as a

tool to improve SDPs; and how local needs are considered. By focusing the question on

SDPs, sport is given a certain level of legitimacy as a tool for the variety of development

and peacebuilding objectives in the context of Cyprus. This project examines an existing

phenomenon of sports in conflict settings. This thesis assumed that SDPs employ

different structures pertaining to the degree sport plays in programming, philosophies on

program and project structures, and the types of goals and measures used to determine

positive outcomes. The SDPs chosen to answer this question will be explored in Chapter

Three.

Another key assumption examines community participation; namely, that utilizing

participatory practices can result in positive outcomes for the interventions that employ

them. While the debate on community participation generally favors its use in improving

project outcomes and program impact, it is also understood that its critics question the

link between community participation and SDP effectiveness as outlined in the chapter

on the literature review. A closely related assumption is that employing local

participation will change the perceptions of community members toward SDPs favorably

so that these residents feel that they have a stake in the program's objectives.[7] By

creating a sense of ownership within the community, the logic of community

participation states that members will feel empowered to work with these organizations to

[6] Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research.": 19.
[7] Ross, "Action Evaluation in the Theory and Practice of Conflict Resolution.": 5.

create sustainable programming and obtain long-term positive impact. Community

participation is understood to come in many forms for specific contexts; some practices

may not be appropriate in other contexts. Exploring SDP philosophies on participation

and the methods they used are the focus of this thesis.

By attempting to discover how SDPs accounted for local needs, the third

assumption is that local needs will be incorporated in meaningful ways to benefit the

community and the program since these needs are integral in tailoring programming to fit

local contexts. When local community members are invited to participate, the result is

that they feel that SDPs have met their needs. A sense of ownership and acceptance of

the program results in stakeholders providing resources to better support and enhance

programming. Where local needs are surveyed but not utilized, it is assumed that there

must be a clear reasoning for its exclusion, including the financial, human resource, or

time limitations touched upon earlier. By laying out the assumptions of the research

question up front, the researcher can track any changes that may occur throughout the

research process, leading to a greater sense of discovery. As mentioned previously, the

literature informing these assumptions will be explored in the following chapter.

In summary, the research question was chosen to fill in a gap in the sports and

conflict literature. Within the sport and conflict space, methods for community

participation have rarely been discussed. The research question allows for exploration on

how local participation in programming is taken into account in the planning and

implementation phases of SDPs. By focusing on community participation in the sport

and conflict space, the question hopes to uncover important lessons for current and future programs in Cyprus.

Background on the Cyprus Conflict

Within intergroup conflict, the history of events and conflict causes lie at the center of a hotly contested debate between the groups involved. Perpetuation of the conflict over a significant period without resolution leads to the attachment of labels classifying it as 'intractable' and 'protracted' by insiders and outsiders alike. The division of Cyprus represents one such conflict. Despite the lack of intense intercommunal violence between the Greek Cypriot (GC) and Turkish Cypriot (TC) communities at present, the characterization of the conflict being labeled as protracted and intractable is due to its significant duration. If utilizing the war in 1974 that divided the island as a referent point, the conflict has been ongoing for 43 years. It is even longer if you consider the hostilities of the 1960s. One of the longest ongoing conflicts to date, the Cypriot conflict embodies a clash of histories as well as ideologies that prolongs the conflict.

The island of Cyprus lies 40 miles south of Turkey and 600 miles to the southeast of Greece. Its geopolitical location in the Eastern Mediterranean puts it at the crossroads of the European, Asian, and African continents. In addition to its strategic location, the long-exposed coastline and small size of the island contribute to its attractiveness for outsiders. The long history of colonial rulers includes: the Greeks, Assyrians, Egyptians,

Romans, Byzantines, Franks, Ottomans, and the British.[8] On its geopolitical structure, Alan James notes, "'throughout recorded time, its political experience has reflected the interlocking impact of two utterly basic geographic factors: size and location. From their influence, the island has been wholly unable to escape.'"[9] Of the long list of colonial rulers, only the Greeks and Turks have left a lasting demographic impact on the island – the Greeks being the majority and the Turks as being characterized as the minority population.

When outlining the key events in Cypriot history, there is some disagreement. Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis and Trigeorgis and Joseph differing on the date of first settlement of the island by the Greeks (third millennium B.C. versus the second half of the second millennium BC) but do agree on Turkish settlement during Ottoman rule in 1571.[10] Herta points to the first arrival of Greeks with the Mycenean Greeks' arrival as merchants in the 13th century BC while also noting the rule of Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC, and followed by Roman and Byzantine rule under the Orthodoxy, then Richard the Lionheart who sold it to the Luisignans and later the Venetians before the Ottomans.[11]

Considering the predominance of Greek and Turkish influence on the island, some scholars trace the genesis of the conflict to the conditions that gave rise to nationalism. Accounts by Joseph, Kitromilides, and Michael note the development of communalism through the implementation of the Ottoman millet system. In this system,

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[8] Yilmaz, "Past Hurts and Relational Problems in the Cyprus Conflict.": 36-37.
[9] Qtd. in Joseph S., "Prologue: The Cyprus Problem: An Overview.": 11.
[10] Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis and Trigeorgis, "Cyprus AN EVOLUTIONARY APPROACH TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION": 343; Joseph S., "Prologue: The Cyprus Problem: An Overview.": 11.
[11] Herta, "Peacekeeping and (Mis)management of Ethnic Disputes. the Cyprus Case.": 65.

each ethnic community was organized by religion and was treated as distinct.[12] For the

GC community, the Orthodox Church of Cyprus could govern its own ethnic community

under the larger Ottoman rule. The bishop of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus became the

de facto political leader of the Greek Cypriots. Under this system, the concept of enosis

was formed. Enosis was a national liberation ideology that meant "union with the

'motherland' Greece."[13] By operating in a semi-autonomous capacity, many cite the

system's underlying principles of equality and communal uniformity amongst ethnic

groups that led to the rise of the enosis nationalist ideology amongst the Greeks on the

island.[14] Other authors note the relative harmony amongst the two communities, despite

historical conflict.[15] It was also during this time that the Turkish population grew to

almost 20% of the island, while Greeks were less than 80% with other minorities making

up the difference.[16] The millet system institutionalized the division of people in the

Ottoman Empire. An describes the Turkish their nationalism developed during the 1920s

and 1930s under the Atatürk movement to establish the Republic of Turkey as

disseminated by the Turkish Cypriot press.[17]

The British administration of Cyprus began in 1878, who then annexed the island

in 1914; the Treaty of Lausanne formally acknowledged by the annexation in 1923.

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[12] Joseph S., "Prologue: The Cyprus Problem: An Overview": 14; Michael, *Resolving the Cyprus Conflict*.: 15.
[13] Husnu and Crisp, "Imagined Intergroup Contact.": 98.
[14] Joseph S., "Prologue: The Cyprus Problem: An Overview": 12; Kitromilides, "Relevance or Irrelevance of Nationalism?": 59; Michael, *Resolving the Cyprus Conflict*.: 14-15.
[15] Joseph S., "Prologue: The Cyprus Problem: An Overview": 18; Herta, "Peacekeeping and (Mis)management of Ethnic Disputes. the Cyprus Case.": 64.
[16] Herta, "Peacekeeping and (Mis)management of Ethnic Disputes. the Cyprus Case.": 63.
[17] An, "'Cypriotism' and the Path to Reunification": 25; Sirin, "Examining the Role of Identity in Negotiation Decision Making.": 420.

Michael describes the Greek Bishop Kyprianos's view of the British colonizers as "European saviors from Ottoman despotism."[18] His mistaken view led to a turbulent reaction to the new colonial order. During this time, British colonial authorities kept the millet system in place, but favored the Turkish over Greeks to control the Greek majority population.[19] British favor resulted in conferring administrative and other positions of power on Turks. According to Herta, British hostility toward Greek Cypriots was due to "the increasingly manifest desire to create a union with Greece" and resulted in the British strategy of fueling animosity between the communities to discourage the majority's attempts at emancipation and democratization through the idea of enosis.[20] The 1950s saw the rise of Greek nationalist fighters EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston*/National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) who conducted guerrilla warfare against colonial authorities for enosis. The British encouraged and supported the Turkish Cypriot notion of taksim – division or partition – to counter these nationalist moves by Greek Cypriots.[21] A survey conducted by Hadjipavlou in 2000-2002 found that 80% of Greek Cypriots and 47% of Turkish Cypriots blame British colonial practices for the conflict.[22]

In 1959, Britain gave up control of Cyprus resulting in the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. The London-Zurich Agreements of 1959 were negotiated by the powers of Great Britain, Greece and Turkey which created a series of subsequent treaties that protected British military interests (Treaty of Establishment); created a defense pact

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[18] Michael, *Resolving the Cyprus Conflict*.: 7.
[19] Yilmaz, "Past Hurts and Relational Problems in the Cyprus Conflict.": 38-39.
[20] Herta, "Peacekeeping and (Mis)management of Ethnic Disputes. the Cyprus Case.": 64-65.
[21] An, "'Cypriotism' and the Path to Reunification.": 26.
[22] Hadjipavlou, "The Cyprus Conflict.": 352.

between Greece, Turkey and Cyprus (Treaty of Alliance); ensured the maintenance of Cyprus by the powers of Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey (Treaty of Guarantee); and created the constitution of the new republic.[23] The constitution created government structures reflective of ethnic difference. The president would come from the Greek Cypriot majority while the vice-president was Turkish Cypriot. The government structure representation would generally follow the proportions of Greek and Turkish Cypriots on the island. A key element of this constitution included the Treaty of Guarantee, in which Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey could intervene in cases of union with another country or partition.[24] Established in 1960, this constitution lasted another three years before the outbreak of violence that led to the partition of the island 14 years later.

The constitution proved untenable in the years after its establishment in 1960. Rumelili and others note the continuing identity differences between the two communities from colonialism led to the inability to distinguish between ethnic and political identity, amounting to no real sense of being 'Cypriot.'[25] By 1963, Greek Cypriots felt the Turkish Cypriots held more representation in many government structures than their proportion of the ethnic population of the island (30% in most cases compared to 18-20% population). Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, felt the oppression of the majority in the constitutional structure such as never having the potential for president or the phenomenon of being outvoted along communal lines and

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[23] Joseph S., "Prologue: The Cyprus Problem: An Overview": 21; Michael, *Resolving the Cyprus Conflict*.: 26.
[24] Michael, *Resolving the Cyprus Conflict*. :26.
[25] Rumelili, "Identity and Desecuritisation": 65; see also Joseph S., "Prologue: The Cyprus Problem: An Overview": 45; Michael, *Resolving the Cyprus Conflict*.: 187.

withdrew accordingly. Asmussen highlights the distrust between the two communities during the Republic's early years as the divergent messages of enosis and Taksim as key causes of the failure of the constitution noting, "The failure of this endeavor was inevitable. Almost from the beginning, a petty-minded tug of war occurred on almost every constitutional issue."[26] To break the deadlock, Greek Cypriots conducted a takeover of the major governmental structures resulting in island-wide intercommunal violence that displaced people of both communities beginning in 1963. The UN Security Council sent peacekeeping forces by SC Resolution 186 called the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) in 1964. The United States stepped into the fray in an attempt to mediate the dispute during that same year. By 1967, Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis notes the segregation of the Turkish Cypriot leadership as the first concrete move to partition the island, eventually resulting in the creation of a "state within a state."[27] Mehmet and Mehmet argue that the creation of a Turkish Cypriot government to provide services for its people was a necessary move throughout the conflict years because the Greek Cypriot government takeover denied these services and placed them in a dire situation.[28]

    With intercommunal talks bearing little success, 1974 is a significant year for all scholars examining the conflict in Cyprus as the terms used to describe the event however differ. Partition began in the summer of 1974 when the Greek junta engineered a coup against President Makarios to attempt enosis, causing him to flee and throwing the island into further chaos. Turkey then sent forces to intervene to "restore the constitutional

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[26] Asmussen, "Escaping the Tyranny of History.": 34.
[27] Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis and Trigeorgis, "Cyprus AN EVOLUTIONARY APPROACH TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION.": 344.
[28] Mehmet and Mehmet, "Family in War and Conflict.": 295-297.

order."[29] Their action caused further displacement of approximately 180,000 Greek

Cypriots to the South and 50,000 Turkish Cypriots to the North. A de facto state was

formed in the north, divided by the green line protected by UNFICYP.[30] In 1983, Rauf

Denktash declared the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), an action widely

condemned by the international community via UNSC 541 (1983) and 550 (1984) that

argued the move only served to exacerbate the conflict between the two communities.[31]

As a result, Turkey was the only country to officially recognize Northern Cyprus's

legitimacy. Anastasiou and others point to 1974 as a chosen trauma for the Greek

Cypriots as Turkey's action was characterized as an 'invasion' instead of intervention.

The trauma for Turkish Cypriots spanned from 1963-1974, after which Turkey provided

protection against the Greek Cypriot majority.[32] According to Volkan, the developments

of 1974 has since established a world opinion accepting Greek Cypriots as victims and

Turkish Cypriots (or Turks in general) as aggressors.[33]

In 1999, discussions between both communities as well as Greece and Turkey

mediated by the UN and European Union (EU) resulted in a significant push to resolve

the conflict and unify the island. By 2002, the Annan Plan – named after Secretary

General Kofi Annan – moderated by the UN and EU attempted to create a bi-communal,

bi-zonal, federal government that sought to unify the island. Its approval through

referendum was tied to EU membership for the united island to spur compromise. The

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[29] Direkli, "A New Period in the Cyprus Conflict": 133; Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis and Trigeorgis, "Cyprus AN EVOLUTIONARY APPROACH TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION.": 344.
[30] Husnu and Crisp, "Imagined Intergroup Contact.": 98.
[31] Resolution 541 (1983); Resolution 550 (1984).
[32] Anastasiou, "Communication Across Conflict Lines": 587; Hadjipavlou, "The Cyprus Conflict": 353; Volkan, "Trauma, Identity and Search for a Solution in Cyprus.": 95-97.
[33] Volkan, "Trauma, Identity and Search for a Solution in Cyprus.": 98.

referendum on the plan failed with 75.8% of Greek Cypriots voting against the measure compared to a Turkish majority approval of 64.9%.[34] Seen by some as the last recent chance for a united Cyprus, the process has stalled considerably with UNFICYP talks over the last 10 years concluding without settlement.

The significant length of the Cyprus conflict and frustration over elite level talks has led to calls for grassroots level peacebuilding activities. Noting the absence of violence over a long period, Rothman highlights Cyprus's history as a proving ground for experts and theorists to test and apply skills in a non-volatile but still deeply rooted conflict.[35] Attempting to bring together communities divided for over 40 years by the UN Green Line buffer zone, conflict practitioners such as Psaltis, Anastasiou, and Hadjipavlou note high instances of prejudice and blame for the 'other' through the solidification of divided collective memory that they argue lead to the prolonging of the conflict.[36] Broome notes the use of participatory planning and design methodologies since 1994 in an attempt to develop and implement an agenda for citizen peacebuilding initiatives to fill the ongoing gap between the two communities.[37] There are now a variety of cases of intergroup contact initiatives to bring both Greek and Turkish Cypriots together to break the barriers of separation and generate peace such as the SDP programs of DOVES Olympic Project and PeacePlayers International Cyprus (PPC). Examining SDPs in Cyprus will provide insight on whether grassroot efforts are translated into

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[34] Turk, *Visions in Conflict*.
[35] Rothman, "Articulating Goals and Monitoring Progress in a Cyprus Conflict Resolution Training Workshop.": 57.
[36] Psaltis, "Collective Memory, Social Representations of Intercommunal Relations, and Conflict Transformation in Divided Cyprus.": 21; Anastasiou, "Communication Across Conflict Lines": 581; Hadjipavlou, "The Third Alternative Space."
[37] Broome, "Participatory Planning and Design in a Protracted Conflict Situation.": 314.

practice for effective interventions. Considering the Cyprus conflict's ongoing status, the above account is by no means an extensive or exhaustive one. It does serve to provide a backdrop for the growth of SDPs and other peacebuilding projects developing in Cyprus. The hope is that this admittedly small project can encourage other inquiries to further examine the views and practices of SDPs relating to community participation within their target communities.

Chapter Outline

The rest of this thesis's chapters will be briefly explained and outlined. In Chapter Two, the literature review will identify 5 subject areas essential to understand this thesis: (1) the history of development interventions and the discussion of the inclusion of peacebuilding under the development umbrella in the conflict-development nexus that leads to a blurring of ideologies and perspectives that have helped and hurt peacebuilding; (2) an overview of sport's usage in development and peacebuilding programs including its proposed multi-sector use and the lack of evidence discourse for this newer technique; (3) Gordon Allport's intergroup contact theory as a key theoretical underpinning in many SDPs; (4) intervention program design, monitoring and evaluation techniques including logical and constructivist approaches; and finally, (5) the debate on community participation including empowerment of local communities and local knowledge. The methodology used in this thesis will be outlined in Chapter Three as will justifications for the use of a constructivist paradigm for a case study employing semi-structured interviews as the primary means of data collection. The following Chapter Four will lay out the data and findings gathered from the interviews in terms of the

patterns and themes found. Chapter Five will analyze the data in terms of the project's

overarching question and other themes discovered while also establishing a connection

between the findings and the literature and potential new findings for SDPs and

community participation. Wrapping up the project, Chapter Six will conclude the project

by offering a summary of findings, reiterate lessons learned that may be useful for future

SDP efforts, and lay out potential directions for future research to build on this thesis and

further build the knowledge base on community participation in SDPs.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Cyprus represents one of the oldest, ongoing conflicts since the establishment of the United Nations. SDPs represent a relatively new form of development characterized as both a breakthrough innovation as well as fledgling. As an interdisciplinary approach to development and peace objectives, understanding SDP interventions requires a veritable wealth of knowledge regarding a number of topics. As such, the literature on SDP programming can feel overwhelming with the number of topics involved. This dissertation attempts to understand community participation in the design and implementation phases of these interventions which serve a peace or, more broadly, a social development goal. The following literature review accordingly will cover five topic areas: 1) A brief survey of development and justification of development interventions under the larger development umbrella; 2) Examining the SDP field and tracing its trajectory; 3) Theories of social development SDPs; 4) program and project design and evaluation methods; and 5) The community participation literature. Covering these areas will enable one to better understand the dissertation's purpose in its attempt to add to the literature on participation specifically within SDP programming in Cyprus.

Justifying Development and Peacebuilding Interventions

International development initiatives represent a forerunner in the SDP field because these represented the first efforts of interventions in other countries. In defining development, Black offers a wide-ranging definition with:

> It has no precise meaning, no generally accepted definition…It means whatever one wants or needs it to mean… It gives us license to poach to bring intellectual and scholarly traditions to bear on a broad range of issue and policy problem areas without becoming trapped by disciplinary, jurisdictional, cultural, or geographic boundaries.[38]

Rist traces the roots of international development within landmark moments in Western history to delineate its older roots. Beginning with Aristotle, but also including St. Augustine, Enlightenment thinkers such as Fontenelle and Perrault's status as "Moderns" (and dissension from Rousseau and David Hume) and the proponents of Social Evolutionism such as Auguste Comte and Karl Marx began forming the underpinnings of international development. Rist highlights five major observations regarding his "overhasty review" of twenty-five centuries of philosophy.[39] His observations include: 1) the consistency of 'development' as an innate practice that is necessary and the application of nature to institutions that ultimately blurs the line between image and reality, but a break with old philosophers on the cyclical decay in history to promote linear thinking; 2) the currently accepted idea of all nations having access to development is a Western conception of itself – at the exclusion of all others – to its past and future; 3) the falsehood associated with truths; namely that all countries can become developed given the control of much of the world's resources by a few; 4) the contradictions such as

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[38] Black, *Development in Theory and Practice*.: 1.
[39] Rist and Camiller, *The History of Development*.: 28-43.

spending massive amounts of money will develop the poorest nations; and 5) the constant

portrayal of development as the solution is problematic because development experts feel

they have the key to the solution of underdevelopment.[40] Rist's historical overview and

observations of Western philosophy drive his understanding of development's beginnings

under colonization and formalization in the post-World War II era.

Taking Rist's observations on development and Black's open-ended interpretation

of development, while examining the development discourse further reveals the main

justifications for intervention initiatives. The Western conceptualization of development

has taken on the particular justifications in liberalism, modernism, and moralism.

Beginning with Adam Smith's theories of liberal economics, capitalist notions of

development based on a free flow of goods and capital across nations began to take hold

during Western colonization of the world. Lewis (2009) and Rist point to the

establishment of liberalist notions of free market capitalism as the dominant development

discourse.[41] This discourse continues today. Thomas observes this phenomenon with,

"Indeed, liberal capitalism is so dominant that there appears to be no question of

wholesale social transformation in any other direction."[42] Capitalism as the dominant

economic ideology went largely unchallenged until the rise of Marxist communism that

highlighted the asymmetric relationships in capitalism mainly up until the end of the Cold

War – an ideology Black terms a "discordant" interest in development.[43] In this sense,

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[40] Ibid.: 43-46.
[41] Lewis, "International Development and the 'Perpetual Present'":34; Rist and Camiller, *The History of Development:* 48-49.
[42] Thomas, "Development as Practice in a Liberal Capitalist World.":774.
[43] Black, *Development in Theory and Practice*.:26.

intervening in colonies and other countries in the name of economic growth, a seemingly contradictory element arose to the laissez-faire principles of liberal capitalism.

In the context of post-World War II reconstruction, identification of underdeveloped countries by the Truman administration as a priority brought forward a stark dichotomy between the developed West and war-torn nations or those coming out of colonization as the underdeveloped world. In so doing, a link between development (mostly in the form of aid) and the ideology of modernism began to pervade development discourse in rebuilding the world and fending off communism.[44] This highlighted the formalized development as economically focused. As another ideology emerged from the Enlightenment, Manzo describes modern thought thus: "modern discourse has invoked the figure of a reasoning man who might achieve total knowledge, total autonomy, and total power."[45] When combined with liberal capitalism, this understanding of knowledge and economics created a modernist theory which placed sole focus on economic liberalization of trade barriers and the welcoming of technology to achieve development or progress.[46] Part of the Washington Consensus utilized by large aid organizations such as the World Bank, IMF, and USAID, modernization and liberal capitalism narrowed the policy choices regarding development interventions toward economic growth toward this trickle-down understanding of progress. Brinkeroff details the shift in trends of state-led development supported by large aid interventions toward

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[44] Riddell, *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?:* 26-28; Black, *Development in Theory and Practice:* 24; Moyo, *Dead Aid:*7.

[45] Manzo, "Modernist Discourse and the Crisis of Development Theory.":7.

[46] Black, *Development in Theory and Practice:* 24; Thomas, "Development as Practice in a Liberal Capitalist World.":774.

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the market and back toward a mixture of both from the 1970s to the success of the "Asian

Tigers" of the 1980s and 1990s that was informed largely by American development

ideals.[47] With the end of the Cold War, capitalism appeared to win out its ideological

war with communism. Liberal values such as democracy and good governance became

conditions and indicators for development.[48] The association of development and

progress brought forward a significant reaction from those termed the 'underdeveloped'

or Third World who sought to question what development success looked like and how

one could achieve it.

Peacebuilding represents another form of intervention that has sparked

considerable debate over its methods and justifications in societies torn by conflict.

Peacebuilding missions began in response to the rise of intra-state conflict in the post-

Cold War era. Newman, Paris, and Richmond define peacebuilding in conflict-prone and

post-conflict countries simply as "aimed at preventing the resumption or escalation of

violent conflict and establishing a durable and self-sustaining peace."[49] Avruch places

peacebuilding at the end of a long line of iterations of peace "nomenclature" beginning

with conflict regulation, moving to resolution, and transformation to say that

peacebuilding, "is the most ambitious of them all, and the one most fraught with ethical

(among other) concerns, partly because peacebuilding entails the most intensive and

wide-ranging *intervention* by others into the conflict system (society and culture)."[50] The

ethical concerns touched on by Avruch deal with peacebuilding's legitimacy among

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[47] Brinkerhoff, "The State and International Development Management.": 987.
[48] Riddell, *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?*:45,67, 374.
[49] Newman, Paris, and Richmond, *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding*.:3.
[50] Avruch, "Does Our Field Have a Centre.":10-11.

locals in delicate situations that has led to Roberts and others terming peacebuilding as liberal interventionism.[51] Liberal interventionism represents the injection of politics into peacebuilding and development. Cubitt characterizes liberal interventionism as the ideology that liberal states should intervene in other sovereign states to pursue liberal goals (democracy, market economies, and good governance as the means to peacefully integrate into the international system).[52] This idea lends its theoretical underpinnings to liberal peace theory where liberally constructed societies will tend to be more peaceful in both domestic and international affairs.[53] It is here that Duffield argues that countries targeted for peacebuilding and development interventions "come to see international assistance as an extension of Western foreign policy."[54]

Critics of liberal internationalism decried its use by the United States and United Kingdom in foreign policy to give rise to Western impositions of international development and peacebuilding. Spivak examines postcolonialism and the legacy it left on marginalized communities to caution against interventions that speak on behalf of the marginalized because doing so imposes knowledge and understanding that removes their agency and further marginalizes them.[55] Roberts criticizes liberal interventionism for its "technical process" that avoids engagement with complex local contexts and local knowledge because each conflict is not a blank slate to apply preconceived notions of

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[51] Roberts, "Everyday Legitimacy and Postconflict States: Introduction": 65; Mac Ginty, "Hybrid Peace": 393; Cubitt, "Responsible Reconstruction after War": 106; Duffield, "The Liberal Way of Development and the Development—Security Impasse.":54.
[52] Cubitt, "Responsible Reconstruction after War.":92.
[53] Newman, Paris, and Richmond, *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding*.:11.
[54] Duffield, "The Liberal Way of Development and the Development—Security Impasse.": 54.
[55] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"

peace.[56] The ideas espoused in liberal interventionism – liberal democracy, liberal

human rights, market values, and integration of a globalized state – brought forth

criticism from Newman et. al and Paris who argue the inherent turbulence brought by

these processes that can exacerbate social tensions and further undermine the prospects

for stable peace in fragile post-war societies.[57] Cubitt utilizes the case of Sierra Leone to

conversely argue that a focus on the 'liberal' terminology serves to distract from what she

deems the necessary focus of peacebuilding: "to understand the motives behind liberal

interventions and their objectives before we can construct something more relevant for

the locale by cherry picking the processes that work and ignoring their theoretical

connotations."[58] By focusing on the local context, these authors believe alternative forms

and alternatives to liberal ideology may better set up the society for stable post-war

peace. Mac Ginty and Firchow answer Cubitt's clarion call by introducing a bottom-up

narrative approach to peacebuilding as the more context sensitive alternative to an

imposed, top-down approach.[59] Much of the debate revolves around how to make

interventions more responsive to local contexts.

As mentioned previously, liberal capitalist ideas dominate the socio-economic

structures of the globe today. Thomas calls this market-led process "the dominant mode

of social organization and the basis for globalization," while Arce (2003) adds that it

amounts to the "'withdrawal of the state,' manifested in deregulation policies,

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[56] Roberts, "Everyday Legitimacy and Postconflict States: Introduction.": 65.
[57] Newman, Paris, and Richmond, *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding:* 12; Paris, "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism.": 57.
[58] Cubitt, "Responsible Reconstruction after War.": 112.
[59] Mac Ginty and Firchow, "Top-down and Bottom-up Narratives of Peace and Conflict.": 315.

liberalization and privatization strategies, requires new conceptual frameworks to locate

policy discussions where issues concerning social change and intervention are central."[60]

Such pervasive discourse managed to bring peace and peacebuilding activities under its

broader development umbrella. As mentioned above, much of development's focus

entailed economic gains to define success. With the establishment of the UNDP

Millennium Development Goals, it represented the idea that development involves much

more than the economic side, but also requires human focused goals (health, food

security, education, etc.).[61] Liberal interventionism is a prime reflection of this melding

of development and peace objectives. The strong linkages between peace and

development have taken on a security linkage as well – called the conflict-development

nexus (or the development security nexus) where objectives of peacebuilding in conflict

societies are melded with development objectives in the name of peace or security.

Duffield defines the nexus as "the promise that development can promote international

security" while Elhawary sees it as "where violent conflict is dialectically opposed to

development and in fact represents 'development in reverse.'"[62] In Elhawary's focus on

Colombia as a case study and Williams' use of the link by the Bush Administration

between the "war on terror" and development objectives based on the idea that "poverty

causes terrorism," both conclude that the nexus is a more complicated phenomenon than

currently discussed, leading development and peacebuilding agencies to create misguided

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[60] Arce, "Value Contestations in Development Interventions: Community Development and Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches.": 199-200.

[61] Riddell, *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?*; Rist and Camiller, *The History of Development*.

[62] Duffield, "The Liberal Way of Development and the Development—Security Impasse":54; Elhawary, "VIOLENT PATHS TO PEACE?": 98.

programs as a result of this misunderstanding.[63] The addition of peace to the larger

development field may serve a pragmatic function due to development's more accepted

status with greater monetary and programmatic resources[64]

The history of international development evolved considerably from simply

monetary aid donations encapsulated by ODA and other nation-to-nation transfers in the

name of "development." This embodies Black's definition of flexibility at the outset of

this section. Webb and Richelieu (2015) point to the greater implication of linking

development and peace together because it "seems to imply that you cannot have one

without the other or that development is a prerequisite for peace, which are positions we

question."[65]

Sport in Development and Peace

Commonly called Sport for Development or Sport for Peace programs, the

bringing in of peacebuilding activities into the larger development umbrella led to the

term used in this thesis, Sport for Development and Peace programs (SDPs). Mentioned

at the outset of this review, the SDP phenomenon is relatively new in the formalized

development and peacebuilding spaces. Levermore and Beacom (2009) cite sport's

growing utilization in attempts to initiate social change, but its familiarity to governments

who saw sport as helpful to controlling the social order and in a more limited manner

bring economic development.[66] For better or worse, sport programs have utilized a broad

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[63] Elhawary, "VIOLENT PATHS TO PEACE?": 85; Williams, "The Bush Administration, Debt Relief, and the War on Terror.": 60.
[64] Moyo, *Dead Aid*; Rist and Camiller, *The History of Development*.
[65] Webb and Richelieu, "Sport for Development and Peace Snakes and Ladders.": 279.
[66] Levermore and Beacom, "Sport and Development: Mapping the Field.": 2.

definition of development to include human-based, social engineering goals to highlight the positives of sport. The claims and critics of sport have contributed to the greater discussion and growing knowledge base around its usage in development and peacebuilding programs.

The history of social development via sport represents a much longer history than the growth of this recent phenomenon. Kidd traces the social development through sport movement back to the "rational recreation' interventions of the improving middle working class in the late nineteenth century, continuing with the "playground movement" of the early twentieth century, and the sports movements of the interwar period among others.[67] Donnelly describes the purposes of the rational recreation movements in the United States and British colonies as imposing middle class values such as "rationality, industry, purpose, respectability, and, in the case of competitive sports, meritocracy" through two main goals: implement social control and encourage "civilized" behavior to those who traditionally involved themselves in "rowdy pursuits" (drinking, gambling, etc.) and self-improvement through health, education, and character.[68] Lyras and Welty Peachy and Lyras point to sport as a tool for cultural and social enrichment and peace envisioned by Pierre de Coubertin for the revival of the Modern Olympic Games called Olympism.[69] In modern sport, the primarily humanist objectives of Olympism experienced dilution through commercialization, performance-enhancing drugs, and corruption surrounding the power structure of the Olympic movement. Such factors

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[67] Kidd, "A New Social Movement.": 371.
[68] Donnelly, "From War Without Weapons to Sport for Development and Peace.": 66.
[69] Lyras and Welty Peachey, "Integrating Sport-for-Development Theory and Praxis": 318; Lyras, "Olympism in Practice.": 46.

appear to indicate a rediscovery of sports for positive social development by various actors, even though social engineering through sport contains the longer history described above.

While the use of sport can be contested, its growth in literature and the formalization of the field cannot. In Giulianotti, his analysis of sport for development and social change can be identified as a formalized social policy "sector" due to the growing backing of major institutions and governments, such as the creation of the UN Office on Sport for Development and Peace, or UNOSDP as well as USAID and DFID, the growing interconnectedness and reflexivity of its practices, and the holding of consistent, annual conferences around the world focusing on using sport for peace.[70] The participating organizations are diverse both in their scope and focus as the benefits of sport are many. Levermore and Beacom note a significant growth and expansion in the utilization of sport in development after the UN declared 2005 to be the International Year of Sport and Physical Education.[71] Official recognition by the UNDP for inclusion into the MDGs as well as later resolutions recognizing the potential for development and peace regarding subsequent Olympic games and FIFA World Cups also contribute to the upward trend toward official legitimacy.[72] In harnessing the commercial aspects of major sporting events and teams, corporations now contribute funds and name-recognition to SDP programming all over the world via international institutions. Webb and Richelieu describe the logo of SDP NGO Right to Play appear along those of major corporate

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[70] Giulianotti, "The Sport, Development and Peace Sector.": 760.
[71] Levermore and Beacom, "Sport and Development: Mapping the Field.": 1.
[72] Darnell and Darnell, *Sport for Development and Peace*.: 2-3.

sponsors Adidas and Samsung on English Champions Chelsea FC in 2012 as a "marketing coup" that "demonstrates the great lengths that some sport for development and/or peace (SDP) NGO's are prepared to go to secure vital funding partners."[73] These aspects taken together created what some would call an industry that could increase competition for a limited funding and attention pool as is happening in the development space.

Supporters of sport's role in initiating social change claim a wide variety of benefits in their programs.   Levermore attributes sport's emergence in development due to the seemingly apparent failure of more traditional, development strategies that focused on modernization and economic growth as the solution to alleviating poverty and later, social development.[74] As development targets began to include more than economic targets and include social ones, sport picked up traction as a viable alternative. Schwery outlines four fields of development where sport can affect positive change: Human development, social development, economic development, and political development.[75] Supporters point to the potential for sport to influence the fields of public health, socialization of children, youth, and adults, conflict resolution between groups in divided societies, crime reduction, and intercultural exchange.[76] Considering these potential benefits, many supporters caution against viewing sport as a panacea to development and peacebuilding because of the growing research of the field.

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[73] Webb and Richelieu, "Sport for Development and Peace Snakes and Ladders.": 278.
[74] Levermore, "Sport in International Development.": 55-56.
[75] Schwery, "The Potential of Sport for Development and Peace.": 16.
[76] Giulianotti, "The Sport, Development and Peace Sector": 757-758; Lyras and Welty Peachey, "Integrating Sport-for-Development Theory and Praxis.": 311.

The wide range of sectors and potential uses of sport provides flexibility in objectives, but also program types. Focusing on social change goals, Several SDPs have a sport-first focus where emphasis to developing sporting skills with socialization coming because of participants' play together. Others have acknowledged the limitations of sport and have thus instituted a "sport-plus" approach that combines sport with cultural and social exchanges called Olympism.[77] In his empirical study of Olympism, Lyras found that while sport contributed to social outcomes, cultural enrichment activities and education also assisted in bringing the divided Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities together to create a singular community with shared values.[78]

SDPs are not without critics who downplay the benefits outlined. Many have called into question the role of sport in conflict societies because of its conflictual elements. Donnelly characterizes sport as a Janus, with both the potential for good (social integration, health, etc.) and bad (hooliganism, nationalism and the history of sport as military training) in different contexts.[79] Considering SDP work in development, the justifications of interventions, and history of sport for social control, a primary critique centers on colonialism (imperialism). Since many sport organizations' – NGOs or Governmental – headquarters reside in Western nations, many believe that recipient countries may perceive SDPs as neo-colonialist actions that seek to impose liberal values on communities that did not ask for nor want.[80] These values include those mentioned in

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[77] Coalter, "Sport-for-Change": 20; Lyras, "Olympism in Practice.": 46.
[78] Lyras, "Olympism in Practice.": 51-52.
[79] Donnelly, "From War Without Weapons to Sport for Development and Peace.": 72.
[80] Levermore and Beacom, "Sport and Development: Mapping the Field": 11; Levermore, "Evaluating Sport-for-Development": 351; Meir, "'Leadership and Empowerment Through Sport': The Intentions,

liberal peacebuilding above – namely democracy promotion, human rights, and liberalized economies. The resumption of old power dynamics in the new form of SDPs is of great concern to those targeted by claims of development and peace. Outsiders coming in to implement programs must confront the power dynamic that privileges their knowledge compared to the recipients. To counter this claim, Crabbe's examination of the Positive Futures program advocates for participatory approaches to programming that focus on identifying key local actors that can serve as cultural intermediaries who utilize their cultural capital to provide contextual linkages between the practitioners and locals which may lead to empowerment.[81]

Another significant critique leveled at the SDP field focuses on the lack of empirical evidence supporting sport's benefits. Those who strongly believe in the inherent benefit of sport for social and psychological gain have been called "sport evangelists."[82] In his multiple reviews conducted over eight years, Levermore likens the ardent supporters of SDPs to evangelists that seek to convert non-Western and other nonbelievers in the power of sport regardless of context, all to the field's detriment.[83] To the critics, such support is misguided because the field lacks sufficient evaluation processes and evidence to support such exaggerated claims.[84] The ability to attribute benefits to sport and generalize to different contexts lies at the heart of this argument as

Hopes, Ambitions and Reality of Creating a Sport-for-Development Organisation in Cape Town": 19; Webb and Richelieu, "Sport for Development and Peace Snakes and Ladders.": 287.

[81] Crabbe, "Getting to Know You: Using Sport to Engage and Build Relationships with Socially Marginalized Young People.": 190.

[82] Donnelly, "From War Without Weapons to Sport for Development and Peace": 71; Levermore, "Evaluating Sport-for-Development.": 341.

[83] Levermore, "Sport in International Development": 61; Levermore, "Evaluating Sport-for-Development.": 341.

[84] Kidd, "A New Social Movement": 376; Levermore, "Sport in International Development.": 62.

well. As Donnelly explains, "the research indicates that sport is merely a vehicle, and that it is only when deliberate practices and messages are included in the sport endeavors that particular benefits may be achieved."[85] The result is detractors calling for tested monitoring and evaluation processes should hold SDP practitioners accountable and to measure the impact of their initiatives.

In response to lack of evidence claims, scholars of SDPs attempted to answer as many of the critics as possible through production of empirical scholarship. Adams and Harris explore the lack of evidence discourse to uncover the power dynamic between the new field of SDPs attempting to gain legitimacy and the critics who reside in the development's old guard. Bringing a Foucauldian lens regarding power and discourse creation and the neo-liberal idea of New Public Management, Adams and Harris conclude that SDP critics who have a significant vested interest in maintaining the status quo of development without sport as a viable alternative exert their power via the dominant discourse that marginalizes SDP practitioners as well as the imposition of objective targets and measures.[86] The dominant discourse then operates in a way that may ignore new evidence because it does not serve the vested interests of those in power.[87] Lyras and Welty Peachy sought to utilize the structures informing the dominant empirical evidence discourse by creating what they call sport-for-development theory (SFDT). By empirically measuring the DOVES Olympic Project over eight years, Lyras and Welty Peachy provide five component parts for SDP programming: 1) impacts

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[85] Donnelly, "From War Without Weapons to Sport for Development and Peace.": 71
[86] Adams and Harris, "Making Sense of the Lack of Evidence Discourse, Power and Knowledge in the Field of Sport for Development.":145-147.
[87] Ibid.: 146.

assessment; 2) organizational aspects; 3) sport and physical activity; 4) educational; and

5) cultural enrichment. SFDT's impacts assessment covers documents planned social

change indicators at multiple levels from the macro (infrastructure, economic resources,

socio-economic indicators, etc.), meso (changes in social networks, values, norms, and

relationships), and micro (psychological impacts such as self-esteem, group cohesion and

integration).[88] By utilizing educational and cultural programmatic objectives in addition

to sport, SFDT attempts to utilize the sport-plus approach mentioned previously with

understandings of systemic change and targeting multiple levels of society through both a

top-down systemic approach to policy, funding, and resource allocation and a bottom-up

approach that includes training, capacity building and empowerment of all stakeholders.[89]

Webb and Richelieu's study of SDPs found that successful programs utilized multiple

processes of change, much like Lyras and Welty Peachy's SFDT.[90] Coalter created a

manual for SDP practitioners that documents the reasoning behind and techniques for

SDP initiatives.[91] Such scholarship can be regarded as the development of a a new

discourse as the field continues to evolve and grow.

Theory Informing SDPs for Social Integration

In focusing on SDPs in Cyprus, a majority of sport-based initiatives focus on

social cohesion and prejudice reduction objectives between the divided Greek and

Turkish Cypriot communities. Such activities may also integrate other domains

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[88] Lyras and Welty Peachey, "Integrating Sport-for-Development Theory and Praxis.": 314-315.
[89] Ibid.: 316.
[90] Webb and Richelieu, "Sport for Development and Peace Snakes and Ladders.": 289.
[91] Coalter, *Sport-in-Development: A Monitoring and Evaluation Manual*.

mentioned previously – health, economic, and social domains. Bringing communities together requires social theories to inform SDP interventions. The primary theory informing many of these initiatives is intergroup contact theory.

Pioneered by the work of Gordon W. Allport, intergroup contact theory represents the most influential theoretical tool for bias and prejudice reduction. In defining prejudice, Allport explained it as "an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group."[92] Underlying this definition is the understanding that individuals are biased against out-group members compared to others in the in-group.[93] Allport (1954) introduced his formulation of intergroup contact hypothesis in *The Nature of Prejudice* which examined racial relations in the southern United States to posit that contact between groups under certain conditions could effectively reduce intergroup conflict. Pettigrew and Tropp define intergroup contact as "face-to-face interaction between members of clearly defined groups."[94] Allport outlined four optimal conditions for positive intergroup contact effectiveness: 1) equal status within the situation; 2) common goals; 3) intergroup cooperation; and 4) support of authorities, law, or custom. On equal status, Pettigrew notes Allport's emphasis on both groups expecting and perceiving equal status in the contact situation as well studies that revealed negative effects of contact between groups

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[92] Qtd. in Dovidio et al., "Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination.": 5-6.
[93] Davies et al., "Cross-Group Friendships and Intergroup Attitudes.": 333.
[94] Pettigrew and Tropp, "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory.": 754.

of unequal status.[95] Common goals take the form of active, collaborative efforts that require the participation of the other group to achieve the collective goal. Integrated team sport activities are given as a primary example for intergroup contact.[96] Closely related to common goals, intergroup cooperation states that the pursuit of these collective goals must be an interdependent effort without the presence of competition between the groups. Finally, the context surrounding contact is important and backed by explicit sanction of authorities to establish the norms of acceptance. Contact that met these positive conditions could reduce bias toward the outgroup.

Over the last seventy years, scholars have conducted laboratory and field research to better formalize the benefits of intergroup contact and understand its operating conditions. The literature on intergroup contact's benefits center around four main benefits: intergroup anxiety, empathy, knowledge, and group-oriented perceived threats. Many new conditions and findings made their way into intergroup contact theory due to the large body of research on contact. Al Ramiah and Hewstone explain social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner (1986) as a major contribution to the contact theory by arguing that "merely categorizing people into social groups can lead them to prefer members of their own group over others."[97] Their exploration of intergroup contact theory for application in global intergroup conflicts explained the influence of historical and structural factors on bias that triggers aggrieved feelings leading to intergroup ethnic

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[95] Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory.": 66.
[96] Ibid.: 66.
[97] Al Ramiah and Hewstone, "Intergroup Contact as a Tool for Reducing, Resolving, and Preventing Intergroup Conflict.": 528.

violence.[98] A key contribution to intergroup contact theory is Pettigrew and Tropp's

(2006) meta-analysis of the theory, utilizing 713 independent samples from 515 studies to

back its effectiveness in prejudice reduction. They found an inverse relationship between

intergroup contact and prejudice where attitudes were generalized to entire out-groups

and the first three of Allport's optimal conditions were not necessary for but could

amplify this effect.[99] Another study by Davies et. al highlight many benefits that cross-

group friendships generate via intergroup contact. Since friendships are associated with

positive intergroup attitudes, friendships are a gradual process facilitated by frequent

contact situations reduce intergroup anxiety to the point where deep levels of self-

disclosure lead to mutual trust.[100] They also found that such a deep connection leads to

generalization toward other out-group members that makes their group identity less

important. Paluk and Green echo the effects of intergroup friendships, but note the

potential of their deterioration due to structural and other factors that impede contact

interactions.[101]

　　　Despite the extensive research supporting intergroup contact theory, researchers

brought up concerns of intergroup contact and believe contact brings consequences that

outweigh or negate the positives. The main concern of intergroup contact theory

proponents and opponents comes back to the ability to apply positive effects toward the

entire outgroup in various contexts. Research indicates that the level of group salience –

or the emphasis on the group identity – may be a mitigating factor to increase

[98] Ibid.: 528
[99] Pettigrew and Tropp, "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory.": 766.
[100] Davies et al., "Cross-Group Friendships and Intergroup Attitudes.": 342.
[101] Paluck and Green, "Prejudice Reduction.": 352.

generalizability where higher salience may mean a greater effect.[102] This constant

concern has led to various meta-analyses to conclude that intergroup contact is not

limited to particular types of people.[103] A closely related question is: Can all types of

contact reduce prejudice? The short answer is no. Paolini et. al puts forward the

valence-salience effect – where negative contact causes higher category salience than

positive contact – where negative (suboptimal) contact could hinder situations of positive

contact and alter attitudes toward contact.[104] A later study by Paolini et al concluded that

positive or extended contact before a negative experience will continue in their positive

stance toward the outgroup while those of negative contact will retain their prejudice.[105]

   Al Ramiah and Hewstone and Pettigrew et. al outline the continued criticisms

from those who experienced intergroup contact in the field. For societies with a history

of conflict, the first question asks how one can bring groups together with a long history

of conflict. Despite its claim to improve intergroup relations, some argue that such

contact induces policies that ignore structural change necessary for conflict resolution.[106]

In a similar vein, contact was shown to benefit majority groups more than minorities.

While the majority builds awareness of the minority group, there is no guarantee that it

can translate into changing established hierarchies. Finally, it can heighten a minority

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[102] Pettigrew and Tropp, "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory.": 767.

[103] Pettigrew et al., "Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory.": 276.

[104] Paolini, Harwood, and Rubin, "Negative Intergroup Contact Makes Group Memberships Salient.": 1733.

[105] Paolini et al., "Positive and Extensive Intergroup Contact in the Past Buffers against the Disproportionate Impact of Negative Contact in the Present.": 560-561.

[106] Al Ramiah and Hewstone, "Intergroup Contact as a Tool for Reducing, Resolving, and Preventing Intergroup Conflict": 538; Paluck and Green, "Prejudice Reduction: 347"; Pettigrew et al., "Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory.": 278.

group's sense of relative deprivation, where contact opportunities allow the minority to learn what the majority possesses and is denied to them.[107]

A significant counter to intergroup contact is Robert Putnam's utilization of conflict theory. While intergroup contact advocates diversity as a positive to contact, Putnam argues the opposite – diversity causes groups to "hunker down" with their own members in the short- to medium-term, thereby reducing solidarity and social capital in neighborhoods with economic disparities and in the relatively egalitarian.[108] Pointing to the rise of immigration, Putnam believes a competition between groups in diverse societies takes place where mistrust leads to social isolation.[109] The erosion of social capital and networks results in lower confidence in local government, politicians, and media, less participation in civic systems, and lower likelihood of community collaboration.[110] Savelkoul et. al found that the perceptions of threat from other ethnic groups at the national level play a role in the reduction of informal social capital as explained by the decrease of informal meetings amongst groups.[111] Those critical of conflict theory note its "weak and contingent nature" that fails to make the distinction between generalized trust in strangers and strategic trust in "known others."[112] Dovidio et al. classify it as a contested analysis that fails to measure the face-to-face interactions while conflating the opportunity for contact with actual contact.[113] Kilson believes

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[107] Pettigrew et al., "Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory." 278.
[108] Putnam, "E Pluribus Unum.": 155, 157-158.
[109] Ibid.: 149.
[110] Ibid.: 150-151.
[111] Savelkoul, Gesthuizen, and Scheepers, "Explaining Relationships between Ethnic Diversity and Informal Social Capital across European Countries and Regions.": 1101.
[112] Sturgis et al., "Does Ethnic Diversity Erode Trust?": 78.
[113] Dovidio et al., "Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination.": 20.

Putnam neglects the history of racism and structural violence against blacks in the United States and counters with the election of Barack Obama as president.[114]   Since face-to-face interactions are a stipulation of intergroup contact, their proponents dismiss conflict theory outright.

Intergroup contact theory's use in SDPs is built on decades of research that expands with each application in practice.

Program Design, Monitoring, and Evaluation of Interventions

The history of development and SDP necessitated techniques to evaluate and consider the impacts of their initiatives while also creating appropriate programming. Planning – as an essential element of an intervention – required forethought into various factors such as material and funding resources, human power to carry out the initiative, political barriers, and how success would be measured.   Achieving sustainability represents another desirable outcome of planning and evaluation, but proving such a phenomenon has led to questions regarding minimum measures, whose values are used, and who gets to make the decisions for sustainability.[115]   Describing planning as such describes the trend of design processes melding with monitoring and evaluation techniques that build interdependence. Understanding the history of this relationship informs not only the evolution of these processes, but also the power dynamics in development and SDPs as well as the odyssey of donors and practitioners to instill a sense of accountability into their initiatives.

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[114] Kilson, "Thinking About Robert Putnam's Analysis of Diversity.": 301.
[115] St Leger, "Questioning Sustainability in Health Promotion Projects and Programs.": 317-318.

For the purposes of this dissertation, a distinction between projects and programs must be made. While both function as interventions, the primary differences deal with the scale and timeframe. J LeRoy Ward defines a project as "Temporary undertaking to create a unique product or service. A project has a defined start and end point and specific objectives that, when attained, signify completion."[116] While described as the norm in international development interventions, Fowler criticizes the use of projects in achieving effective development by the inability to balance products (activities and outcomes) and human relational processes as well as a power dynamic that diverts attention from recipients to donors and their requirements.[117] Ward describes programs as:

> (A) group of related projects managed in a coordinated way to obtain benefits not available from managing he projects individually; may include an element of ongoing activities or tasks that are not within the scope of the individual projects but can contribute to the program's intended benefits.[118]

While design and evaluation methodologies can apply to both programs and projects, it may be done on a smaller scale. The complexities of design and evaluation surface with initiatives taking place in foreign contexts.

Examining the literature, the dominant method for design of projects centered around logical approaches. Generally referred to as the Logical Framework Approach (LFA), it was a tool created by USAID in international development projects to "assist in

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[116] Ward, *Dictionary of Project Management Terms, Third Edition*.: 342.
[117] Fowler, *Striking a Balance*.: 18.
[118] Ward, *Dictionary of Project Management Terms, Third Edition*.: 336.

the planning, management, and evaluation of development activities."[119] Hall's review of planning and evaluation logics in the third sector explain LFA as a response to previous techniques' vagueness and subjectivity as well as the view toward disagreement as unproductive.[120] The technique has since passed to a variety of large and small development and SDP organizations including DFID, UNDP, and European Commission among others. Gasper characterizes LFA as "one of the classic tools of aid management…with relatively little accompanying theory."[121] A quantitative measure, grounded in scientific methods LFA's logic comes from knowledge of the situation and resources that links the numerical inputs of an intervention to get expected outputs. A why-how chain of causal thinking generally pervades LFA's logic to show cause and effect of activities to objectives.[122] Described as a vertical logic from means and costs at the bottom, it moves from activities, results, project purpose, and overall objective at the top.[123] A hierarchy of objectives is then created within a logical frame (logframe) document to provide a systematic view that creates an order and places priority on how tasks are completed.[124] With variations of LFA used in different organizations, LFA is not a singular process.

[119] Coleman, "Logical Framework Approach to the Monitoring and Evaluation of Agricultural and Rural Development Projects.": 251.

[120] Hall, "Evaluation Logics in the Third Sector.": 312.

[121] Gasper, "Evaluating The'logical Framework Approach'towards Learning-Oriented Development Evaluation.": 17.

[122] Baccarini, "The Logical Framework Method for Defining Project Success.": 27.

[123] MDF Training and Consultancy, "MDF Tool: Logical Framework.": 2.

[124] Hummelbrunner, "Beyond Logframe; Using Systems Concepts in Evaluation": 2-3; Lakhoua, "Using Methods and Approaches in Is Planning and Requirements Analysis": 226 ; MDF Training and Consultancy, "MDF Tool: Logical Framework.": 2.

The benefits of LFA originate in its straightforward, clear nature. The main

process of taking stock of resources to create activities that utilize the resources

effectively and achieve the objective targets provide a linearity preferred by organizations

and donors. In Coleman's review of LFA on agricultural and rural development projects,

he praises the technique as an aid to thinking rather than a set of procedures whose major

benefit comes from specifying relationships through causal linkages and assumptions of

the logic involved, though a time-consuming effort.[125] This process allows for a

standardization of objectives, thinking, and terms that proponents believe streamlines and

simplifies a project or activity for those with little time – such as board members, donors

and other heads of organization.[126] Kneale et. al in their review of program theory and

LFA in intervention projects highlight the integrated nature of LFA, where thinking about

objectives and evaluation indicators up front, makes LFA useful as an integrated

approach with that clearly outlines all elements.[127] On evaluation, indicators for project

success are quantitative measures.

With decades of use, LFA is not without its critics in both design and evaluation.

While some see benefits in LFA's causal logic and streamlined approach, many others

see rigidity and an inattention to context. Hummelbrunner's piece on LFA in

development settings echo many critics who argue LFA's preconceived notions of

activities to objectives lock practitioners into a linear logic that expects success from

[125] Coleman, "Logical Framework Approach to the Monitoring and Evaluation of Agricultural and Rural Development Projects.": 256-257.

[126] Baccarini, "The Logical Framework Method for Defining Project Success": 27; Gasper, "Evaluating The'logical Framework Approach'towards Learning-Oriented Development Evaluation": 17; see Hall, "Evaluation Logics in the Third Sector.": 311, 315.

[127] Kneale, Thomas, and Harris, "Developing and Optimising the Use of Logic Models in Systematic Reviews.": 1, 3, 20.

following the plan.[128] Gasper calls this "lock-frames," where the design becomes fixed

and never updated.[129] On LFA evaluation, Hall notes that the evaluator simply collects

data to simply compare it to pre-set standards, rendering the evaluator "somewhat of a

fact-checker."[130] The indicators in a closed, rigid system risk failing to capture

unintended benefits since the design failed to account for them up front.[131] The

reluctance to revise the LFA matrix influences the whole process going forward, but also

causes practitioners to ignore the evaluations due to its specific, short-term nature.

Another key criticism deals with the power dynamics associated from LFA.

Considered a top-down approach, Levermore and others note the trend of LFA

imposition by donors, leading to haphazard post-project application of LFA in the name

of funding that negatively affects practitioner attitudes.[132] It creates a power asymmetry

and mistrust that may lead to a fear of accountability that creates a singular focus on

reporting success and the lock frames mentioned above. Hummelbrunner also observes

another power dynamic in cross-cultural contexts where LFA as an external concept

overtakes local management traditions and skills in the name of securing funding

sources.[133] This alienation reflects the lack of participation by local stakeholders in many

applications of LFA. To address these issues, Van den Hayer proposes the Temporal

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[128] Hummelbrunner, "Beyond Logframe; Using Systems Concepts in Evaluation.": 5.
[129] Gasper, "Evaluating The'logical Framework Approach'towards Learning-Oriented Development Evaluation.": 22.
[130] Hall, "Evaluation Logics in the Third Sector.": 316.
[131] Kneale, Thomas, and Harris, "Developing and Optimising the Use of Logic Models in Systematic Reviews.": 18.
[132] Levermore, "Evaluating Sport-for-Development": 341; Gasper, "Evaluating The'logical Framework Approach'towards Learning-Oriented Development Evaluation": 22; also see Iverson, "Attribution and Aid Evaluation in International Development.": 13.
[133] Hummelbrunner, "Beyond Logframe; Using Systems Concepts in Evaluation.": 4-5.

Logic Model (TLM) as an alternative. TLM follows the open systems perspective that advocates constant learning, reflection, and adaptation over a longer process to become a more complete process.[134] TLM captures unintended consequences and encourages dialogue between donor and recipient due to its flexibility. TLM attempts to address the common concerns of LFA with the understanding that design and evaluation should not be restricted to short time frames or logic models, but instead, constant reevaluation and reflection that utilizes learning from previous experiences.

Another logical process that has gained traction in design and evaluation is the theory of change technique. Emerging in the 1990s from the non-profit sector, theory of change was part of the wave of reflective practices in program design and evaluation. Lederach et. al defines theory of change as "an explanation of how and why a set of activities will bring about the changes a project's designers seek to achieve."[135] Vogel further defines theory of change as "an outcomes-based approach which applies critical thinking to the design, implementation and evaluation of initiatives and programmes intended to support change in their contexts."[136] Similar to LFA, it requires agreement and clarity of underlying assumptions and knowledge of the initiative context. Both enable a discussion on mid- to long-term outcomes that are realistic, doable, and testable. Connell and Kubisch advocate for a theory of change approach by highlighting the benefits as generating learning the how's and why's throughout the project cycle, its reinforcement of broader goals through promotion of collaboration and community

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[134] Van den Heyer, "The Temporal Logic Model Concept.": 34-35.
[135] Lederach, Neufeldt, and Culbertson, "Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning Monitoring and Learning Toolkit.": 25.
[136] Vogel, "Review of the Use of 'Theory of Change' in International Development: Review Report.": 3.

engagement, and breaking the line between formative and summative evaluation by utilizing both techniques.[137] For its use of logic, theory of change can be integrated with LFA in design and evaluation.[138] White cites the lack of studies on theory of change's causal change as a problem of attribution in the technique.[139] The attribution issue becomes magnified when multiple theories of change are utilized, but not fully articulated.[140]

In a reaction to quantitative metrics for design and evaluation whose criticisms ranged from rigidity to a lack of inclusion of beneficiaries, several processes sought to remedy these issues. By seeking out local participation, evaluators also sought to remove the power imbalance present among stakeholders. In their book *Fourth Generation Evaluation*, Guba and Lincoln detail the different generations of evaluation where the first generation began with school assessments to determine mastery of content in the 1800s, the second generation realized the deficiency that numbers had in richness of description, and the third generation focused on establishing judgements while retaining technical descriptive functions.[141] They go on to critique the first three generations for the power structure inherent in the manager-evaluator relationship that could lead to collusion or disenfranchisement because the manager holds great power, the failure to account for different values of different societies, and the over commitment to the

[137] Connell and Kubisch, "Applying a Theory of Change Approach to the Evaluation of Comprehensive Community Initiatives.": 11-12.
[138] Vogel, "Review of the Use of 'Theory of Change' in International Development: Review Report.": 56-60.
[139] White, "Current Challenges in Impact Evaluation.": 28.
[140] Vogel, "Review of the Use of 'Theory of Change' in International Development: Review Report.":26.
[141] Guba and Lincoln, *Fourth Generation Evaluation*.: 22-29.

scientific paradigm and objectivity of numbers.[142] They usher in the fourth generation by proposing a responsive constructivist approach to evaluation. In true constructivist fashion, subjectivity – or the plurality of values and truths – becomes key to the creation of negotiated parameters for evaluation of the group.[143] The evaluator becomes a facilitator for the process where all stakeholders place their claims, concerns, and issues out in the open for negotiation to eventually reach consensus.[144] Such an approach represents a high level of local participation.

Guba and Lincoln's responsive constructivist approach also runs counter to LFA and other scientific method proponents on numerical data, objectivity, and the singularity of truth. Guba and Lincoln do note the process's shortcomings. By rejecting objectivity and singular truths, responsive constructivist approach makes it difficult to converge with other inquiries with the knock-on effect where causality and solutions cannot be attained.[145] Such a radical approach that asks for managers and evaluators to give up power may be difficult to gain acceptance. In examining this method further, Camfield and Duvendack criticize the process for its focus on qualitative accounts because it alone lacks rigor suggesting instead a blend of quantitative and qualitative data.[146]

Rothman's Action-Evaluation represents another constructivist approach that seeks out local stakeholders and beneficiaries as a conflict resolution technique. Tested in various conflict situations, action-evaluation promotes explicit expression about

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[142] Ibid.: 32-37.
[143] Ibid.: 46-47.
[144] Ibid.: 56.
[145] Ibid.: 256.
[146] Camfield and Duvendack, "Impact Evaluation - Are We 'Off the Gold Standard'?": 6.

objectives and goals among various stakeholders with room for constant reflection and adjustment of those goals.[147] While goals are expressed individually, stakeholders are then brought together with project leaders and funders to collaboratively define and redefine success throughout the project process until they attain their goals.[148] By engaging all stakeholders in a long, repeated process, Friedman praises the process's creation of stakeholder "internal commitment" as each member gains their voice while providing a space to practice conflict resolution techniques.[149] While Ross acknowledges social construction of goals makes them contextually relevant, he points out that the process requires significant local buy-in where lack of commitment to the process stalls it entirely.[150] Other criticisms deal with agreement resulting in goals for the "low-hanging fruit" that do not effectively resolve the underlying conflict, agreement is not a foregone conclusion, and that the technique may be more appropriate in certain conflicts than others – namely in situations where the different parties are ready to collaborate with the other.

Davies and Dart provide another participatory approach in Most Significant Change (MSC) technique. Developed during the constructivist wave of the 1990s, MSC meant to create a more appropriate evaluation method for complex, participatory programs in rural areas. In MSC, evaluation takes place through the collection of local stakeholder stories that detailed most significant changes by various organization

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[147] Rothman, "Action Evaluation and Conflict Resolution Training.": 457.
[148] Ibid.: 458.
[149] Friedman and Rothman, "Action Evaluation for Knowledge Creation in Social-Education Programs.": 3-4.
[150] Ross, "Action Evaluation in the Theory and Practice of Conflict Resolution.": 9-10.

members.[151] These stories provide a rich picture of organizational, social, and economic developments.[152] With a lack of predefined indicators, initiative leaders discuss key stories to highlight as indicative of impact.   In describing their technique's benefits, Davies and Dart point to its ability to identify unexpected changes, clearly identify the local values and contexts, ease of access for staff and locals due to its low training requirements and absence of elite terms, and provide opportunities to develop data analysis skills.[153] Accessibility and the transmission of local views play into the participatory nature of MSC. Concerns of MSC deal with criteria that is not transparent enough for a participatory process, quality of stories that fail to capture impact effectively, and the potential for stories to be forgotten.[154]   Davies and Dart are careful to mention MSC should not be used alone unless other traditional processes have failed. These participatory evaluation approaches center on constant learning to inform future work compared to some of the shorter-term ethos of LFA in practice.

Community Participation: A Solution for Better Interventions?

In calling for the increased use of history to inform development interventions, Lewis criticizes the field for high-modernism's presence in development by stating:

> "One of the key elements of neo-liberal policy orthodoxy that has increasingly come to dominate thinking about development…is a tendency to insist on what is at best a limited sense of historical perspective, and at its worst an active suppression of historical depth and distance.[155]

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[151] Davies and Dart, "The 'most Significant change'(MSC) Technique.": 8.
[152] Hall, "Evaluation Logics in the Third Sector.": 316.
[153] Davies and Dart, "The 'most Significant change'(MSC) Technique.": 12.
[154] Ibid: 49.; Hall, "Evaluation Logics in the Third Sector.": 318.
[155] Lewis, "International Development and the 'Perpetual Present.'": 33.

Development practitioners sought new methodologies and techniques to improve success of intervention initiatives. Considering the colonial impressions given by outside development interventions, practitioners turned their gaze toward recipients or beneficiaries of their projects. The literature on community participation reveals some of the trend-focused elements outlined by Lewis, but has established itself as a prevailing discourse in intervention projects.

The community participation debate began in the 1970s as practitioners viewed it as a breakthrough in ensuring project effectiveness that challenged traditionally government-focused, top-down approaches.[156] Community participation represented the opposite to the norms at the time, believing that sustainability can be achieved via a bottom-up approach that calls for extensive partnerships to harness local potentially leading to local solutions.[157] Proponents participatory approaches for its ability to create a shared sense of purpose, ownership and responsibility in communities that simultaneously builds social capital and enhances state legitimacy.[158] As a leading proponent of community participation, Robert Chambers believes in participation's ability to increase the likelihood of identification with decisions and outcomes when they are party to the process.[159] In the proceeding decades, large development institutions such as the World Bank and USAID's requirement for community participation

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[156] Botes and van Rensburg, "Community Participation in Development: Nine Plagues and Twelve Commandments": 41; Gaynor, "The Tyranny of Participation Revisited": 295; Gonzalez and Buendia, "Is Community Participation Really Essential to Program Effectiveness - Negative Answers from Three Philippine Cases.": 148.

[157] Drucker, "Ask a Silly Question, Get a Silly Answer.": 56-57.

[158] Gaynor, "The Tyranny of Participation Revisited.": 296

[159] Njoh, "Municipal Councils, International NGOs and Citizen Participation in Public Infrastructure Development in Rural Settlements in Cameroon.": 102.

symbolize its ascent into the development mainstream.[160] Hickey and Mohan describe

the popular discourse as the "participation in development approach" that asserts the

importance of "placing local realities at the heart of development interventions, and of the

need to transform agents of development from being directive 'experts' to 'facilitators' of

local knowledge and capabilities."[161] Participation has found its way into evaluation and

planning processes mentioned earlier as well as research and knowledge creation.

To successfully integrate a participatory approach into projects and programming,

various scholars attempted to devise conditions and other schema aimed at practitioners

on the ground. Botes and van Rensburg offer a list of nine impediments and twelve

guidelines for participatory development. His obstacles include: paternalism by

authorities, the prescriptive role of the state, highlighting success instead of failure,

selective participation, hard-issue bias, intra/inter-group conflicts, gate-keeping by

leaders, "excessive pressures" for immediate results, and disinterest within the primary

beneficiary community.[162] On guidelines, they go on to emphasize an awareness of the

practitioner's status as an outsider, respect of local contributions via their knowledge,

skills, and potential, facilitating local initiatives, promoting co-decision making in

defining the policies and plans of initiatives, communicating true successes and failures,

utilizing "Ubuntu" – the South African concept encompassing the values of solidarity,

conformity, compassion, respect, human dignity and unity, listening to the vulnerable,

preventing domination of groups over others, involving multiple groups across the

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[160] Gaynor, "The Tyranny of Participation Revisited.": 296.
[161] Hickey and Mohan, "Relocating Participation within a Radical Politics of Development.": 8.
[162] Botes and van Rensburg, "Community Participation in Development: Nine Plagues and Twelve Commandments.":42-51.

society, a focus on soft issues (those more difficult to measure) in addition to the hard issues, directing community energy without exploitation, and empower groups to benefit from their labor equally.[163] Both the obstacles and guidelines focus squarely on power asymmetries with the intention of balancing them in development. Njoh (2002) applied the nine impediments and twelve guidelines to draw lessons from the Mutagene Self-help Water Project in Cameroon. Njoh calls for a greater understanding and addressing of the barriers to community participation, otherwise he believes movements to take advantage of participatory benefits in development are likely to fail.[164]

Choguill's contribution involved taking Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation and applying it toward community participation in underdeveloped countries. The ladder is split into four categories of eight rungs with support at the top, manipulation, rejection, and neglect at the bottom. Where empowerment and partnership occupy the top rungs of the participation ladder, community members comprise the majority members of a decision-making body with some potential assistance from outside organizations or at least agree to share planning and decision-making with the outside body.[165] The following rungs constitute forms of non-participatory elements of control and manipulation as well as the absence of support by governments for community development projects where they become obstacles to development. Choguill concludes

[163] Ibid.: 53-54.
[164] Njoh, "Barriers to Community Participation in Development Planning.": 246.
[165] Choguill, "A Ladder of Community Participation for Underdeveloped Countries.": 436-437.

governments can add significant value to community participation while also noting their potential to ruin these efforts.[166]

In attempting to better inform effectiveness of international development NGOs, Fowler outlines the wealth of information on community participation to then focus specifically on authentic participation. Fowler defines authentic as "a process of engagement which is not simply treated as co-opted input, and means for making externally supported development, but is regarded as a foundation for any development strategy."[167] While also highlighting the number of stakeholders and the power dynamics involved, the "crux of participation in practice" deals with how activities are agreed upon and arranged so that influence is shared by all stakeholders throughout the process.[168] Fowler concludes that failure of practitioners manage participation properly, failure is "virtually guaranteed."[169] The importance of good participation is apparent above.

Also falling under the bottom-up, grass-roots community participation approaches is empowerment. Black describes empowerment as primarily a strategy over a theoretical model surfacing in the 1980s that calls for creation of more effective locally based solutions to development problems.[170] Ahmad and Abu Talib further note the continuous nature of empowerment where improvement of community capacity helps in engaging communities in development processes and serve as a starting point to influence

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[166] Ibid.: 443.
[167] Fowler, *Striking a Balance*.: 16.
[168] Ibid.: 165.
[169] Ibid.: 16.
[170] Black, *Development in Theory and Practice*.: 21, 39.

local institutional decisions that affect the community.[171] Creation of local solutions to development problems can utilize help from development organizations and governments. At the same time, empowerment is a force to resist against the factors that affect daily lives.[172] Capacity-building is a concept closely linked to empowerment because it increases the community ability to help themselves. Schulenkorf and Edwards describe capacity building as "the enhancement of material opportunities or particular skills, talent, attitudes and knowledge that contribute to community empowerment."[173] Self-reliance is a result of these processes.

In building capacity to empowering communities for the creation of their own solutions and initiatives, an emphasis on local knowledge can be the force of resistance to outside factors. Scholars operating in the Global South have advocated for the preservation of local knowledge in the face of globalization. As mentioned in interventions, Spivak cautions against the imposition of knowledge and acceptable discourses because it marginalizes locals in a colonial fashion.[174] Islam, Hajar, and Haris compare local knowledge and global knowledge (globalization) in the case of community participation in Bangladesh. They note that community participation is a liberal, democratic tool where an inattention to local contexts dilutes participation.[175] Their comparison of knowledge leads them to a nuanced stance toward local knowledge where the decentralization of the knowledge paradigm should occur for "a more honest

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[171] Ahmad and Abu Talib, "Empowering Local Communities.": 829.
[172] Ibid.: 830.
[173] Schulenkorf and Edwards, "Sport for Development and Peace in Divided Societies.": 237.
[174] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"
[175] Islam, Hajar, and Haris, "Local Knowledge in the Lips of Globalization.": 14.

assessment of the costs and benefits to individuals of becoming involved in agency and state-directed development processes."[176]   While participation may be democratic, the functions of empowerment with local knowledge may enable the community to solve the issues that cause power imbalances.

The popularity of community participation – as well as its constituent components of empowerment and focus on local knowledge – is not without its critics. Black observes the paradox of development practitioners who espouse the aim of self-help (via participatory and empowerment processes) but also fall victim to development money that keeps them employed.[177]   These critics question the characterization of community participation as a panacea to intervention success. Gonzalez and Buendia surveyed 45 development projects where community participation was a stated goal in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and further examined three cases from the Philippines to question community participation's link to success. Their work shows community participation did not have a major impact on program success since many of the community members became passive "'clients," "subjects," "attendees," and "beneficiaries" but not really genuine stakeholders'" while labelling other aspects such as donor support, strong leadership, and education as stronger indicators.[178]   In some of these cases, they note the history of paternalistic, top-down approaches in the community's history so that locals failed to increase their agency through participation.[179]

[176] Ibid.: 18
[177] Black, *Development in Theory and Practice*.: 145-146.
[178] Gonzalez and Buendia, "Is Community Participation Really Essential to Program Effectiveness - Negative Answers from Three Philippine Cases.": 168-169.
[179] Ibid.: 169.

Critics point to the unintended consequences of community participation when examining projects in Senegal and Burundi respectively. Dorsner argues that the complexity of community participation is such that groups may become marginalized due to social exclusionary factors of politics, ethnicity, religion, and social capital. Utilizing game theory as a framework, Dorsner argues that social exclusion creates situations where exclusion may be more beneficial than participation in terms of hours spent, financial commitments, and pressure to witness project success.[180] While Dorsner does not write off participation entirely, she believes a more long-term, mindful, and nuanced approach is required to stave off social exclusion and begin to make community participation more useable. Gaynor's examination of governance initiatives in Burundi illustrates the gap between literature and practice where community participation initiatives are reduced to token efforts of cost-sharing, expectations of full participation, and where old elites take power in new roles – that "reproduces a dangerous old 'tyranny'" in politics.[181] McKinnon examines the pro-local discourses and participation approaches in Thailand and notes the dis-enabling effects it has on empowerment. In creating a pro-local discourse (which McKinnon speculates may or may not be true to participatory approaches), voices and knowledge of foreign professionals become stigmatized thus questioning altruism of development practitioners who practice a participatory development approach.[182]

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[180] Dorsner, "Social Exclusion and Participation in Community Development Projects.": 373-376.
[181] Gaynor, "The Tyranny of Participation Revisited.": 297.
[182] McKinnon, "An Orthodoxy of 'the Local.'": 32.

Hickey and Mohan's work on participation in development focus on the critique that community participation fails to promote social change. They highlight the disconnect between the discourse of participation that promotes transformation and practice, because focusing only on the local level will not result in structural changes needed at multiple levels.[183] Mainstream participation process – commonly carried out as projects – fail to adequately analyze history due to their compacted timeframe.[184] By acknowledging this criticism, they argue for a deeper exploration of participatory approaches.

Literature Recap

This literature review sought to capture a part of the various fields of SDPs and community participation in Cyprus. This is by no means an extensive review, but attempts to provide a useful and logical grounding to understand the following sections of this dissertation. This highlights the interdisciplinary nature of SDPs and the complexity of interventions for social change. Community participation represents an important element to consider for interventions attempting to engineer social change since it is assumed these community members have a stake in these actions. Examining how community participation is implemented in practice may provide a means to improve SDPs and further add legitimacy to this growing field.

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[183] Hickey and Mohan, "Towards Participation as Transformation: Critical Themes and Challenges.": 14.
[184] Ibid.: 16

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

In deciding the methodology, focus must return to the research question of this thesis: How do SDP programs engage local communities in designing and implementing programs to account for the needs and goals of local stakeholders? Examining the literature highlights the complexities surrounding SDPs and their place in the community while focusing on participation in its design and implementation processes. While studies focus on the processes augmenting a program or project success in the international development space, the literature on community participation is lacking in the newer SDP field, particularly in Cyprus. As explained earlier, Cyprus provides a unique case to examine SDP work due to its low level of physical violence and the length of intergroup conflict. The examination of SDP cases in Cyprus requires the study of how SDPs engage local communities in the design and implementation of programs, accounting for the needs and goals of local stakeholders. This study goes beyond the examination of statistics to document the number of times in which the community participated in programming and implementation. The literature on participatory approaches indicates multiple types of participation as well as the power dynamics associated with the participation type utilized by outside interventions. Acknowledging the contested nature of community participation and its lack of discussion in the SDP space in Cyprus, this study hopes to supplement that research. This section will outline

the constructivist, qualitative case study methodology identified for this study as well as the justifications for selecting this method. Strengths and limitations will be outlined as well to inform understanding of this thesis's exploration in the community participation phenomenon in the Cypriot SDP case study.

Due to its complexities in the specific context of Cyprus, a qualitative method was deemed most appropriate to explore the social phenomenon of community participation in SDPs. Qualitative methods including an array of techniques such as case study; discourse analysis; ethnography; grounded theory; narrative; phenomenology; as well as the newer participatory action research method. Conversely, rather than focus on quantitative methods by the scientific method which provides "hard data," qualitative methods seek to bring a focus on phenomena not easily explained by statistics.[185] Qualitative methods create data that "relates to the social world and the concepts and behaviors of people within it."[186] These qualitative processes shift focus from the grand abstractions such as truth and focused on the individuals and relationships of the phenomena in focus. Qualitative research is inductive in that patterns, categories, and themes are created from the bottom-up through the collection of data involving more abstract units of information. While quantifiable statistics can have a role to play in contributing to the research on community participation of SDPs in Cyprus, it was felt that such data could not differentiate in the different levels of community participation without providing definitions for each category. Focusing on the methods of community

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[185] Guba and Lincoln, *Fourth Generation Evaluation* :37.; Creswell, *Research Design*.: 173.
[186] Anderson, "Presenting and Evaluating Qualitative Research.": 1.

participation qualitatively instead of quantitatively seemed appropriate given the lack of

data on community participation in Cypriot SDPs.

Focusing on the individuals in its processes, a constructivist paradigm drives this

qualitative project. As mentioned in the section of the literature on constructivist

evaluation methods, constructivism is a reaction to the positivist paradigm informed by

the strict adherence to the principles of the scientific method. A primary point of

contention deals with the idea of a universal truth, with Guba and Lincoln instead arguing

for a plurality of truths.[187] These many truths are created from the perspectives of

individuals living in the society. Following proponents of qualitative methods, plurality

of truth cannot be attained through the hard data and statistics mentioned previously, but

rather from context-specific data on those living in that context. Airasian and Walsh add,

"Since individuals make their own meaning from their beliefs and experiences, all

knowledge is tentative, subjective, and personal."[188] Lincoln and Guba point to the issue

of 'context-stripping' where "assessing the evaluand as though it did not exist in a

context but only under the carefully controlled conditions that are in force after a design

is implemented" as a serious mistake for evaluation and other research methods.[189]

Seeking to apply generalizations of objective truth absent of context considerations

leaves out other phenomena not considered at the outset. In consulting participants with

lived experience in the issue context, constructivism allows for multiple interpretations

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[187] Guba and Lincoln, *Fourth Generation Evaluation*.: 40.
[188] Airasian and Walsh, "Constructivist Cautions.": 445.
[189] Guba and Lincoln, *Fourth Generation Evaluation*. :36.

and views of a problem that can further evolve research.[190] By placing an emphasis on

participant experiences with SDP efforts with (or lack thereof) community participation,

constructivism can describe how people use cognitive processes to perceive the events

around them. This picture can provide significant insights into the degrees of

participation offered and may provide a better understanding for efforts in the future.

In utilizing the qualitative method within a constructivist paradigm, the theory of

community participation informs this thesis. Broadly speaking, the understanding that

community participation would provide a positive impact on interventions is explored

through this thesis. While this theory supports the key assumptions of the thesis,

discovery on community participation in Cypriot SDPs was the primary aim. The

reasoning behind this choice echoes Creswell who writes, "*some qualitative studies do

not employ any explicit theory*…one sees qualitative studies that contain no explicit

theoretical orientation, such as phenomenology, in which inquirers attempt to build the

essence of experience from participants."[191] Luker makes a similar observation that

many qualitative studies seek to answer a question rather than build theory, resulting in

discovery rather than verification.[192] By exploring the question of how SDPs engage

communities in program design and implementation to account for needs and goals of

local stakeholders instead of building theory, useful lessons can emerge for future

programming in Cyprus. This decision to inductively uncover what community

participation looks like with the potential secondary aim of verification of the usefulness

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[190] Creswell, *Research Design*.: 176.
[191] Ibid.: 64.
[192] Luker, *Salsa Dancing into the Social Sciences*.: 37.

of community participation. Should verification of community participation in this case

occur, it is believed that it should come from those with the lived experience.   As

mentioned in the literature review, research on community participation traditionally

focuses on power dynamics between the program designers and community members; the

main idea demonstrates that participation shifts power and ownership to the community.

While this theis acknowledges this dynamic, it is not its primary focus.

In this manner, a case study allowed for the opportunity to explore the

phenomenon of community participation of SDPs in the larger case study of the Cyprus

conflict. Baxter and Jack argue that the case study method "allows the researcher to

explore individuals or organizations, simple through complex interventions, relationships,

communities, or programs and supports the deconstruction and subsequent

reconstructions of various phenomena."[193] Considering the research question proposed

above, Yin believes case studies are an appropriate method to answer the 'how' and

'why' questions examining contemporary events where the "relevant behaviors cannot be

manipulated."[194]   In examining the case of Cyprus, two SDPs, the DOVES Olympic

Project and PeacePlayers International Cyprus (PPC) were selected to compare the

community participation phenomenon. This single case focus utilizes embedded

elements or subunits to make a comparison within the case. Baxter and Jack argue that

examination of a single case with embedded units "only serves to better illuminate the

case" because "data can be analyzed within the subunits separately, between the different

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[193] Baxter and Jack, "Qualitative Case Study Methodology.": 544.
[194] Yin, *Case Study Research*.: 7.

subunits, or across all subunits."[195] By capturing depth via comparison within a case

study – and risking belaboring of the point – the project will add foundational knowledge

to a subject where little exists in the literature. Depth of knowledge captured by case

study is important to create experts armed with more than general knowledge of statistics.

To this issue, Flyvbjerg writes, "the case study produces the type of context-dependent

knowledge which research on learning shows to be necessary to allow people to develop

from rule based beginners to virtuoso experts. Second, in the study of human affairs,

there appears to exist only context-dependent knowledge."[196] The context-dependent

knowledge inherent to the case study method goes back to the constructivist paradigm in

its understanding that context and lived experience make universal statements from other

cases inappropriate until revealed by the study, if at all.

The DOVES Olympic Project was selected as one of the earliest efforts of an SDP

in Cyprus to resolve intergroup conflict while also representing a completed program that

has been since analyzed. It also represents the first interdisciplinary model grounded in

theory and research that informs SDP program design in various settings.[197] While other

peace interventions operated in Cyprus in the past, they often did not operate on the

island itself due to significant barriers propagated by the ongoing conflict between the

two communities. DOVES therefore, represented a trailblazing effort as the first SDP

focused on Cyprus taking place on the island. The program founders acknowledge

DOVES' main objective as a pilot program for future SDPs and their ability to create a

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[195] Baxter and Jack, "Qualitative Case Study Methodology.": 550.
[196] Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research.": 5.
[197] Lyras and Welty Peachey, "Integrating Sport-for-Development Theory and Praxis": 312; Lyras, "Olympism in Practice.": 46.

SDP model useable in other conflicts and community development settings, called Sport

for Development Theory (SFDT).[198] Reducing prejudice between the Greek and Turkish

Cypriot communities by bringing them together represented an early iteration in testing

SFDT.[199] It iterated over time to involve the more complex goal of turning the Cypriot

youth into change agents in their communities.

Informed largely intergroup contact theory and Olympism to reduce prejudice

between the two communities, DOVES utilized a multi-pronged, sport-plus model. The

sport-plus model operated on the assumption that sport alone may not be enough to

ensure positive intergroup experiences so other methods of contact such as cultural

exchanges are included.[200] In terms of sport, multiple non-traditional sports and physical

activities were used so participants could pursue the shared goal of learning them

together.[201] Acknowledging the potential for conflict in sport, instructors taught conflict

resolution skills for use in sport situations.[202] Cultural exchanges in art, music, and

dance, combined with educational lessons through the Olympism movement's idea of

human development and enrichment provided the two other pillars for DOVES

programming. These activities sought to provide a safe, structured environment for

positive contact interactions that contained Allport's 4 optimal conditions for prejudice

reduction between groups, but also cut through the differences in language between the 2

communities. In terms of the event structure, the primary focus of DOVES involved the

[198] Lyras and Welty Peachey, "Integrating Sport-for-Development Theory and Praxis"; Lyras, "Olympism in Practice."
[199] Welty Peachey et al., "The Influence of a Sport-for-Peace Event on Prejudice and Change Agent Self-Efficacy."
[200] Lyras, "Olympism in Practice.": 46.
[201] Lyras and Welty Peachey, "Integrating Sport-for-Development Theory and Praxis.": 323.
[202] Ibid.: 318.

bi-communal camp in which participants would live together and share the space for the

duration of the camp.

PPC on the other hand, was chosen for its continued presence on the island; its

widespread growth of programming both on the island and internationally; and its

placement as a program following in the legacy of DOVES. Started in 2001 by brothers

Brendan and Sean Tuohey in South Africa, the program utilized basketball to bring

divided communities together. Brought to the island in 2006, PeacePlayers also operates

in the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Norway, and the United States. Utilizing basketball

as the primary tool, PPC's programming is also informed by the theory of change model

that focuses on intergroup contact theory and Allport's four optimal conditions

mentioned in the literature review to reduce prejudice among communities.[203] Due to its

position within a larger organization, evaluative reports and articles make PPC a

relatively well-known case.

With the organizational maxim of "Children who play together can learn to live

together," PeacePlayers utilizes a standardized program design across all its sites while

acknowledging the different contexts facing each site.[204] Recruitment takes place in

schools targeting participants between the ages of 10 and 14. The structure does not put

participants of the two communities together immediately, instead utilizing separate

practices to expose participants program elements in a comfortable setting with a coach

from that same community. After a time, members are then paired with those from the

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[203] Tuohey and Cognato, "PeacePlayers International.": 53-54.
[204] Ibid.: 53.

other community in pairings called 'twinnings.'[205] Twinning pairings focus on

developing teamwork; friendship; mutual respect for the other community; and other life

skills through games and drills in monthly meetings over a nine-month period.[206] Bi-

communal tournaments occur three times throughout the program year. Participants over

the age of 14 who have graduated out of single-identity practices and twinning programs

can join a "Leadership Development Program" (LDP) which provides trainings in life

skills to keep former participants involved in PPC programming.[207]   The program

structure of PPC attempts to provide a lasting impact on participants' lives through

encouragement of personal growth during these continuing events throughout the

program year.

Several reasons made both programs appealing units for selection for this case

study. The completed status of DOVES coupled with the ongoing programming of PPC

allows for an interesting comparison. As mentioned in the description of both programs,

intergroup contact theory dictated program design. At the same time, DOVES's primary

objective of creating the SFDT model utilizing a sport-plus approach and PPC's primary

focus on basketball demonstrate different types of program approaches that fall under the

broader SDP umbrella. Additionally, both these programs sought to instill leadership

skills to create change agents who advocate for peace. Both cases enable one to trace the

progression in SDPs within the Cypriot case; this also establishes the ways in which the

ongoing program may have drawn lessons from its forbearers. both programs boast a

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[205] Ibid.: 55.
[206] Seytanoglu and Lesta, "Evaluation Report: PeacePlayers International - Cyprus.": 144-145.
[207] Ibid.: 145-146.

considerable influence on the island that goes beyond the quantifiable aspects such as raw

participation numbers, but entails elements pertaining to friendships, educational

attainment, and empowerment that are more difficult to understand through numbers.[208]

While DOVES utilized more subject areas than PPC, these similarities ensure that an

'apples and oranges' comparison would not occur in this study. Since this thesis seeks to

understand community participation, a constructivist, single case study comparing

subunits allows for the perspectives of participants and program designers – important

actors involved in design and implementation of the respective programs.

To reach the perspectives of those who experienced how community participation

took form in both programs, the researcher chose the interview technique to explore the

chosen case. Luker's book on social science research methods characterize interviews as

"narratives…stories about what the person being interviewed thinks happened, or thinks

should have happened, or event wanted to have happen."[209] Mikene et. al's highlight the

major benefits of this technique. They believe interviews "provide in-depth,

contextualized, open-ended responses from research participants about their views,

opinions, feelings, knowledge, and experiences."[210] Semi-structured interviews in this

thesis enable the capture of rich answers through open-ended questions while leaving the

potential for other follow-up questions. Follow-up questions provide flexibility to the

researcher to explore other topics and themes that may have been absent from the initial

[208] Lyras and Welty Peachey, "Integrating Sport-for-Development Theory and Praxis"; Tuohey and Cognato, "PeacePlayers International."
[209] Luker, *Salsa Dancing into the Social Sciences*.: 167.
[210] Mikene, Gaizauskaite, and Valaviciene, "Qualitative Interviewing.": 51.

interview protocol.[211] Flexibility also preserves the inductive element of this thesis

informed by the constructivist paradigm – namely, that pertinent data may emerge from

the full account of interviewees' experiences in the phenomenon of community

participation in the 2 Cypriot SDPs.

　　　Sampling for this process required a purposive sample. This sample sought to

include program designers and staff, as well as program participants from both DOVES

and PPC because of their knowledge and expertise regarding these programs. By placing

emphasis on experiences, participants are uniquely positioned to provide insight on the

larger community perceptions of these incoming programs as well as specific instances of

community participation. To collect interviews, the first step involved collecting

permission from both programs' gatekeepers – for DOVES, the program initiator, and

PPC, the managing director of the Cyprus site. Höglund argues that gatekeepers are key

members to gain access to entry points due to their ability to facilitate generate

participants' consent further stating, "the importance of introduction by key people

cannot be overstated."[212]   After securing permission from these important individuals,

snowball sampling technique became the obvious choice because the rapport established

could better net interviewees for the study. Interview collection occurred remotely using

Skype and were recorded using Skype recording software as the sole method. These

interviews were then transcribed to analyze themes and trends in an inductive manner.

All transcriptions were sent to participants for verification of objections or amendments

to cross reference and corroborate their data. Such a practice was to ensure the validity

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[211] Anderson, "Presenting and Evaluating Qualitative Research.": 2.
[212] Höglund, "Comparative Field Research in War-Torn Societies.": 121.

of the data from the perspective of the interviewees. While a chance of the researcher

misinterpreting larger themes still exists, a faithful transcription was sought to minimize

mischaracterizations before the analysis phase.[213]

In snowball sampling, some limitations emerged that required some changes to

data collection. These interviews were initiated via electronic communication,

specifically email and Facebook; the interviews were conducted via Skype. During the

initial project design, two weeks were allotted early in the project cycle to conduct in-

person interviews throughout Nicosia and other areas in Cyprus. Unfortunately,

logistical issues arose requiring a shift toward the remote electronic method. While

potentially speculative, this affected the sample in various ways. The timing issue

provided by the logistic issues required that interviews were conducted during a later

period. Due to this, PPC programming staff were not available for interviews past July

22nd due to an end of year inter-site camp and summer vacations for both staff and

participants. This vacation period for PPC and the project deadline played a significant

role in the limited participation from designers and participants. While a balance of

program designers and participants was the ideal sample, a pragmatic decision was made

to attain as many participants from both programs as possible. While organizational

insights may be more relevant, the program's participants, the beneficiaries, represent

community members whose views and opinions are most important in identifying

meaningful participatory methods for evaluative purposes. Focusing on local

stakeholders and participants comes from community participation's emphasis on local

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[213] Patton, "Enhancing the Quality and Credibility of Qualitative Analysis.": 1190.

empowerment and consideration of their needs. Going back to the constructivist

paradigm, the needs and experiences articulated by community members represent their

reality in the context of Cyprus, making them central to this thesis's principle purpose of

discovery.

While the justifications and strengths were outlined, the limitations of the method

must also be acknowledged. Negatively characterized by many quantitative researchers

as 'soft data,' the acceptance of qualitative research faces obstacles due to the perceived

pitfalls of subjectivity: namely researcher bias, values, and lack of hard data to back up

claims.   Similar critiques have been leveled at the constructivist paradigm mentioned

earlier, and they indeed share many integral elements. Regarding case studies, Anderson,

Creswell, and Flyvbjerg point to other limitations of qualitative research. In utilizing a

constructivist paradigm, an inherent limitation becomes that of generalizability. By

rejecting universal truth, the experiences of the participant form a context-dependent truth

that may not be applicable or appropriate for other settings. While Flyvbjerg argues that

cases can be generalizable in extreme cases due to more actors involved generating more

data, this thesis acknowledges its contribution to community participation in SDP

literature for Cyprus without making universal claims applicable in other conflict

zones.[214] For the sample, snowball sampling beginning with the gatekeepers may elicit

more positive views toward the program, potentially skewing toward positive data for

experiences. Another consideration is the time lag for participants. Since these

interviews ask about past experiences with community participation, elapsed time makes

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[214] Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research.": 13.

recalling exact experiences more difficult resulting in the possibility of lost detail. An associated limitation of the interview method addresses the role of the researcher. Anderson notes the often-unavoidable issue of the researcher's presence, the relationship to the interviewees, and the possible alteration of participant responses in possibly unnoticed ways.[215] Finally, the issue of subjective bias hangs over the qualitative method. While some of this relates to the subjectivity inherent in constructivism, this thesis utilizes the observations of Flyvbjerg that researchers using case studies typically report their assumptions, concepts, hypotheses, and preconceived views and are revised after the collection of data.[216] To address this limitation, the researcher has addressed the assumptions underlying this thesis while also admitting to its possible presence during analysis due to the interpretations required to establish inductive themes and trends. Instead of the biased process of verification, falsification of assumptions may also occur.

In consideration of the advantages and limitations of the qualitative case study method that utilizes a constructivist paradigm to inform the use of interviews, this section sought to justify the method's usage. Adopting this process provides an interesting platform to explore the community participation phenomenon in significant Cypriot SDPs. A secondary, aspirational goal of this study is a future opening of avenues to additional studies of various designs on community participation in Cypriot SDP programs. In the next two chapters, the data gathered from the interviewed process will be laid out, analyzed and discussed in the context of the case study.

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[215] Anderson, "Presenting and Evaluating Qualitative Research.": 3.
[216] Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research.": 19.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA RESULTS

As discussed in Chapter Three, this thesis adopts a qualitative approach using Cyprus as a case study. The constructivist paradigm informed the approach, seeking to obtain interview data on the experiences and perceptions of the people involved in two SDP programs. Data collection was determined through a sample of eight semi-structured interviews conducted over the course of one month. The interviews were conducted with four interviewees each from DOVES and PPC. Of the four interviewees collected from DOVES, two were identified as program participants (interviewees 2 and 8) while two were program implementers (interviewees 6 and 7). On the PPC side, three program participants (interviewees 3, 4, and 5) and one program implementer (interviewee 1) agreed to participate in the interview process. In total, five program participants and three program implementers contributed to the data. Data was then coded with the help of NVIVO qualitative analysis software. Utilizing an inductive coding approach discussed in Chapter Three, interesting themes emerged from the data set which explored the overarching research question for this thesis. Throughout this chapter, similarities and differences within these key themes will be highlighted.

Role of Sport

Interviewees on both the participant and the facilitator sides spoke to the role of sport on social cohesion activities of both DOVES and PPC. Participants from both

programs referenced sport as a viable tool and vehicle to bring the Greek and Turkish

Cypriot communities together. Of the eight interviewees, six mentioned sport's effective

role in the Cypriot conflict setting. While seven of the eight participants did not mention

intergroup contact theory specifically, they noted sport's ability to bring communities

together providing the space for positive contact experiences that enabled them to learn

about the other community and begin deconstructing stereotypes and other preconceived

notions. When referring to PPC's work in Cyprus, one participant noted:

> Well for and island like Cyprus, sports can be a… It bridges divides
> basically so it's either arts or sports. It's a universal language that can
> bring together different communities in different societies in different
> countries in order to break down barriers that exist in certain countries and
> communities. As Cyprus is one of the… we're still one of the … divided
> capitals I guess, one of the most divided capitals in the world. Uh so with
> (PPC) we kind of want to use basketball as a tool to kind of bring... to
> bridge that divide between communities and we're not really forcing the
> peace element that much. We're actually using basketball as one of the
> tools to bring together these communities in Cyprus...[217]

In these settings, three interviewees – two from DOVES and one from PPC – believed

that sport provided a means to communicate with the other community due to the

language barrier between the groups. Interviewee 3 characterized sport's role as a

communication tool in PPC:

> We didn't know any English at that point and we were all talking through
> basketball so there is always a connection when you don't know the
> language or something. It made me also…to be able to learn something to
> another or to explain to someone how it works, how things are, and have
> an opinion about the whole situation in Cyprus.[218]

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[217] Interviewee 1, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.
[218] Interviewee 3, Interview over Skype, 25 July 2017.

Interviewee 6 echoed similar reflections with DOVES saying, "language is a big barrier since the two communities speak a different language and they couldn't communicate because they were underage and English…they did not have the basic English level to be able to communicate."[219] One other participant highlighted sport's ability to facilitate communication with the other community while not mentioning the language barrier specifically.

Contrasting DOVES and PPC, both programs placed different priorities on sport as the principle means for positive intercommunal contact. For DOVES, nontraditional sports activities in the Cypriot community were taught instead of a singular, familiar sport activity of many other SDPs. Interviewee 6, a DOVES facilitator, described it thusly:

> So basically what we did in the DOVES project, we used sports that the young people in Cyprus are not familiar with. For example, baseball or hockey. So we did not have young people who were amateurs and professionals in the sport – they were all in the same level. So they tried to learn the sport activity together – so it was a learning experience for them. At the same time, because they had to interact with their teammates, it was coming as natural to interact with the members of the other community. So you have interaction there.[220]

Utilization of unfamiliar sports provided the spaces and opportunities for the two communities to set and achieve the common goal of learning together. Common goals enhance contact situations and have a greater effect on breaking down prejudice and stereotypes according to intergroup contact theory. In addition, all DOVES interviewees described a range of activities used to contribute to the building of positive contact and

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[219] Interviewee 6, Interview over Skype, 31 July 2017.
[220] Interviewee 6, Interview over Skype, 31 July 2017.

prejudice reduction. As mentioned in Lyras's work, the program's concept of DOVES

focusing on the concept Olympic values education called for more than just sport in its

intercommunal activities; cultural and educational elements were also identified in the

name of self-development. Interviewee 7 was cautious against proclaiming sport as a

panacea in peacebuilding contexts:

> I know (sport is) a utopia, but actually as a peacebuilding process, it can
> be a good tool, but sport is not enough. So sport for peace sounds is kind
> of…sounds 'sexy' as a concept, but it shouldn't be abused or
> overestimated what can be achieved. Sport alone is not enough. Definitely,
> yeah we start with the assumption that sport can be both…can have
> negative and positive outcomes, it's a matter of how you practice it, how
> you design it.[221]

DOVES interviewees mentioned that these activities similarly allowed for positive

contact and relationship building opportunities as well as provided a means to overcome

the language barrier. These activities were part of the program's design from the early

stages, developed with considerable theoretical foundations and years of testing and

revision to create a SFDT model. Sport was considered as part of a wider program in the

context of DOVES, but was not the primary focus according to Interviewees 6 and 7.

For PPC on the other hand, the organization's primary focus is basketball; this

was confirmed by the participants. Participants highlighted basketball in all PPC

activities, from the practices in their community; to the twinnings with the other

community players; summer camp; and 3-on-3 tournaments.[222] Basketball, therefore,

represents the core of PPC programming since it reaches the widest number of people.

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[221] Interviewee 7, Interview over Skype, 8 August 2017.
[222] Interviewee 1, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017; Interviewee 3, Interview over Skype, 25 July 2017;
Interviewee 4, Interview over Skype, 26 July 2017; Interviewee 5, interview over Skype, 27 July 2017.

The PPC participant and program facilitator interviewees also elaborated on several auxiliary program elements in the leadership program; organizing intercommunal trips around the island; and even seminars in life skill development including nutrition, communication skills, and cooperative skills.

Participant interviewees across both SDPs indicated sport's ability to break down barriers between the two communities by providing opportunities to cooperate and learn about the other in a safe environment. Interviewee 2, a DOVES participant, remarked on sport's ability to bring people together commenting:

> The different sport and non-sport related tasks that we were doing throughout the program kind of helped pass the message that we can live together and work together to develop this country.[223]

Interviewees 4 and 5, both PPC participants, described sport's utility in breaking down barriers with:

> So it takes kids that like basketball, puts them on a court, and has them play together. They learn to love each other through the sport. So it brings up a really huge issue in Cyprus and solves it in a very friendly environment.[224]

> Basically (through basketball) I learned about their cultures, their conflict and all that, how they sort through that…Through (basketball), we've made lifelong friendships and got close to Turkish Cypriots from the other side.[225]

According to these interviewees, sport can have a major impact in bringing the two communities together to learn about the other and establish friendships.

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[223] Interviewee 2, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.
[224] Interviewee 5, interview over Skype, 27 July 2017.
[225] Interviewee 4, interview over Skype, 26 July 2017.

Program Design and Structures

The interviewees provided interesting insights into both program's designs and structures. While both programs shared some similarities, the interview data shows that DOVES and PPC differ in their origins and their philosophies regarding structures. DOVES interviewees characterized the program as a first effort for intercommunal work on the island that came from "Cypriots for Cypriots." In this manner, interviewees spoke to the diverse backgrounds of the facilitators, but also that these were members of the local community. Interviewee 7, a key facilitator in DOVES reflected on structure:

> It was a wide-range actually, everybody was involved. It wasn't just top-down, it combined top-down and bottom-up. It started with the instructors, the families, the participants, and you just build a community that everybody has a say. It was the first actually, not only sport and peace program, but applied Olympic education program that had Olympic and Paralympic – so it had regardless of ability or disability. So you just try to create a community that is thinking and caring beyond self. Everybody had a role to play.[226]

All interviewees touched upon the collaborative environment in DOVES in which facilitators worked together to implement the program and sought feedback from participants for the next iteration of the program. Interviewee 7 believed DOVES utilized a better design to fit the Cypriot context when referring to the issue of neo-colonialism with:

> In one sentence, any intervention designed…but because it was well designed and well thought, it had foundations in theory and evidence and was built on relationships coming within the Cypriot community – it wasn't neo-colonialism or coming from abroad – then everything we

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[226] Interviewee 7, Interview over Skype 8 August 2017.

designed and assessed actually had an impact with statistical significance on its participants.[227]

Interviewee 6, another key facilitator in DOVES, confirmed the collaborative environment of DOVES while also observing the presence of arguments and conflict during these discussions. Despite this perceived negative, both program facilitators noted a greater sense of ownership over the project by the facilitators, with Interviewee 6 commenting:

> The facilitators never thought of the project as belonging to someone else, that it belonged to a specific individual. They were all talking about the project as our project, that 'We did it.' So it wasn't a one Man show, it was a collective action.[228]

Participant interviewees of DOVES also noted the collaborative environment between facilitators while commenting on the satisfaction with the design.

> The coordinators and instructors of the program had meetings and camps before the actual organization so they will be able to address to the necessities of the participants and pinpoint the relevant areas that we need to work on the DOVES project…the program was well-structured, well-executed, well-organized, and even if there was something happening or any problem, no one ever felt it.[229]

> They were getting the feedback that each instructor and each participant was giving in order to kind of create that better program and more effective program in the next year and the year after that and the year after that.[230]

[227] Ibid.
[228] Interviewee 6, Interview over Skype 31 July 2017.
[229] Interviewee 8, Interview over Skype, 10 August 2017.
[230] Interviewee 2, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.

The combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches resulting in a hybrid approach was apparent even to participants who were encouraged by facilitators to develop their own projects to benefit the community.

PPC represents part of a larger international program and their structures seem to reflect this fact. Interviewee 1 indicated that PPC uses a standardized program across the wider organization with adjustments to fit local contexts over time. Interviewee 1, a member of the PPC program staff, outlined the organizational structure including the Managing Director for PPC at the top; the Program Coordinator; the Project Coordinator; and two American fellows.[231] This group determines the major programming decisions for PPC. Since the hierarchy of staff is part of the wider organizational structure of PeacePlayers, it transferred over to PPC. All interviewees indicated that program staff attempts to keep an open dialogue when it comes to integrating feedback from coaches and participants. Participant interviewees 3 and 4 indicated feedback on what they liked and disliked and included some micro-level suggestions such as teambuilding game suggestions for practices where staff was most responsive. Interviewee 5 indicated that participants are given opportunities to enter competitions to secure funding sources for PPC. The interviewee recalled an instance where staff sought and implemented feedback on the larger issue of losing focus on teaching conflict resolution skills due to the focus of securing funding. Interviewee 5 said:

> So during a certain period, I was kind of upset because things were not going the way I thought they would in PeacePlayers. I was really, really upset and I talked to the staff and said, 'What are we doing? We are so off track. This is not how it used to be. What is going on?' They were like

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[231] Interviewee 1, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.

'What do you mean?' I said, 'We were trying to implement so many things, we forgot the actual goal of focusing on conflict resolution'. For example, we would have basketball games and you would have Greek Cypriots fighting with Turkish Cypriots. I was like 'This is so off. You're trying to do so many things that you are actually losing your proper aim.' They immediately heard me out and were like 'Ok. Do you have a suggestion? We're so sorry you feel like this'. And I said, 'Ok so how about we take a break from everything else and try to focus again on conflict resolution.' In a previous camp that they had, they tried to do a conflict resolution project. The kids started getting back on track. I just thought they were getting kind of off that and they did listen to me. Even though it wasn't the best kind of criticism I could give, I gave it and they listened to me and they tried to fix things.[232]

Interviewee 5 indicated this as a key event in the satisfaction with PPC staff's responsiveness to perceived issues. This instance represents the most significant response to feedback given by any of the PPC interviewees. While coaches represent a significant element in PPC, they do not seem to have the same collaborative freedom on larger programming decisions as did the facilitators in DOVES; interviewees indicated PPC program staff determine the final program decisions.

Overall, interviewees indicated effective design and structures of both programs that created positive contact. DOVES utilized non-traditional sport activities coupled with the cultural and educational programs in a camp setting. Interviewee 6 spoke to their implementation:

So we didn't have one group with only on members of the one community…we had mixed groups. Then in the cultural activities, we tried to bring music, dance, and the arts within the project because we believe the cultural component has the elements that can make the difference for the young people. For example, they had to touch each other in dance – they had to be in couples to dance. They had to touch the other person...Then we also included some educational activities where they had

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[232] Interviewee 5, Interview over Skype, 27 July 2017.

to either participate in some language lessons where they were taught some words from the language that the other community spoke. Sometimes, we did the Olympic values and so forth. We give them some themes that were based on…were based on themes they had ...the same goals from both communities.[233]

For PPC, communities begin practices separately before entering into twinnings pairings with the other community. Interviewee 1 describes this contact process:

When we start at the beginning of each season, we do meet monocommunally. So it's gonna be divided up – so it's gonna be the Greek Cypriot community doing their own trainings at their own places in their own cities and the Turkish Cypriot Communtiy the same so own cities, own villages, Turkish Cypriot coach and Greek Cypriot coach in each site so we want to start building that trust between the coach and the kids in the teams monocommunally first and then after a few… month and a half maybe, we introduce them to the combined element. So it's what we call 'twinnings.' And we bring teams from each site, so 1 GC team and 1 TC team, and we bring them together…we actually mix them up so they are not playing against each other. We mix them up in different teams and thru that we kind of work thru diff games. They get to know each other.[234]

It was indicated that comfort level and the desire to not turn off new participants were the primary motivations for the transition toward intercommunal activities. Interviewees across the sample noted the effectiveness of the two approaches to contact, citing relationships they still maintain with members of the other community. Interviewee 8, a Turkish Cypriot, recalled an interesting story regarding his first girlfriend met through DOVES programming. He remarked:

At the end of the day, I had my best friends from the Greek side. My first girlfriend was actually a Greek Cypriot and I met her in DOVES and we started in DOVES camp. For a Turkish Cypriot family, this was a really big thing because out of nowhere I went to a camp, I returned…next year I

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[233] Interviewee 6, Interview over Skype, 31 July 2017.
[234] Interviewee 1, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.

went to a camp and I called my dad and said, 'Look dad I have a girlfriend and she's a Greek Cypriot.' Especially for my family because my dad was ex-military, we were always in this nationalistic indoctrination and so on. Somehow, I opened the gates of my family and I was like 'Hey I have a Greek Cypriot friend and she's actually my girlfriend.' They were like, 'What the hell?! What's happening?!' But yes, it was pretty awesome to have this intercommunal contact.[235]

This account represents the relationships recalled by interviewees forged through both programs' implementations of intergroup contact theory. These indicate the possible validity of the theory for the Cypriot context.

Local Needs

The data illuminated the processes of how needs were identified and collected and how they were met through programming of both SDPs. Comparing the data from both organizations, shared similarities were identified in collection processes. Referring to the structure of the programs, the facilitators of DOVES and the coaches of PPC primarily contributed most to the identification of local needs. Of the eight interviewees, seven expressed that local needs are collected from the facilitators (DOVES) or coaches (PPC). Interviewee 7 discussed that since the facilitators were community members themselves, they were uniquely positioned to understand the needs of the community.[236] As mentioned with program design, DOVES facilitators were given a forum to openly express community needs and discuss how they would be best implemented. Pre- and Post-camp surveys of the participants also were conducted. On the PPC side, interviewee

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[235] Interviewee 8, Interview over Skype, 10 August 2017.
[236] Interviewee 7, Interview over Skype, 8 August 2017.

1 explained that since the coaches tended to be teachers, they understood the children

participants' needs:

> Our coaches are local…(they) are teachers as well…a lot of them are
> teachers in schools so a lot of them are actually big members in their
> community in a way. Because they are teachers, a lot of their kids that
> they are training are actually in their school too.[237]

Local needs are also collected from participants through surveys and observations

of program staff.

In terms of the wider community, five interviewees agreed outside of the

facilitators, such as parents of the participants, did not have as much of a role in

communication and identification of local needs. These interviewees cited a hesitation

toward intercommunal programming on the part of these community members in voicing

their needs to the program.[238] Interviewee 4 described struggles with local input outside

of coaches in PPC:

> I don't think we get any…input from the locals. Apart from like small stuff which
> is pretty small. I'll give you an example of the summer camp this year. We had it
> at Famagusta which is on the north side, and the people that owned it was kind of
> like telling us where to go, for shopping and that, and what's better…Personally, I
> don't think it has anything to do with the conflict. It was just their opinions. The
> locals…unless we need their input, they don't really give their opinions. It's only
> if we need like…necessities or anything. I think they only…it's not from the
> locals.[239]

This sentiment was echoed by two interviewees familiar with PPC. Both SDPs favored

utilizing local community members in the form of facilitators or coaches to obtain direct

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[237] Interviewee 1, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.
[238] Interviewee 2, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017; Interviewee 6, interview over Skype, 31 July 2017.
[239] Interviewee 4, Interview over Skype, 26 July 2017.

access to local needs. Soliciting needs from parents of participants and other non-program members appeared to take less of a priority for both programs.

The data indicates that interviewees felt that DOVES and PPC programming effectively met community needs. All interviewees identified the need to teach skills in conflict resolution, cultural learning, dialogue, and self-efficacy to bring these two communities together through DOVES and PPC programming. Elaborating further, each interviewee discussed how years of separation contributed to ignorance and dehumanization of the other community. Bringing the two communities together in a safe and structured space for positive contact situations was a constant belief amongst all interviewees. The four PPC interviewees cited similar reasons for needing PPC's intercommunal programming, citing the presence of nationalist historical narratives that perpetuate prejudice and the separation of the two communities. Interviewee 5 seemed to indicate that the PPC staff observations and programming decisions considered the needs of parents and therefore attracted them to sending their children to PPC programming. The example of a nutrition seminar to deal with a growing obesity issue on the island was provided.[240]

Community Participation

Closely related to collection of local needs, participation of the local community in both SDPS centered on utilizing community members to participate as facilitators and coaches. For DOVES, interviewees emphasized the idea of creating a Cypriot community through relationship building Interviewees 6 and 7 stressed the importance of

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[240] Interviewee 5, Interview over Skype, 27 July 2017.

recruiting those supportive of peacebuilding activities to bring the two communities

together. Interviewee 7 remarked:

> So it's not about stakeholders, it's about building relationships and
> recruiting people that believe in this vision. After that, you just create the
> conditions that people working together in achieving goals and objectives.
> Starting with the instructors, then the participants, the families, and the
> local community, you create a cycle of civic engagement.[241]

The community-centric philosophy of DOVES informed not only the program design, but

also identified the types participatory methods which were utilized. As mentioned in its

design, facilitators from diverse backgrounds in their local communities collaborated to

create program structures. Interviewee 8 recalled that the predecessors of intercommunal

work on the island were also consulted.   The primary method for parent participation

was through the pre-camp orientation to inform them of DOVES activities. Interviewee 7

acknowledged this as the key opportunity to genuinely demonstrate to parents that the

program's objectives were to better their children.[242] Interviewee 6 believed the lack of

involvement of parents for the needs assessment and subsequent involvement in the

program was an area of improvement compared to the sense of ownership generated

amongst the facilitators. This was reflected with:

> I wouldn't say though that we were very successful in that because we
> didn't manage to find a way to keep the parents part of the project as we
> did with the facilitators. We didn't manage to make them feel it as their
> own project as well. We didn't have such an impact on the parents and
> they didn't get involved so much in the implementation of the project as
> well. But we tried to involve them. At a small degree, we succeeded.[243]

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[241] Interviewee 7, Interview over Skype, 8 August 2017.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Interviewee 6, Interview over Skype 31 July 2017.

Despite this, a repeated example recalled by interviewees was a treasure hunt in the nearby village that involved interaction with local community members. This was the major opportunity for non-facilitator community participation cited by DOVES participants.

Another element that contributed to the collaborative environment in DOVES was the focus on community action and self-efficacy for the participants. In attempting to cultivate its participants to develop into leaders for community action, DOVES interviewees touched upon the creation of community projects by the participants. Interviewee 8 remarked:

> We were encouraged to take initiative. This initiative word, it's a really meaningful word for me because (Dr. Lyras) was the first one in my life who used this word for myself. He actually asked, 'Baris, could you please take the initiative and call the participants here without dividing them…like all of them.' This was a historic moment for me. I mean, I never, never, ever forget this. When (Dr. Lyras) actually encouraged me to take initiative when I was 14 years old, I was like 'Hey, yes I can take my own decisions. I can take initiatives and lead the way for my community.' So this was the historic moment when I was introduced to the perception of initiative.[244]

Throughout the interviews, multiple references were made relating to how DOVES inspired a sense of leadership through these projects and the support of facilitators who encouraged the participants to take the initiative to better their communities. Interviewees 1 and 8 also echoed these sentiments. Both noted how these programs influenced their current career paths in peacebuilding and politics respectively. Training opportunities were also offered within a rewards system to encourage repeat participation

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[244] Interviewee 8, interview over Skype, 10 August 2017.

and were indicated to further cultivate the next generation of peacebuilders in the community. DOVES' position as an organic program in the Cypriot conflict and the years of theoretical foundations influenced its design to incorporate a more inclusive grassroots approach.

For PPC, participation of community members utilizes slightly different methods. Every PPC interviewee discussed how parents, local university students, and some officials – such as the two mayors of Nicosia, the US Ambassador to Cyprus, and members from the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) – are invited to come out and support certain program events. Relating to volunteers Interviewee 1 remarked:

> We do have a lot of students that want to volunteer for the program. We do have a lot of outside of program basketball players that want to participate in PPC programming and PPC activities and volunteer in events that we have…More of them actually just attend twinnings and tournaments that we have. So they help with scorekeeping or refereeing, giving out t-shirts or setting up the food for each kid. So its minor things that are actually a big help for us because it's things we can see that they are running thru perfectly and we can go and org everything else that might need more help. So with their help we also kind of...we're actually developing the program too so it's easier having those extra hands to help out with certain stuff we need.[245]

The usefulness of volunteers was confirmed throughout PPC interviews because their contributions filled the need for additional human resources. In their opinion, the number of volunteers coming to assist coaches and staff reflected a positive relationship with the wider community. Interviewee 5, however, disagreed with interviewee 1 on the active use of volunteers stating:

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[245] Interviewee 1, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.

> There is a volunteer community in Cyprus, but they wouldn't necessarily focus on (PPC). (PPC) has its staff and its participants so it wouldn't have other volunteers come in. They are welcome to, but I think the volunteers wouldn't really come.[246]

It must be stated that these conflicting remarks on volunteers and community participation come from different views with interviewee 1 as a member of PPC staff, and interviewee 5 as a participant.

Interviewees from both programs believed that a key barrier to involving increased numbers of community members more deeply in programming was community skepticism. For DOVES, interviewees highlighted the program's status as the first intercommunal program on the island contributing to an initial skepticism from both communities. Interviewee 8, discussed the hesitation of the community to embrace Olympic values of DOVES programming due to a stigma attached to the term "Olympic":

> I think the values must not be interpreted just as Olympic values because then people would say – I mean in Cyprus, not generally speaking, but in Cyprus – our cultural understanding would say 'What the hell? We are not even allowed to go into Olympics. Why would we learn the Olympic values?' Just as their understanding was toward the European Union because they were not even allowed to cross the borders and they were not allowed into the EU. So they did not have this idea of what the EU was or what the values of the EU was. So according to this on the community level, these values should be introduced as much more essential values to be able to establish a healthy dialogue.[247]

The interviewee indicated that the history of marginalization of the Turkish Cypriot community and by the wider global community contributed to skepticism regarding

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[246] Interviewee 5, Interview over Skype, 27 July 2017.
[247] Interviewee 8, Interview over Skype, 10 August 2017.

universal values, but believed they are applicable for the wider Cypriot situation. In

reflecting upon DOVES, interviewee 6 believed participation in programming was

strongly influenced by the atmosphere at the time:

> It because there was actually a period also that people in Cyprus were not
> very welcome to these projects. So once you were involved, you became a
> traitor to your country. It was very hard for us, the facilitators, but also for
> the kids to get involved.[248]

The "traitor effect" presented a significant barrier to wider community participation.

This is an important consideration regarding DOVES status as the first intercommunal

program on the island.

While generally remarking on a positive relationship with the community, PPC

participants acknowledged that skepticism still exists toward its work due to prejudice.

This prejudice was noted as a major barrier toward greater community participation.

Interviewee 3 explained:

> I think it's the people of the community who won't let them do what they
> (PPC) want I think. If someone in one school doesn't agree or in the main
> building of the school and he doesn't agree with that philosophy – like
> bringing our children with Turkish Cypriots, it won't happen. There are
> people that may interfere with this event…They won't…there is hatred
> you can't see. There was a march one week ago from the Nationalist part
> of the country. It was a really big one. You can't do a lot of things when
> there are still those people… it's not only the communities also the
> families. If you learn from your family that the Turkish are bad and they
> cost us all our belongings and stuff and you put a TC with a Turkish
> guy…it's really bad.[249]

All participant interviewees highlighted some degree of difficulty in "spreading the

word" due in some part to prejudice and the memory of traumatic events in the older

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[248] Interviewee 6, Interview over Skype, 31 July 2017.
[249] Interviewee 3, Interview over Skype, 25 July 2017.

generations. While they could spread the word, it was believed that it could only serve to positively benefit programming.   Every interviewee familiar with PPC noted progress has been made during their time with the program, but that more can be done to improve wider community attitudes by converting opponents into believers.

The efforts of DOVES and PPC involving Greek and Turkish Cypriot youth through this sample of interviews of their respective program participants and program offer insight to program development as these SDPs attempt to enhance cultural understanding in Cypriot youth. In the next chapter, these themes will be discussed further relation to the literature covered in Chapter Two as well as the research question.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

In Chapter Four, the major themes of the interview data were highlighted. This chapter will analyze this data further in terms of the literature discussed in Chapter Two. While the data collected from the eight interviewee sample touches upon much of the existing literature, some interesting points arise in the context of the Cypriot conflict. Comparing two SDP programs within the same context has made for a fascinating examination into how practices may have transferred between the two programs. The findings fit the wider literature regarding community participation as a viable technique to create a sustainable program because considering these methods require to focus on obtaining community needs and wider integration into the community.

Role of Sport

A recurring sentiment among interviewees who participated in DOVES and PPC programming was the role that sport played in their recruitment to the programs and its use as a vehicle to provide situations for contact. On the recruiting front, sport was a principle reason for their participation. This can be explained by the fact that four out of five of the participants were recruited in environments conducive to sport; participants mentioned recruitment efforts in basketball practices and referrals to participate via coaches and key athletic figures in their lives. Interviewees remarked:

DOVES was basically introduced by my basketball coach. I think my coach knew Alexis Lyras the founder of DOVES. So he was the one who kind of introduced me to the program. He told me it was a great opportunity…You go in and you're gonna meet new people so as a coach, as our coach – well you look up to your coach especially at that age – and I just told him "Yeah. Just give me an application and I will fill it in and I will tag along as well" and yeah, that's how I learned about DOVES.[250]

At the beginning, I was a bit...skeptical about going there because my practice was after them, so I was going earlier and seeing the practice and stuff. One of my best friends was playing with them and I hear he enjoyed it was ok…he said a lot of things…and then he got me in connection with the coach and I went to 3 practices and then the whole action started going to the events…[251]

I first started because of the basketball. I was 14, 15 I think. That was the appealing thing to me - just start basketball. It was the first time I ever tried it.[252]

Ok so at that point in my life I was really, really into basketball. I liked the idea of ...you know, not playing so competitively but participating in the sport and just playing with people that are from the other side. The idea that you use sport and bonding it with the idea of…having a chance to communicate with somebody that you have a conflict to an extent. I thought it was an opportunity to meet new people and still play the sport that I like.[253]

Well younger generations are open to it. So because basketball is the second main sport on the island, we do have a lot of interest from both communities. We still have those… because they are coming for basketball.[254]

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[250] Interviewee 2, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.
[251] Interviewee 3, Interview over Skype, 25 July 2017.
[252] Interviewee 4, Interview over Skype, 26 July 2017.
[253] Interviewee 5, Interview over Skype, 27 July 2017.
[254] Interviewee 1, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.

These experiences with sport reflect the growing popularity of sport to achieve development and peacebuilding objectives. Programs that harness sport in this manner tend to target youth populations to achieve specific goals and objectives. Part of this phenomenon comes from the idea that youth are more malleable and open to the new ideas that these kinds of programs implement.[255] These programs believe that since youth populations are deemed future leaders, they require training to fulfill future leadership roles to better the community. Many scholars in the SDP field believe by working with youth, they can more easily have an influencing role than with older generations such as their parents or other family members.[256] Interviewees 1 and 6 echoed this sentiment; they believed it was harder to do intercommunal activities with older generations due to trauma they previously experienced. Recruiting primarily in sport contexts presents the potential issue of programs serving specific groups while excluding others. When recruiting solely in sport contexts, the ability for the program to meet broader social objectives and allow for the greatest diffusion among community members is narrowed. Youth already interested in sport become a self-selecting group for these programs. The methods used to deal with recruitment issues can be determined by specific design considerations and a focus on inclusivity discussed later in this section. Sport and physical activity can be a significant draw for younger populations.

Another element of the role sport played in their participation reported by interviewees was the differences between the two programs in the priorities they placed on sport. As mentioned in the literature by Coalter and others, SDPs can be categorized

[255] Holt, *Positive Youth Development through Sport*.: 25, 27.
[256] Coakley, "Youth Sports": 5; Schulenkorf and Edwards, "Maximizing Positive Social Impacts.": 384.

as "sport-plus and "plus sport" organizations. In "sport-plus" organizations, parallel activities augment a sport platform to maximize its social benefits.[257] "Plus sport" is an organization that first creates a development platform and incorporates sport to support development objectives.[258] These classifications denote the variability of SDP programs in terms of capabilities, design, and structure. It must be noted that, upon further examination, DOVES and PPC are not exact comparisons, due to key differences in their overarching goals and objectives.

Confirmed by the data, DOVES took the "sport-plus" approach that resonated with program participants. Utilizing Olympic values education, sport and physical activity is augmented with cultural and educational activities.   The desire to create a SFDT necessitated a more holistic view toward creating SDPs and thus required more than sport alone to meet this objective. In implementing parallel cultural and education programming, it follows the literature that argues that it is not sport or any one element of programming that solely contributes to the impact on prejudice reduction, cultural learning, and change agent self-efficacy.[259] Maximizing the effects across different domains also provides different learning styles and modalities, enabling the program to reach a wider number of people than sport alone. Interviewee 8 supports this idea by indicating that sport did not represent the primary interest for joining DOVES, and was not the most memorable takeaway from DOVES programming.

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[257] Coalter, "Sport-for-Change": 20; Lyras, "Olympism in Practice.": 46.
[258] Akindes and Kirwin, "Sport as International Aid: Assisting Development or Promoting Under-Development in Sub-Saharan Africa.": 227-228.
[259] Welty Peachey et al., "The Influence of a Sport-for-Peace Event on Prejudice and Change Agent Self-Efficacy."

It was directed to the people who were actually involved in sports of course. I personally was not so involved in sports, but I just headed along with my uncle. But then again, when I was introduced to the Olympic values at DOVES and I got that Olympic spirit, then I tried to shape my life and revolve my philosophy of life and understanding of life around those values that DOVES actually taught us. It was rather like a self-developmental program as well…[260]

The ability for DOVES to affect such profound moments comes from the intersection of sport, cultural, and educational activities found in Olympic values education. By having different types of activities outside of sport, interviewees discussed significant social effects on their lives and in their communities. Considering sport as one of many possible tools to create positive intercommunal contact experiences enabled DOVES to incorporate activities that resonated with different kinds of participants. This move may be considered a concession to the critics of sport in development and peacebuilding objectives who highlight the conflict inducing elements of sports, namely competitiveness, hooliganism, and physical contact. Indeed, interviewee 7 commented on sport and Olympic values' idealism noting:

The main concept is that these values can be transferred and this way of interaction and living can be transferred into society and real life. I know it's a utopia, but actually as a peacebuilding process, it can be a good tool, but sport is not enough. So sport for peace sounds is kind of…sounds sexy as a concept, but it shouldn't be abused or overestimated what can be achieved. Sport alone is not enough. Definitely, yeah we start with the assumption that sport can be both – it can have negative and positive outcomes, it's a matter of how you practice it, how you design it.[261]

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[260] Interviewee 8, Interview over Skype, 10 August 2017.
[261] Interviewee 7, Interview over Skype, 8 August 2017.

This statement reflects an understanding of the strengths and limitations of sport in an ongoing conflict and the utilization of sport properly. It follows Donnelly's hypothesis that benefits from sport can only be achieved through intentional planning and practice.[262] It also accounts for the arguments of Coakley whose studies found a contingent relationship between sport and youth development objectives, potentially requiring other activities to succeed.[263] Seriously evaluating sport's limitations guards against sport evangelism where proponents advocate sport as a panacea for social development and fail to consider the limitations – a group considered to hurt sport's prospects in the development and peacebuilding community by Levermore among others.[264] Creating an integrated sport platform augmented with other activities can create a more holistic program that meets a wider variety of objectives.

PPC represents a "sport first" approach that is utilized by many SDPs of varying sizes including Football4Peace and UltimatePeace, among others. For PPC, basketball is the primary tool for positive contact situations with connections being made to other program activities. Interviewees constantly mentioned basketball's presence in a majority of program activities and represents the core focus of the organization as a whole. While basketball remains popular on the island, PPC represents a branch of a larger international organization with basketball as its focus. Participants of PPC seemed to indicate the auxiliary nature of other program activities such as intercommunal trips and the seminars on life skills. Interestingly, the lone program facilitator Interviewee 1

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[262] Donnelly, "From War Without Weapons to Sport for Development and Peace.": 71-72.
[263] Coakley, "Youth Sports.": 4.
[264] Levermore, "Evaluating Sport-for-Development":341; Coalter, "Sport-for-Change.": 20.

indicated that in her experience, bringing the communities together through basketball was most important while also noting, "we're not really forcing the peace element that much."[265] This statement is intriguing since the literature and website of PPC report on their peace education curriculum that informs a tried and tested methodology. It must be noted however, that PPC runs different program components and continues to add more modules to meet needs in the community as they arise.

Program and Structure

While no interviewee mentioned specific design techniques discussed in the literature review, influences from studied techniques can be seen. The level of consideration for local contexts in program design and structures appear to be influenced by each program's origins and their objectives. In utilizing intergroup contact theory, it influences design choices to obtain desired goals and objectives. Indicated in the previous chapter, both organizations have well-thought out structures, but generally adhere to different philosophies in the implementation.

Examining the DOVES design process, the intention to create a SFDT from the local context meant the use of particular design approaches. As a native SDP, it was uniquely positioned to understand the local context. It did not have to deal with neo-colonial sentiments due to the locality of the program's design origins. Program facilitators revealed that DOVES represented a pilot program for intercommunal work on the island with a design that was backed by theory and years of testing. As related by interviewees:

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[265] Interviewee 1, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.

Then, there was a research component years afterwards…I mean even from the first year, 2005, we had a research component where we actually asked different kind of things of young people. We actually ran a pre- and a post-impact assessment[266]

I wouldn't change anything because it was a learning process. So it's a constructive process where every step had a pilot stage, the pilot stage led to a bigger scaling program, the program had adjustments based on the need of the community. It had a very progressive growth in terms of the model …is tested with evidence, evidence from the field. Evidence from the field means that there is a root cause analysis but also a cause and effect relationship. Something that is tested in the field means that if you take the same thing and just apply it in a different location, it can have the same effect.[267]

This led to the overall design of utilizing the 3 main pillars for their program as outlined by Olympic values: non-traditional sport activities; cultural activities; and educational activities. They also indicated the flexibility in the design to consider new activities and methods as they received feedback from participants and the facilitators. The willingness to evaluate and constantly learn from experiences to implement different solutions came from the larger goal of DOVES to develop a theory for SDPs program design backed by empirical evidence. The development of SFDT represents an important endeavor since it attempts to answer critics of SDPs who argue the nonexistence of empirical evidence and theory in the field.

The program structure outlined in previous chapters utilizes grassroots approaches that mirror some of the techniques found in constructivist evaluation techniques. While techniques such as Lincoln and Guba's responsive constructivist approach eschews

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[266] Interviewee 6, Interview over Skype, 31 July 2017.
[267] Interviewee 7, Interview over Skype, 8 July 2017.

empirical evaluation –collecting hard data to obtain objective truth – DOVES appears to have collected these elements while creating an open design structure. Lincoln and Guba's technique sees evaluation as an open and negotiated process that takes into consideration all stakeholders' claims, concerns, and issues in the name of consensus.[268] The collection of data from program participants to review the program was combined with a more participatory structure that brought community members together to create the next iteration of the program. The collaborative structure where facilitators discuss the program's structure and set new objectives for programming has similarities to Rothman's Action Evaluation. Engaging in repeated facilitator discussions allows for the collective formation of goals whereby facilitators of the local community created a sense of ownership and a stake in the program.[269] The constructivist approaches to evaluation turn the focus toward target local communities, understanding that local contexts are formed through subjective experiences specific to that context. The blending of bottom-up with top-down approaches in the evaluative and research contexts creates a hybrid approach that appeared to best serve the program planning and design processes.

The issue of neo-colonialism for an outside organization coming in represents a significant issue to a conflict weary of outside influences such as the one in Cyprus. As with other SDP programs originating from non-local contexts, PPC and similar international SDPs must deal with charges that the program is a form of neo-colonialism

[268] Guba and Lincoln, *Fourth Generation Evaluation*.: 184-185.
[269] Ross, "Action Evaluation in the Theory and Practice of Conflict Resolution.": 9.

from outsiders seeking to impose values on the target communities.[270] Critics of SDPs

and other forms of liberal intervention programs believe that these programs will assert

dominance of their priorities over the concerns of the local communities.[271] The negative

features of power dynamics between the locals and the organization has given top-down

structures a negative connotation because of outside influences of donors, board

members, and other outside program staff. Even where priorities align, the idea of

imperialism brought in by outside organizations exists in program philosophies to the

values taught. The debate on development and peacebuilding interventions by outside

organizations as a neo-colonialism seeks to restore power to the local people to balance

uneven power dynamics in programs and projects. Programs must therefore take these

considerations into account in their design processes.

While DOVES did not have to address this due to its native origins, PPC

understands the debate vis-à-vis their international expansion on some level and has

sought to address it.   PPC's structure comes from the wider PeacePlayers International

SDP organization. This organization was founded by brothers Brendan and Sean Tuohey

in 2001 who believed basketball could be the means a tool to bring divided communities

together. The organizational structure includes top-down elements with the headquarters

in Washington, DC communicating to program staff at local sites who make on-the-

ground programmatic decisions. The primary top-down feature of PPC is the program

staff making the final decisions, while the coaches carry out much of the day-to-day

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[270] Levermore and Beacom, "Sport and Development: Mapping the Field": 11; Levermore and Beacom, "Opportunties, Limitations, Questions.": 258.
[271] Paris, "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism": 56; Newman, Paris, and Richmond, *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding*.: 3.

elements of practices and leadership trainings. While a top-down structure may be used

in PPC, the PeacePlayers International organization addresses the issue of neo-

colonialism by the hiring of residents for each site's programming staff. According to the

organization, this move is critical for program sustainability while also assisting in

navigating local contexts.[272] To reiterate the structure found in Chapter Four, the

hierarchy of PPC program staff sees the Managing Director at the top who has the final

say on site decisions; Program Coordinator; the Project Coordinator; and two American

fellows. Interviewees familiar with PPC indicated that the top-down organizational

structure of the program staff hindered their ability to respond to participant feedback.

The design of PPC's curriculum comes from a standardized curriculum used

across the numerous PeacePlayers sites internationally. PPC utilizes a Theory of Change

approach to design. The organizational theory of change provides the logic that underlies

its activities, objective, and outcomes. Utilizing the logic of Allport's contact theory with

basketball as a tool to "bridge divides within communities," PPC interviewees inferred

that sport-based programming provides opportunities to those who would not

traditionally be drawn to intercommunal contact situations. The primary benefit of the

organization's international reach is that sites can incorporate best practices between each

site, with opportunities to collaborate through inter-site trips and exchanges. Through

this practice, the wider organization promotes a culture of learning. Interviewee 1

highlighted the benefits of these exchanges:

> Well for the past few years…we've been sharing practices and we have
> been having exchange trips with the other PeacePlayes sites. So we had

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[272] Tuohey and Cognato, "PeacePlayers International": 53; see also Vines, "Methodology and Curriculum."

PeacePlayers Middle East, Northern Ireland, and South Africa joining us in our summer camps the past 3 years and through that we have expanded the program as well. So we've been learning from each other how to develop leaders from Northern Ireland, how to use more twinning tools from the Middle East, how South Africa has been developing different tools that will educate kids with HIV and other stuff… and poverty and discrimination that is happening in South Africa. It's different things that you kind of can combine together and learn from each other that can develop the program as well. And the participants have been enjoying that fact that they can meet other people and they can see different cultures and different types of personalities and kids that have been part of the program and how each of them has developed throughout the program. And it's the same with the coaches as well – so you see the different kinds of coaches and you learn from each other and you use it in the future for our own practices or events that we do.[273]

Such practices follow the open systems perspective of Van den Hayer's Temporal Logic Model. In open systems, constant learning and adaptation occurs over a longer process where the design process is never complete because it adopts a long-term perspective.[274] It must be noted that insight into the details of the design process was not discussed by interviewees, but their experiences indicate a flexible program that has taken measures to better integrate itself and become a pillar of the local community.

Interviewees across the sample indicated the presence and effectiveness of Allport's intergroup contact theory in both DOVES and PPC programming through sport activities. Much of this comes from the intentional planning and design to meet the four optimal conditions of intergroup contact outlined in the chapter on the literature: 1) equal status within the situation; 2) common goals; 3) intergroup cooperation; and 4) support of authorities, law, or custom. Researchers studying contact theory point to the importance

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[273] Interviewee 1, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.
[274] Van den Heyer, "The Temporal Logic Model Concept.": 35.

of meeting the optimal conditions to maximize prejudice reduction and cultural learning toward the other.[275] Meeting the four optimal conditions represent a crucial part in the design of sport-based programming for prejudice reduction and breaking down barriers. Sport and cultural activities augmented contact experiences because of their ability to cut through language barriers. Supported by numerous laboratory experiences, meta-analyses, and scientific experiments, the data indicates the effectiveness of intergroup contact theory structured programs in the Cypriot context.

Both programs adopted slightly different approaches in implementing structures to support contact. To achieve equal status in the program, DOVES sought the use of non-traditional sport activities so participants were required to learn together. Cultural and educational activities also provided spaces for common goal setting and intergroup cooperation in intercommunal groupings. Contact situations began at the start of the intercommunal camp. On the PPC side, each community holds separate practices to allow participants to familiarize themselves with PPC programming in a "safe" environment. The justification provided by interviewees for starting out in separate practices was to avoid moments of shock that could turn participants off to other programming. After conducting enough practices, the two communities come together through intercommunal pairings called twinnings that carry over to practices and tournaments.

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[275] Pettigrew and Tropp, "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory.": 752; Pettigrew et al., "Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory": 273; Dovidio et al., "Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination.": 5-7.

One of the limitations of contact theory projects discussed by proponents and opponents alike is the re-entry problem. In the re-entry problem, those who participated in contact situations will have difficulty maintaining their changed perspective due to a community environment that is not conducive toward these changes. Cuhadar and Dayton among others have written extensively on how the contact environment's isolated structure differs greatly from the realities of the home environments, creating difficult situations upon their return.[276] Participants risk being ostracized by their home communities because of their association with the "other." To create meaningful behavioral change and guard against the re-entry problem, they suggest contact should repeatedly occur in varied settings over a longer period.[277] McKeown and Cairns' study of peacemaking youth contact programs in Northern Ireland agreed with this solution, noting that many retreat style programs have sought to include follow-up initiatives and address the systemic issues that can set back behavioral change through intersectional programming targeting segregation in schools.[278] Interactions in different situations further normalizes attitude and behavior changes, which in turn will begin to change the systemic issues underlying division: a lack of critically analyzing nationalist narratives in each community that leads to prejudice and stereotyping.

Re-entry, therefore is a major consideration for the design of intergroup contact-based programs. The differences in how contact situations were initiated and supported comes from the amount of time afforded to each program. This represents an important

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[276] Cuhadar and Dayton, "The Social Psychology of Identity and Inter-Group Conflict.": 279.
[277] Ibid.: 283 ; Pettigrew et al., "Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory.": 278.
[278] McKeown and Cairns, "Peacemaking Youth Programmes in Northern Ireland.": 71.

design consideration when it comes to maximizing the effects of positive structured

contact. While DOVES held programming over the course of a 6-year timeframe, the

centerpiece of the program was the 2-week intercommunal camp offered each year. In

this condensed timeframe, the camp sought to provide a significant amount of contact

situations over a short period. Interviewee 6 remarked how the camp's short length

affected future contact seen in their early post-camp observations, noting the presence of

the re-entry problem:

> While we observed this change during the days the kids were together,
> after the end of the project at the beginning in 2005-2006, the kids did not
> meet at all after the end of the project and did not interact at all after the
> end of the project. Even though we were trying to enforce…not to enforce,
> to facilitate interactions and meetings, it didn't succeed in that. We were
> also wondering why something like that did not happen after the end of
> the project. We suppose that the main reason was that going back to their
> communities where they are back to an environment that wasn't friendly
> to such interactions. The key was they couldn't be strong enough after a
> small amount of impact to counter their own communities - their own
> families, their own friends. For some kids, even if they had positive
> families toward reconciliation, maybe their friends, their schools were not
> friendly to those encounters so that's why they couldn't keep on with
> meetings at that moment.[279]

By addressing this issue through their evaluative process, DOVES interviewees remarked

on how they kept their connections with members of the other community alive. PPC on

the other hand, plans programming over the course of a full year so participants could

work in structured contact situations repeatedly over time while also planning into the

long-term. Considering both programs sought to make a long-term impact in the lives of

participants and their communities, the relationships made and kept from these programs

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[279] Interviewee 6, Interview over Skype, 31 July 2017.

shows each design's significance overall. As mentioned in Chapter Four, interviewees

reported lasting relationships in the following excerpts:

> Even though (DOVES is) not taking place as much as it was before and
> it's not active as it was before, I can still see people from DOVES. I
> actually have a long…one of my closest friends I actually I met them
> through doves. So it's a great program that actually helped out and I can
> still see people in the street and say "Hi. How are you? How's life going?"
> Because I met them through the program and see them grow up and see
> them develop, and see them go to university or other instructors; seeing
> their life and their kids grow up and their life expanding more. So it's nice
> to see that through this program, thru DOVES and through PeacePlayers
> you can see the nice change, in my life at least. I wouldn't say the same
> for other people because I'm still keeping in touch w/ everybody. So it's
> nice to see that we can still have that relationship between us.[280]

> We made great friends. The best thing is, the guys I met that are my age, I
> never lost contact with them. When I see them on our side or their side
> they are like 'How are you?'[281]

Maintaining intercommunal relationships represents a major achievement for both

DOVES and PPC. This indicates that both programs implemented methods to overcome

the re-entry problem for participants.

Local Needs

Focusing on needs represents a turn in the international development and

peacebuilding field toward the recipients of programming. Meeting of local needs in

both SDPs was a priority pursued utilizing slightly different processes. Ottier describes

the existence of 2 kinds of distinct needs that have affected international development:

perceived needs as well as felt needs. Perceived are understood by outsiders – Western

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[280] Interviewee 2, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.
[281] Interviewee 3, Interview over Skype, 25 July 2017.

academics, donors, and other stakeholders not part of the target community – as the target

community's needs. Felt needs are the needs experienced by local community

members.[282] Altschuld and Watkins note the predominance of perceived needs over felt

needs in projects numerous projects evaluated through the mid-1980s.[283]   In describing

local needs, a combination of the two can exist in SDPs. Li cites the work of Brindley

(1989) and Robinson (1991) who offered objective and subjective need classifications

where objective needs are based on "clear cut, observable data gathered about the

situation" while subjective needs are inferred from affective and cognitive factors such as

personality, self-confidence and expectations.[284] When calling for a needs assessment,

felt needs are those reflected in the constructivist paradigm of subjective; context-specific

truths dependent on each person's realities.   Adams points out that felt and subjective

needs are contingent upon the "target group's level of awareness of their deficiencies,

which can arise only by comparing themselves to a known situation" also noting the

difficulty in distinguishing between needs and wants because of their overlapping

nature.[285] Collecting and meeting local needs are an important part in the relationship

building process. Focusing on local needs necessitates a flexible mentality with constant

reevaluation of program design to check whether programming is achieving its goals and

objectives. Needs assessments are now commonplace in the development and

peacebuilding space.

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[282] Ottier, "Participatory Evaluation in the Context of Cbpd.": 128.
[283] Altschuld and Watkins, "A Primer on Needs Assessment.": 7.
[284] Li, "Literature Review of the Classifications of 'Needs' in Needs Analysis Theory.": 13.
[285] Adams, "Contractor Development in Nigeria.": 98.

In analyzing the sample data, the presence of both felt and perceived needs were

collected and addressed by both programs. Felt and subjective needs collection took

place through the community members themselves. Assessment of needs took place

through the local facilitators and coaches while also surveying participants and

conducting empirical evaluative studies. DOVES open discussion on program design

decisions provided a forum to express felt and subjective needs. Facilitators provided

needs based on their lived experiences. Participants responded positively to the notion

that the program was responsive to their felt needs as evidenced through interviewee

data:

> So from my view, that was the pilot – and you could see throughout the
> years as well that the prog was also dev and building more on the needs of
> each kid and building on the needs of 'What we do next? What's the next
> level that would help them?'…DOVES as a program and also help each
> participant and each instructor that was taking part in the program create
> those relationships…create those relationships between one another and
> what we're facing throughout the community and what the community is
> actually asking for in a way.[286]

> We have seen every year the improvement of the program …depending on
> the feedback got from the participants. And at some point, I was actually
> introduced to the leadership program of DOVES as well so the program
> always evolved to the nature and needs of the participants. And also, the
> evolving situation in the political process was actually an ever going
> motive and ever going improvement for the program as well because the
> less the intercommunal contact was, the more they had things to make the
> intercommunal contact happen.[287]

By collecting needs through a collaborative environment, the program could reevaluate

the needs of the participants for the next iteration of the program. Incorporating the

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[286] Interviewee 2, Interview over Skype, 18 July 2017.
[287] Interviewee 8, Interview over Skype, 10 August 2017.

technique of constant reevaluation, the idea that needs can shift due to changing contexts

is integrated into needs collection. This assumes that the needs of the community are not

static conditions for programming, but change with environmental shifts that require

adjustment over time to meet these changes.[288]   Collaboration among facilitators resulted

in producing programming that taught Olympic values and structured environments for

intercommunal contact between the two communities to promote cultural learning and

friendships. Since they resulted from locals themselves, these can be thought of as felt

needs.

One could argue that PPC employed perceived needs of the Cyprus conflict

during its establishment in 2006. Going back to the program template used by the wider

organization, the PeacePlayers International organization believed that their basketball-

focused intergroup contact program directed at youth would meet the needs for building

bridges between the two communities.   Establishing PPC required consultation of the

local community needs to identify alignment in local needs and organizational objectives.

PPC embedded itself into the local community by hiring local members to serve as

program staff to assist in this gathering process. Tapping into the local community for

operational staff allows for the adaptation of the established program structure to better

fit into local contexts. Needs collection from local sources causes a shift from perceived

needs to subjective and felt needs because of people's knowledge of the context and lived

experience. Coaches represent those who carry out the bulk of programming. They are

consulted on community needs while the program staff makes the decisions on what

[288] Adams, "Contractor Development in Nigeria.": 98.

needs are met and through what new programming processes. This process on

implementing needs contains an arguably more closed structure than that of DOVES

since coaches do not appear to have the same immediate impact on larger programming

decisions. An example of this would be the installation of a health and nutrition program

detailed by interviewee 5:

> By the years…they noticed there was a big problem with obesity. Younger participants were coming in and they would ask for pizza after basketball games. Then they thought 'how do we help and how do we create healthy idea that would connect the idea of basketball?' You know, their life standard because your health shows your life standard. They are all intertwined. So they saw that problem and they tried to fix it. They are trying to be observant, but then there are some things that they do see that they cannot initially solve because it takes time – they have to do their research and figure it out, then find funds and find people that are professionals to help them out. They do notice things and they try to implement them to an extent where they can.[289]

While no community feedback was given for the creation of a nutrition program

component, the program staff used their knowledge of the community to deem it a

priority. The organization combined perceived with felt and subjective needs through the

use of community members in program staff and coaches. The perception of community

members that their needs were met may represent the most important outcome for these

programs because it can lead to a host of benefits, namely participation and other forms

of support.

     DOVES and PPC employed useful sources to assess needs, but faced significant

difficulties in conducting their needs assessment with parents of participants and others

who were less positive toward their programming. With participants across the board

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[289] Interviewee 5, Interview over Skype, 27 August 2017.

failing to recall parent or other community member input or expression of needs, both

programs appear to have a significant gap regarding full integration into the community.

It appears that both programs made pragmatic decisions on pursuing and integrating the

needs of the less receptive community members. Consideration of organizational

resources (time, funding, and human) and the priority placed on particular groups' needs

may have a role to play here.[290] Parents' expression of needs does not appear to have a

direct impact on PPC programming. The organization also supplements parents' needs

by consulting with local coaches. In line with the literature that emphasizes

programming that effectively incorporates needs based on community members'

experiences, the data shows that the needs collection processes can be strengthened by

developing new methods to incorporate as much of the community as possible.[291] The

lack of meaningful efforts to collect needs from parents represents a major omission

because they are stakeholders who can greatly impact the ability of their children to

participate in such programs.

Community Participation

Community participation is the core of the research question of this thesis, but

previous themes – such as needs – influenced it on some level. Therefore, community

participation represents a complex phenomenon involving environmental concerns that

explain some of the methods employed by the 2 programs. The data shows that

community participation can be effective, but assuming that employing participatory

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[290] Altschuld and Watkins, "A Primer on Needs Assessment.": 6.
[291] Dudfield, *Strengthening Sport for Development and Peace:* 7, 18-20; Levermore, "Evaluating Sport-for-Development.": 343.

methods will result in immediately better program reputation in the community is misplaced. One cannot simply assume that seeking a target community's participation will result in successful participation that improves impact.

The participatory methods used in both programs participatory efforts would not be classified as token efforts.   For DOVES, having local facilitators from diverse backgrounds make key programming decisions in programming decisions denotes a high form of participation. DOVES employed this community-centered ethos to great effect; creating the feeling of ownership over the program in all facilitators. This is a worthy achievement, even considering the native origins of the program. It could have fallen victim to the influence of donor expectations – whose funding was key in getting the program off the ground since it was the first of its kind on the island. Ownership of the program is a form of empowerment that is one of the highest objectives of community participation. The participatory methods of DOVES first sought to build the capacities of the facilitators who then assisted in building up participants, a process noted by Ahmad and Abu Talib that pays dividends for the community.[292] Interviewee 7 indicated that the sense of ownership generated through the facilitator-based process was inspired by the concept of it being a long-term process that should involve and benefit all community members. It was also noted that the interviewee's background in education provided the motivation to share knowledge with others. Knowledge sharing and transfer are principle components of capacity building in community participation since it focuses on the local community's ability to address factors that have impeded community development;

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[292] Ahmad and Abu Talib, "Empowering Local Communities.": 829-830.

namely the prejudice and ignorance that perpetuates the separation of the 2

communities.[293] Including people of the two communities allowed for the creation of a

wider DOVES identity that the data indicates was felt by facilitators and participants.

Interviewees discussed the sense of empowerment that came from their involvement with

the program to accomplish much for their communities. Local ownership augmented the

program's ability to convey self-efficacy for change in their own community.

On the PPC side, ownership of the program through utilizing community

members for participation in two tiers. As mentioned in local needs collection, hiring of

local members for program staff offers input to programming decisions to a select group.

This group is smaller than the DOVES facilitator group, meaning that its composition is

also important for its ability to represent both communities' needs effectively and without

marginalizing specific groups. To augment this, coaches recruited locally make up the

bulk of the PPC members. While PPC advertises that local staff enables unique

knowledge of contexts, Gaynor cautions against this practice turning into a form of cost-

sharing by utilizing local labor. There is no evidence that PPC has made sacrifices in the

name of efficiency or organizational gain. The concern is applicable because PPC is not

a program of native origins, but comes from an outside organization. Interview data

indicates PPC's autonomy from other sites, confirming that PPC has established its place

in the local community and created a sustainable program for the long-term: reaching 11

years of programming this year.

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[293] Ibid.: 830.

From the data, the necessity of relationship building comes to the forefront. Without building strong relationships with supportive community members, there would be little ability to grow the program. DOVES facilitators spoke to specific decisions made regarding spreading the word given the hostile environment and even acknowledged the difficulty for supportive community members due to conditions in Cyprus that opposed intercommunal programming. Establishing relationships throughout the island enabled the program to draw on a diverse group of facilitators to participate. Through these facilitators, the program had access not only to community needs discussed earlier, but also diverse local knowledge that gave DOVES a wide array to meet community needs. Emphasis on the diversity shows support for the employing of local knowledge. While DOVES design was informed by years of research and testing and focused on transmission of Olympic values, the method of seeking community members in later design iterations allowed it to tap into local knowledge. Local knowledge provides unique insight on how to further cultivate relationships across the communities.[294] It appears that relationships provided a support base that in turn allowed for the integration of local knowledge into the outside knowledge of Olympic values all in the name of improvement. This has occurred in PPC as well, with partnerships in facilities and even support from Cyprus' national basketball federation. PPC's relationship with outside entities such as UNFCYP and the US Ambassador to organizational visibility, but the data shows that PPC values the local relationships in the form of their coaches through finding opportunities to keep participants in PPC

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[294] Islam, Hajar, and Haris, "Local Knowledge in the Lips of Globalization.": 17.

programming, turning them into future coaches. Building relationships between the

program and the community to counter imperialist sentiment require clear

communication and offering shared leadership of programming.[295]

A significant barrier to community participation came from the attitude of those

who disagreed with this type of programming. To some extent, these attitudes reflect

conflicting interest groups within community groups and a lack of public interest in

becoming involved. Botes and van Rensburg indicate that target communities are not

homogeneous; so that multiple stakeholders may come in conflict as they feel their needs

are not being met or they do not agree with the shared vision of programming.[296] The

lack of public interest in participating in programming can be attributed to the

environmental influences. Dorsner believes that participation comes down to rational

calculations by community members who take into account social considerations like

public perception or perceived success of the program.[297] Considering the atmosphere

and the events of the Cyprus conflict at the time, programs like DOVES and PPC were

ambitious especially with DOVES being the first intercommunal program to take place

on the island. As interviewees of DOVES recalled, generating wider parental and other

community member support was difficult to obtain because of how they would be

perceived in the community. This point cannot be emphasized enough since DOVES

faced challenges in the early years and even a lukewarm reception by wider community

members who opted not to contribute. Some of these involved being labeled a traitor to

[295] Blom et al., "Sport for Development and Peace.": 5.

[296] Botes and van Rensburg, "Community Participation in Development: Nine Plagues and Twelve Commandments.": 48.

[297] Dorsner, "Social Exclusion and Participation in Community Development Projects.": 373-374.

their community, making public support of the program difficult even when receptive to programming.

Some of these environmental influences have changed since DOVES. Some former participants of DOVES contributed to PPC, exemplifying the lessened hostility toward intercommunal sports programs. PPC interviewees did not indicate the same levels of hostility toward participating in programming today, but instead expressed a sense of apathy due to the conflict's significant length. Interviewee 5 believed other community members choose not to get involved in PPC programming because they feel they are not affected by the problem.   This represents the rational calculation to nonparticipation argued by Dorsner. It also reflects the work of Gonzalez and Buendia, whose study of participation in Philippine programs showed community members as passive clients or attendees who did not feel the need to contribute, thereby undercutting efforts to increase community participation.[298] It was reported that parents are invited to attend certain events, but few take up the invitation. The shift from fearful participation in the past to apathy is notable in future PPC attempts at broader community participation efforts. It is difficult to discern from the data how much emphasis and urgency is in the organization to increase parents to participate through attending events, only that parent attendance represents a minimum form of participation because it does not offer the opportunity for major decision making or access to the planning and implementation processes within PPC.

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[298] Gonzalez and Buendia, "Is Community Participation Really Essential to Program Effectiveness - Negative Answers from Three Philippine Cases.": 168.

With both organizations viewing community participation as a positive, one can see how it was viewed as a necessary component to their programming. With theory and research informing both DOVES and PPC, it is interesting to see how both programs placed similar value on participation, but operationalized it slightly differently. Some of this comes down to the period when the program was implemented and the different objectives that keep the programs from an exact comparison. The ability of both programs to "spread the word" about programming and increase community exposure may be a key objective in increasing wider community participation and support.

This chapter discussed the major themes found in Chapter Four against the literature. Examining both organization's view of sport in terms of recruitment and design, the literature on creating more holistic programs involving other subject components was confirmed. While sport was a motivator for participation, considerations were made to recruit other types of individuals who made lasting relationships in both programs. The data on program design shows that programs originating from and outside the context can implement a design ethos that acknowledges its status while providing supportive programming. These designs also provided well-planned structures advocated by intergroup contact scholars to implement achieve lasting behavior change. To collect and address local community needs, both programs employed community members with local knowledge of contexts, providing avenues to communicate needs. Community participation built off the same structure for needs collection that employed grassroots techniques advocated in the literature. While barriers such as the conflict context interfered with wider participation in DOVES and PPC, both

attempted to address these issues by building and pursuing key relationships in the community. In the next chapter, the project will be summarized while also offering lessons learned and future directions for follow-up research.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This thesis began with an interest in SDPs as a form of development and peacebuilding programming and an interest in the Cypriot conflict. The recent formalization of sport as a tool in development and peacebuilding efforts led to contested debates due to the lack of literature and evidence supporting the practice. In attempting to add to the growing literature on SDPs, it attempted to fill in the gap of community participation literature in SDP programs. The long history of the Cypriot conflict and the absence of violence in the conflict in combination with the lack of SDP research on community participation prompted this examination   The current lack of violence in the conflict has led experts to create development and peacebuilding programs utilizing Cyprus as a testing ground. This led to the formation of the research question: How do SDP programs engage local communities in designing and implementing programs to account for the needs and goals of local stakeholders? Examining the efforts of 2 organizations, DOVES and PPC, presented interesting insight into how various factors intersect to influence community participation used and the extent to which it makes for better programming. This process of discovery led to some changes in assumptions on program design and its relationship to community participation.

In Chapter Two, the history of international development and peacebuilding interventions noted in the literature review depicts an "outsider knows best" mentality

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that saw cookie-cutter approaches in assisting the poor target communities. The SDP

field was explored as a newer entry to the development and peacebuilding space; these

efforts face challenges in their acceptance in the wider community. The primary

challenges centered on sport's potential to cause conflict; the lack of empirical evidence

for sport's positive social outcomes; and sport being viewed as an instrument of a neo-

liberal, neo-colonial agenda against non-Western populations. These programs tapped

into intergroup contact theory with decades of research and testing documenting its

strengths and weaknesses. Practitioners on the ground and community members targeted

by development and peacebuilding intervention projects and programs began to speak out

against imposing these programs on communities, calling it a form of neo-colonialism.

The solution was to focus on target communities to achieve a better understanding of

local contexts to tailor programs accordingly. Looking toward local communities

represented a major shift in perspective on program delivery. This focus on local

communities led to practitioners advocating for community member input and

participation in these programs. Centered on empowerment and utilization of local

knowledge, this practice focused on creating a sense of ownership among locals to

contribute to the long-term sustainability of these initiatives. Community participation,

while not without critics, has been adopted as a necessity by both major and smaller

organizations.

To contribute to the knowledge on SDPs and community participation in the

Cypriot context, Chapter Three outlined a case study with semi-structured interviews for

data collection. As explained in the methodology, a constructivist paradigm informed the

case study semi-structured interview method that allowed for the collection of both Cypriot communities' lived experiences and perceptions on how DOVES and PPC interacted with the community and how these programs impacted their lives. The two selected programs fall under the broader SDP umbrella, but approached programming in different methods that provided some depth for the study. While both maintained structures to facilitate intergroup contact between the communities, DOVES sought to create a model for future SDP program design to inspire a broader movement to influence community change while PPC focused on bridging the gap between the communities and developing future leaders to continue bring these communities. Tapping into the perceptions of those with experiences in the programs allowed for a deeper exploration of community participation that enabled discovery beyond statistical data.

The data in Chapter Four highlighted the major themes that emerged from the 8-interview data set. These themes related to the role of sport; program design and structures; local needs were assessed and implemented; and how community members could participate. Interviewees remarked positively to the role of sport as a tool to facilitate breaking down the barriers between these 2 communities, noting the formation of many friendships through and changed perceptions afforded through these programs. On program design, DOVES used a more decentralized, collaborative structure among the facilitators who were drawn from diverse contexts in the community. PPC used more of a top-down structure in decision-making that was adopted from its international organization. Interviewees indicated a general responsiveness to community needs by both organizations but used slightly different approaches in implementing decisions

relating to those needs. Finally, community participation came primarily from the

community members who participated as facilitators and coaches of DOVES and PPC,

respectively. These themes were discussed and analyzed against the literature in Chapter

Five.

Potential Lessons Learned

Throughout the data collection and analysis process, much insight was gained

regarding SDPs in Cyprus and how they accounted for community needs and

participation in programming. The data indicates community needs and participation in

programming are closely related concepts necessary in improving program outcomes.

Throughout the process of this thesis, the discoveries made changed many of the

assumptions about program design, structure, and community participation. Interviewees

recalled many interesting accounts of their participation experiences and the impact that

programs had on their lives. For prospective SDPs, the data indicates 3 potential lessons

applicable to future programs.

Top-down designs can effectively implement local needs and community participation

with an intentional focus on feedback and adaptability.

PPC represented a more top-down program with a hierarchy of program staff

originating from an international organization. During the formation of this project, PPC

appeared to be an imposed, top-down program that considered community needs as it saw

fit. In collecting interviews, this view proved to be an unnuanced assessment. As

discussed in the data chapters, the organizational template was developed by Brendan and

Sean Tuohey – outsiders to Cyprus – with the vision of using basketball to bring

communities together; this template has been installed in sites around the world. According to the interviews, the hiring of local people to staff program positions and utilizing local coaches in PPC has integrated community members resulting in contextually-specific programming. It appears that shaping PPC's programming the image of the community has not lost the defining features of the wider international organization: a focus on basketball and using organizational practices such as twinnings. While the overall program design features originated from outside of Cyprus, local community members integrated into the PPC system and have appeared to have influenced the delivery of programming to meet local needs. Knowledge of the local context led to the introduction of a nutrition program and the installation of intercommunal trips across the island, elements that can be considered unique to PPC. These offerings may not take place in the South Africa, Northern Ireland, Middle East, or Norway sites. Most interviewees reported on program effectiveness in their lives and did not see any issue with the program's design and its ability to accommodate community needs and participation. This view comes from the openness of the program staff to feedback and needs collection from the coaches and participants. With an observant and open staff, giving them authority to make decisions on how needs are met did not appear to be an issue. Participants felt the staff effectively understood their needs and supported them in any way possible. PPC's approach follows the recommendation of Botes and Van Rensburg that outside programs must demonstrate awareness for their outsider status while implementing techniques to better integrate into the community.[299] PPC has

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[299] Botes and van Rensburg, "Community Participation in Development: Nine Plagues and Twelve

increasingly integrated itself into the community, setting up partnerships on needs

collection and implementation.

Even though DOVES used grassroots approaches, it implemented some top-down

elements. In wanting to create a model for SDPs, the initial testing and design of the

program came from a few native individuals who then passed this model to the

facilitators. This was balanced against the program's desire to create an inclusive

environment seeking to empower the community overall. In designing each camp

iteration, facilitators discussed participant needs and activities. Interviewees indicated

that facilitators were recruited to enter into a bargaining process relating to program

needs and direction, thus creating a sense of ownership and resulting in a greater

commitment to the programming offered. Facilitators and participants interviewees

noted the inclusive ethos of the program was a key factor in empowering individuals to

act for change in the community.   This bottom-up, decentralized approach may be

avoided by other organizations that value efficiency since the discussion format could

induce conflict of interests. For DOVES, creating a program to meet the needs of

Cypriots required a holistic approach that involved Cypriots.

Implementing participatory efforts alone may not result in participation.

Environmental factors may hinder full community participation.

The association of community participation with program sustainability has much

support in the wider literature. The data supports the literature indicating the existence of

barriers community participation. This thesis agrees with Islam, Hajar, and Harris that

Commandments.": 53.

the ability to participate includes 5 elements: (1) accepting the responsibility to participate; (2) ability to deal with consequences and make relevant decisions on participatory action; (3) access to resources required for participation; (4) ability to articulate opinions in participatory settings without restraints; and (5) the awareness about the problem.[300] One cannot expect that using participatory methods alone that ignore environmental contexts will successfully generate participation.

Attitudes and perceptions appear to play a significant role in fulfilling Islam, Hajar, and Harris's elements. According to interviewees, the overall environment of the Cypriot conflict created difficulties initially for both programs to draw broader community participation than those favorable to the program. Reported in the early years of DOVES's work, many community members took a negative attitude toward intercommunal projects. Negative attitudes resulted in facilitators and participants being labeled as "traitors" to their community and being questioned as to their motivation to participate. As discussed in the previous chapter, rational calculations considering their marginalization from the community may have played a role in non-participation, even among those who were positive to DOVES programming themselves. The knock-on effect created a difficult environment for participants and facilitators to continue their work in their home communities while failing to maintain the relationships made with other community members. DOVES facilitator interviewees indicated that parents' negative attitudes towards programming affected their child's participation in future programming. By not retaining the relationships and values learned through DOVES, it

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[300] Islam, Hajar, and Haris, "Local Knowledge in the Lips of Globalization.": 18.

becomes difficult to run follow-up activities that ultimately solidify intergroup contact changes in attitudes and beliefs. DOVES status as a pilot program for intercommunal work may have had an effect on these early attitudes because the concept was new to the community. With each iteration of DOVES, interviewees reported better attitudes and participation in DOVES programming, potentially signaling a growing comfort level within that community.

As a currently operating program, PPC noted barriers regarding attitudes as well. Participant interviewees pointed to apathetic attitudes and trauma in older generations as a reason for the lack of broader participation. Conversely, one interviewee indicated that PPC could do more to give opportunities for broader community participation, noting that involving more community members could help spread the word on programming more. Considering the data collected, both parties could be to blame. While community members may not participate because they feel programming does not apply to their situation or their own traumatic experiences dating back to the war that might keep them from supporting PPC's intercommunal work, responsibility to overcome these issues lie at the feet of PPC. Interviewees indicated that to overcome negative attitudes in the community, the importance of spreading the word and introducing the community members to PPC programming must be acknowledged and made a priority.

Relationships may play an essential role for SDPs to build community participation

This lesson might be the most apparent one for building community participation, but it cannot be emphasized enough. Much of the community participation literature advocates for the building of multiple relationships when focusing on local communities,

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calling it an essential step to creating a sustainable program.[301] For every well-intentioned program attempting to help a community, there is evidence of the lack of community support on some level. Building rapport with local community members requires these programs to demonstrate their commitment to improving the targeted community and winning them over to the cause. Without cultivating relationships, the data from DOVES and PPC interviewees indicates that both programs would not have the base of coaches and facilitators to draw from. These members appeared to play a pivotal role in communicating both community needs and offering suggestions to improve their respective programming efforts. Interviewees from DOVES repeatedly commented on the necessity of relationships to realize the program; grassroots structures would likely not function without recruiting supportive and like-minded individuals from diverse backgrounds to contribute to the program structure. PPC interviewees pointed to support from local community members as well as officials, as an indicative sign of its growth. Fostering better relationships lies at the heart of grassroots programming. To address negative attitudes as a roadblock to participation and attempting to build relationships in less receptive areas may be a key to growing the program's support base.

Despite the presence of negative or less receptive groups to a program, interviewees indicated that persuasion is vital to increasing community participation and therefore increasing community ownership of a program. The primary concern of "bringing everyone to the table" is highlighted by Chouinard and Cousins who note that organizations aspiring for full participation must consider the diversity of stakeholder

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[301] Dudfield, *Strengthening Sport for Development and Peace*: 18.; Fowler, *Striking a Balance*.: 16.

groups and an understanding of power and privilege.[302] The DOVES and PPC cases

shows that an intentional community-first ethos can be a way to mitigate the negative

effects brought by such diversity. Despite the criticisms of including all stakeholders,

over specific ones, building relationships with all community members provides the

potential for inclusion. Excluding or ignoring less receptive community members risks

marginalizing them even further. The data indicates that while full inclusion may be an

aspiration, attempting to fully include all community members potentially remains better

than the alternative: an exclusive, closed program with poor community relations that

fails to carry out community-focused objectives.

Directions for Future Research

Before highlighting future directions for research, the shortcomings of this thesis

must be addressed. This thesis represented a first examination into Cypriot SDPs and

community participation. With considerable time limitations on data collection, the

interviewee sample consisted of 8 interviewees. These interviews were conducted

remotely via Skype, greatly limiting the ability to collect more interviews due to

logistical issues with email and reliance on an internet connection to clearly capture

interviewee responses. The original intention was to collect data from a larger sample in

Cyprus. While an even number of interviewees from both organizations participated in

the interview process, balance and representation issues still occurred. For PPC, 1

facilitator and 3 participants were interviewed while DOVES had 2 facilitators and 2

participants. The ages of the sample ranged from 18-50. Only 1 Turkish Cypriot, a

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[302] Chouinard and Cousins, "The Journey from Rhetoric to Reality.": 11.

former DOVES participant, participated in the interview process out of 8 interviewees. All participants spoke positively of both organizations' intercommunal work, a product of the snowball sampling technique.

A possible way to create more robust data for a similar project may involve a wider sample for interviews. This may involve the collection of data from more SDP programs operating in Cyprus of varying sizes. These programs may include SDPs with different overall objectives such as a primary focus on health outcomes, programs utilizing different sports, and other plus sport programs. This sample can be expanded to include the opinions and perceptions of participants' parents because they have a relevant stake in deciding their child's attendance of such programs. Conducting interviews with those without immediate connections to the program and older populations may also provide different perspectives to program impacts and their opinions on supporting these efforts. Including these populations would broaden the sample to include more than positive individuals. Any future study should also balance Greek and Turkish Cypriot interviewees to explore a greater diversity of opinions.

Other forms of qualitative data collection can augment a follow-up study. In addition to interviews, written surveys, and field work in the form of observation can also add to perspectives captured in interviews. Going into the field would enable a clearer understanding of the context in which SDPs operate. Surveys could represent a technique to expand the data collection process. Observations into participatory practices in SDPs may uncover previously ignored phenomena due to the outside perspective of the researcher. Field work would enable opportunities to interview those who may not

support intercommunal work or SDP organizations as enthusiastically, creating a greater range of opinions and perceptions on program impact and the desire to participate these programs. The hope is that a follow-up study in 5 years can be conducted to include more organizations, participants, and forms of data while also following up on community participation and input methods.

Wrap-up

Through this thesis, knowledge on community participation in Cypriot SDPs was enhanced. In obtaining the opinions and perceptions from those involved with DOVES and PPC, contextually-specific data provided significant insight into the barriers and practices used to overcome these barriers to integrate SDPs into communities that initially held negative perceptions toward their work. In the case of DOVES, the retrospective element provided a unique opportunity for facilitators and participants to reflect on a program developed in the Cyprus context last run in 2011. PPC provided a current example that began from outside of Cyprus and adapted practices to integrate itself into an established community program. Overall, both programs' interactions with community participation reflect a multitude of factors that interact to encourage or discourage community participation while also indicating its utility for program sustainability in the Cyprus context. To answer the research question posed at the outset, both SDPs studied engaged local communities in a relationship-building process to participate in needs assessment and program implementation serving as facilitators in the case of DOVES and coaches and program staff for PPC. Through this method of participation, community members expressed the latitude to communicate the

community's needs and to provide suggestions for programming in an open discussion process. Compared to their starting points, both programs appeared to experience improved perceptions by an increasing number of community members.

CODING TABLE

Interviewee	Organization	Role	Codes (Number of Occurences)			
			Community Participation	Needs	Program/Design Structure	Role of Sport
1	PPC	Facilitator	9	3	9	2
2	DOVES	Participant	10	3	2	2
3	PPC	Participant	11	3	2	3
4	PPC	Participant	12	3	3	3
5	PPC	Participant	14	7	2	5
6	DOVES	Facilitator	24	4	6	4
7	DOVES	Facilitator	9	6	9	2
8	DOVES	Participant	9	3	3	1
		Total	92	32	26	23

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL – PARTICIPANTS

A. Demographic Section
    a. Name-Surname
    b. Occupation
    c. Year of participation
    d. Nationality
    e. Age

B. General
    a. How did you hear about the program?
    b. Why did you participate in the program? What made the program attractive to you?
    c. What was your overall experience in the program?
    d. What needs at the community level do you think the program addressed/catered to?

C. Program Design
    a. During the program design stage, was there any discussion or any other process in place to identify needs that the program could address?
    b. Are you aware of local input efforts in the planning process of the program?
    c. Were you asked during or after the program whether the program's design met your needs?

D. Program Implementation
    a. In your experience, did program activities seem to reflect local community needs? What were some ways that the program was responsive to these needs?
    b. Was the program fixed with no space/flexibility to any needs that participants identified?
    c. At any point throughout your participation in the program, how did program members respond to your needs and opinions? Could you identify specific examples where they attempted to meet your needs?
    d. Can you describe any instances or events, where the program sought community members to volunteer or participate?

e. How did program members gather feedback on your experiences? Throughout your participation in the program, did you feel that the feedback you provided was considered/utilized?

E. Additional Comments & Lessons Learned
    a. How would you describe the program/project's relationship with the community? How has this relationship changed over time, in your experience?
    b. Do you think that the involvement (or lack thereof) of local community members in the design and delivery of a program like this may impact the way the broader community receives it relates to it? If so, in what ways?
    c. Are there any other comments you would like to share?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL: FACILITATORS

A. Demographic Information
    a. Name – Surname
    b. Position
    c. Nationality
    d. Age

B. General
    a. Why sports for peace? What role can sports play in redefining the relationship between the two communities?
    b. What is the rationale behind such a program?
    c. What is the overall aim of the program? What are you hoping to accomplish?
    d. What would you like participants to take out of it?
    e. What has been the response of the two communities so far?
    f. What has been your overall experience as an organizer of this?

C. Program Design
    a. Could you, please, tell me a few words about the design of the program? What were the considerations that informed the design?
    b. Were there any best practices used?
    c. How did you identify existing needs in the two communities that the program could help address?
    d. Who participated the design process? In conjunction with program experts, were there any local stakeholders involved?
    e. If so, how did you engage them in the process?

D. Program Implementation
    a. In terms of program implementation, who was involved in the delivery of the program?
    b. Were there any local community members, who were actively involved?
    c. If so, what did their involvement/participation look like and what roles did they undertake?

d. Are there elements of the program design/implementation which you would change? If yes, what elements would you change?

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