

**THE ROLE OF FIFA AND CAF IN USING
FOOTBALL TO PROMOTE PEACE IN
AFRICA**

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DECLARATION

I, Abdullah Mohammed, hereby declare that this dissertation is entirely my work under the guidance of my supervisor, Dr. Boni Yao Gebe and except for references to other research works, publications and journals which have been duly acknowledged, this study has never been presented in part or whole for the award of any degree elsewhere.

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DATE

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my entire family for the support and to everyone who contributed towards
its successful completion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all, I will like to thank the Almighty Allah for guiding me through this study successfully. I will also like to extend my sincerest appreciation to my supervisor and mentor, Dr. Boni Yao Gebe for his commitment, guidance and encouragement towards the completion of this work. Equally, I take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude to my dad, mum and siblings whose advice and support kept me going till this age. My final appreciation goes to all my colleagues especially Ahmed Papa Asefua Duker and Dela Etse Logo for their encouragement. I am profoundly grateful to you all.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFCON	Africa Cup of Nations
AMPJF	Association Malienne Pour la Promotion de la Jeune et de la Femme
AU	African Union
CAF	Confederation of African Football
CAFF	Children Associated with the Fighting Forces
F4P	Football for Peace
FA	Football Association
FASA	Football Association of South Africa
FDC	FIFA Disciplinary Code
FIFA	Federation of International Football
FIGC	Italian Football Federation
GFA	Ghana Football Association
ICC	Interim Care Centres
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
IOC	International Olympics Committee
IYofAF	International Year of African Football
LOC	Local Organizing Committee
MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MYSA	Mathare Youth Sports Association
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
RtP	Right to play
SADC	Southern African Development Community

SDP	Sports for Development and Peace
UEFA	Union of European Football Association
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	United Nations programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations Refugee Agency
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOSDP	United Nations Office on Sports for Development and Peace
WANEP	West African Network for Peacebuilding
WHO	World Health Organization

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ABSTRACT

The use of sports for the purposes of peace and development is currently becoming a growing phenomenon. In Africa, sports, especially football, was employed by freedom fighters as part of the several struggle mechanisms, to achieve independence, fight racism and promote national unity. As football in today's world is deemed popular, simple to play and above all capable of moving outside the pitch to impact lives and serve as a unifying activity, the study seeks to look out for what FIFA and CAF have done and are doing to promote peace, using the game. FIFA is the world's governing body of football and CAF is the game's administrative body in Africa. The study, relying on the qualitative method of data collection via interviews and information from secondary sources, utilizes Galtung's '3Rs' theory of peace and violence as the theoretical framework through which the body of the work is viewed. Galtung's '3Rs' stands for Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Resolution. The extent to which football fosters peace and the role FIFA and CAF have played in this venture is analyzed. The study, among others, reveal that football has the power to break tensions of incompatibilities among societies and individuals but must carefully be handled as it also has the capability of worsening situations sometimes. Also, it reveals that CAF and FIFA have immensely contributed to the peace project in Africa through tournaments, collaborations with other organizations and donations. The study establishes that, FIFA and CAF have amongst the '3Rs' of Galtung's idea of Peace, engaged in Reconstruction and Reconciliation much more than Resolution as far as their peace initiatives on the continent are concerned. The study recommends that FIFA and CAF put in place monitoring mechanisms and expand their commitments toward peace building projects on the continent. It also recommends to these bodies to expand the spectrum of fighting racism to include the concerns of other minorities in society like the Fulanis and Albinos in Africa. It is recommended that, the field of peace and sports be included in the educational programs of Colleges and Universities to help create experts and popularity of the role sports, especially football play, as an effective tool in helping to promote peace.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

The use of sports for the purpose of development has increasingly been an important issue, particularly, in post-conflict societies. The research on the role of sports in building peace is becoming even more important for sport organizations, donors as well as policy makers in variety of countries in the world.¹ However, with each serving an influential purpose, the particular sport most widely given attention to by many, is football. Football can be said to be one sport among many, that has received considerable popularity world- wide for several decades. Also known as soccer, the sport, according to Alegi (2010), was transported to Africa by colonialists from Britain in the middle part of the 19th century.² A year before the codification of the formal rules of football into a single document, the very first recognized soccer match on the continent was staged in 1862 in Southern Africa, with the Wild Zebras Club of South Africa and Cape Coast Excelsior of the Gold Coast, amongst the early established football clubs in Africa.³ Alegi (2010) believes that, soccer has been an essential sporting activity on the African continent just as it was held in Europe from its beginnings.⁴ Today, the socio-dynamic and influential impact of the game on variety of human activities, has seen its expansion across the globe beyond imagination. While others consider it a profession, many do acknowledge its impact on national development, identity and a tool for cooperation among the larger population of the world.

The fight for racial justice, national liberation and peace in the early part of the 20th century on the continent of Africa, is closely linked to the history of football in the region.⁵ African leaders have

been recorded to have used the sport as a unifying and liberation tool. Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikiwe, a football player himself, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria and the current 'in-form' Paul Kagame, among others, are notable examples.⁶ Globally, football tournaments and activities are controlled by the Federation of International Football (FIFA), a body established in 1904 in Paris. With respect to the African continent, the body that authorizes and ensures the smooth running of football activities, is the Confederation of African Football (CAF). With football not only accepted as an international sport in the current age, but as a unifying force whose values can make significant contribution to societies according to FIFA,⁷ it has to be ascertained how FIFA and CAF in their capacities as bodies in charge of football in the world and Africa respectively, have contributed and are contributing to applying the sport as an instrument in ensuring long and lasting peace on the African continent.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

In societies affected by poverty, conflict and violence especially, the application of sports in solving several social issues is widely and gradually becoming acceptable.⁸ While other developing countries like Brazil, Colombia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, have accepted the influence of football in ensuring peace as successful and productive,⁹ many pundits have been asking whether a similar feat can be said of the African continent and if so, the roles of the world's leading football governing body, FIFA and its regional body, CAF in these processes. Peace, a precious initiative sought for by many on the African continent due to the high level of intra territorial conflicts, has seen the application of many traditional techniques that focus on state-level solutions such as diplomacy, mediation and negotiation at the expense of the people.¹⁰ This is because, it is understood that, the only means to tackle conflict is through political interventions. It is important

to know that, sports and most especially football, is one important but less applicable tool that has from time immemorial promoted peace in most parts of the world.

Kofi Annan in 2001, introduced the United Nations Office on Sport for Development (UNOSDP) to coordinate the efforts of the UN in bringing together in a cohesive manner, the world of sports, peace and development.¹¹ The Secretary General in 2004 proclaimed in a speech that “Sport is a universal language. At its best, it can bring people together, regardless of their origin, background, religious beliefs or economic status. That is why the UN is turning more and more to the world of sport for help in our work for peace and our efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.”¹² Also in 2006, the African Union (AU) declared 2007 as International Year of African Football.¹³ In addition, the UN Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the UNOSDP, collaborated in 2006 to organize sports competitions including football for a period of two weeks tagged ‘Jeux de la Paix’ (Peace Games). This was to bring together, youth from most part of the country with the aim of promoting the process of reconciliation in Democratic Republic of Congo.¹⁴ A similar sports project organized by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Burundi and the IOC, promoted among 13,500 children, inter-ethnic understanding and tolerance.¹⁵

Furthermore, the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and other Non- Governmental Organizations (NGOs) such as Football for Peace (F4P) have acknowledged the importance and usage of sports and football in promoting peace. For instance, in 2009, UNESCO proclaimed that in “order to achieve the goals of peace and development, it was paramount to recognize the cultural dimensions

of sports which in its view, has not sufficiently been analyzed through academic work.” The organization therefore called for attention and support for traditional sports and games.¹⁶ Moreover, individually, the 1995 FIFA World best player and current president of Liberia, Oponong Weah, and the former two times African Best Player, Didier Drogba of Ivory Coast, with the help of his national team mates, used their roles as ambassadors of football to contribute immensely to peace in their respective countries at the time both countries were facing conflict tensions.¹⁷ Having realized the usefulness of football as a tool for promoting peace, this study tends to examine what FIFA and CAF, as organizations in charge of football in the world and Africa respectively, have done and are doing, in using the game of football to promote peace on the African continent.

1.2 Research Questions

1. To what extent can football contribute to peace on the African continent?
2. What has been the contribution of CAF and FIFA in this regard?
3. What are the successes and challenges on the continent of Africa so far?

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To find out the extent to which football, the most popular sport, can contribute to peace in Africa.
2. To find out what the contribution of FIFA and CAF have been, in this regard.
3. To investigate the successes and challenges of using football as a peacebuilding tool on the continent of Africa.

1.4 Scope of the Study

Even though, the sport is dominant across the globe, the focus of this study is on the African continent within a period range of post-Cold war till date. This research focuses on the roles FIFA and CAF have played and are continuously playing in ensuring peace on the African continent through the use of sports, in this case football. A historical account of the relationship between football and peace is also highlighted.

1.5 Hypothesis

FIFA and CAF have immensely contributed to using football to promote peace in Africa.

1.6 Rationale of the Study

This study seeks to contribute to knowledge in the field of peace building and also to demonstrate with evidence, how rules, procedures and the values of football can promote peace and development on the African continent. Since this activity is mostly ran by supranational organizations, mostly comprising of states, such as FIFA and CAF, the research offers recommendations which will help influence the modes and methods with which these organizations attend to the peace agenda in Africa as a whole.

The study also seeks to inform policy makers, analysts and governments, on the need to direct much attention to sports, most especially football, as an influential tool in curtailing conflict sentiments and promoting inter-tribal tolerance especially among children.

The study serves as a source of literature for students and researchers who intend to carry out future studies in the area sports and peace.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This research is underpinned by Johan Galtung's (1998) '3Rs' theory of peace and violence. For Galtung (1998), the holistic process of building peace constitutes '3Rs' or three major important elements: reconstruction of societies and individuals in the aftermath of violence, reconciliation of the disputing participant in conflict and resolution of animosities.¹⁸ Galtung observes that peace building programs must be culturally relevant. He also believes that, it should try to involve several individuals as possible and above all, engage the people as active subjects rather than the objects of somebody else's opinions and actions.¹⁹

1.7.1 Reconstruction

According to Lea-Howarth (2006), reconstruction as described by Galtung (1998), is aimed at rebuilding the political, economic, ecological, physical, cultural and social infra-structures of the victims of war.²⁰ Galtung (1998) in turn, divides reconstruction into four sub-categories: rehabilitation, rebuilding, restructuring, and reculturation.²¹ Football can serve as a facilitator in promoting each of these sub-categories by establishing rehabilitation and healing through psycho-social programs; by luring people to involve themselves in sporting activities through reculturation and by forming autonomous football teams and leagues, based on acceptable cultural rules that will strengthen in this way, civil societies and democratic processes.²² In Sierra Leone, for example, football tournaments were organized involving teams made up of mixed-ethnic players, with the purpose of reducing inter-ethnic conflicts and fostering a sense of national unity within

the country.²³ In restructuration, programs that fall under sports for peace using football, can facilitate the building of relationships, thus promoting social inclusion. Football can also promote rebuilding by physically putting up sporting facilities where people can socialize and get into contact with one another.²⁴ FIFA has played crucial roles in rebuilding sport facilities in communities affected by conflict and violence. For instance, the organization promised funds to rebuild a soccer pitch in Gaza when the territory was bombed by Israel. Moreover, the national stadium and site of executions belonging to Afghanistan were repaired and reopened after the invasion of the country by America.²⁵

1.7.2 Reconciliation

Reconciliation represents the second ‘R’ of Galtung’s (1998) ‘3Rs’ theory of peace. The aim of reconciliation is to (re) create constructive relationship between enemies who have formerly been both victims and perpetrators. With regards to this process, Lederach (2005) emphasizes the importance of being imaginative in developing new reconciliation methods.²⁶ Breaking the sentiments of hate, suspicion, resentment and revenge to rebuild an environment that is healthy psychologically, is the most desired and required activity.²⁷ The use of sports for reconciliation can thus be one of such original developments in the field of peace- building.

1.7.3 Resolution

The last ‘r’ is resolution. Creating a sub-systemic nucleus where the forming of social networks and teaching members concerning how conflicts can be resolved is a potential contribution of football in resolution processes.²⁸ Lea-Howarth (2006) believes resolution is aimed at solving problems and immediate issues in the short-term, for example disarmament of power sharing.²⁹

According to Galtung (1998), resolution means “to eradicate the roots of conflict while looking for a lasting peace”. Coaches who subscribe to F4P use misunderstandings that may surface among players, to design “teachable moments”; a strategy that helps children to be able to solve problems with differing views, in a more constructive and peaceful manner.³⁰

One major critique of Galtung’s (1998) ‘3Rs’ theory of peace and violence, according to Lea Howarth, is the fact that, it lacks real world examples through which this peace mission may be achieved, hence making its implementation difficult an activity.³¹

Also, Galtung failed to pinpoint where one ‘r’ ends for another to begin. The neglect may mostly create confusion for subscribers of the theory in peace building processes because he believes the inability to fully fulfill any of the ‘Rs’ renders peace building incomplete or to backfire in the long run.

Moreover, to the Realists, Galtung’s (1998) ‘3Rs’ theory of peace and violence is fallacious because, its explanations and ideologies gear towards the attainment of positive peace. Positive peace described as “the eradication of direct, structural and cultural violence”, is not only idealized but also an unachievable activity. Realists in addition assert that, no matter the level of intervention and reconciliation in peace building processes, conflicts are inevitable and that, it has been and will always be a part of human nature.

Despite these criticisms, the main reason for adopting Galtung’s (1998) ‘3Rs’ theory for the study, is to provide a suitable framework that can help in illuminating peacebuilding functions football can assist with and those that it would not be able to. Galtung’s (1998) ‘3Rs’ theory demonstrates

the appropriate means and platform, through which one can use football and its values to explain how to promote peace in general especially on the African continent.

Also, another important relevance of Galtung's (1998) theory to this work is the fact that, it views peace building as an activity that should include the total population, a task that will view both victims and perpetrators of conflicts as subjects unlike the traditional style of peace building (mediation, diplomacy, negotiation etc) which focuses on few people as subjects at the expense of the many. This idea is no different from what football seeks to bring on board, hence relevant to the study.

1.8 Literature Review

The work of Guilianotti (2012) titled "*Sport, Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution: A Contextual Analysis and Modelling of the Sport Development and Peace Sector.*" is worth reviewing and relevant to this study.³² In this article, Guilianotti (2012) paid attention to two major sections. First, he historically and politically explained the field of Sports for Development and Peace (SDP). The second part, which is the most important section of the study, springs from these historical and political contextualization, to introduce three major models of the SDP field. He recounts that even though several home-grown and global organizations have resorted to sport as a channel for conveying peace and reconciliation among territories in conflict, there are limited literatures as to how this venture can be successful. Three models namely Technical, Critical and Dialogical are assessed to produce effective understanding and knowledge of the subject and to fill the gap left unclosed. The models are examined individually through several key perspectives, ranging from its "core objectives" to its "paradigmatic methods". Given the fact that, the field of sport and peace

is young, the author concludes by calling on more researchers to engage extensively in constructing theories, that will help in sports and peace projects. Talking about analytically approached papers in the field of sports and peace, this paper appears to be one of the few. However, the practicality of the three models in ensuring that, the field of SDP achieves its major aim is a major challenge hence the adoption of Galtung's (1998) '3Rs' idea of peace for this study.

The article titled "*Peace-building Through Sports: An Introduction to Sports for Development and Peace*" by Cardenas (2013) is relevant to this study also.³³The author realizes in this article that, SDP is becoming a useful mode of intervention for communities tagged as conflict prone. Relying on the framework of Galtung's (1998) '3Rs' approach to peace building, he argues that sports, most notably football, have helped in the reconstruction, reconciliation and resolution of parties and territories disadvantaged by conflict tensions and social issues. Moreover, the article gives a historical beginning of SDP and highlights when it started as a social intervention strategy. The article as well recounts when SDP began as an academic field in Colombia. The author concluded by recommending among others, the need for SDP interventions and initiatives to take into account, cultural factors that are specific to the locations in focus, in order to design suitable sports and peace programs for such communities. The study contributes essentially to the topic under study, by providing good cases and accounts to believe that, sports has a greater capacity of curtailing major social vices and conflicts within most developing countries. However, the author's account on the African continent is quite limited, a gap this study seeks to fill.

Hoglund and Sundberg (2008) in their work, "*Reconciliation, Through Sports? A case study of South Africa*", analyses the experiences of South Africa in using sports to promote social unity as

part of over-powering civil struggle especially, during the regime of the apartheid.³⁴ The article examines the utilization of symbols and symbolic acts of reconciliation such as handshakes, national symbols represented on flags and sporting attires, as processes that link reconciliation to sports. The authors, however, showcased that, to achieve effective transformation, symbolism through sports in its entirety alone, is not enough. The quota system as a sports policy has been implemented in South Africa, to see to it that a certain number of players are taken from communities dominated by blacks and to establish fair representation of players into the national teams. In their findings, they believe increased community interaction can be achieved through communal ventures such as community-based developments which can assist in promoting reintegration processes. The study outlines the possible good and bad aspects of sports with the inclusion of experiences from state policies, actions of NGOs with social identity and reconciliation theory though the influence of FIFA and CAF were left out. The study finally makes suggestions for further researches to be made in order to come out with more effective ways through which sports can be turned into political machineries for the creation of peace after traces of conflicts.

Makwerere and Mandoga (2012) in their study focused on the “*Challenges and Opportunities in Developing Football as a Vehicle for Peacebuilding Specifically in Zimbabwe*”.³⁵ Adopting the qualitative approach, the study laid much emphasis on interviews and focus group discussions. Due to the tenets of tolerance, transparency, fair play, competition and inclusivity that football comes with, the authors, in applying the ‘3Rs’ theory of Peace and violence in addition to the holistic peace building approach of Johan Galtung (1998) and Paul Lederach (2005) respectively, discovered that football can be a significant tool for building and generating peace in post conflict

societies if properly utilized or managed, citing Zimbabwe as a major example. This is not done just by applying football, but with maximum skills and techniques. The study found that the holistic and inclusive nature of the football terrain in Zimbabwe makes peace building approach in the country more appropriate. Even though the sport is useful as far as the agenda for peace is concerned, the research found that, the interference of the government, violence, fixing of matches and ethnic differences which are all linked to soccer, have the tendency to fuel conflicts, if careful attention is not given in curtailing them. The study failed to fully pinpoint whether international or external football matches organized by FIFA and CAF are also capable of promoting peaceful or conflict sentiments in Zimbabwe. However, the study is still relevant to this piece as it focuses extensively on producing findings related to an African country, a similar motive this particular study seeks to achieve.

Gary Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson (2012) in their article, *“Terrorizing Defences: Sport in the Liberian Civil Conflict”* began with a short historical background of the political happenings in Liberia from the middle part of the 19th century to the era of Charles Taylor and how each of these political leaders had something to do with sports, most especially football.³⁶ Charles Taylor realizing that football is a sport loved by the citizens, decided to use it as a tool for association. Having formed his team by drawing players from his personal militia to partake in the national league, Charles Taylor as well, fully financed the salaries and dealings of the Sierra Leone national football team. When rebel forces decided to kick Taylor out of office in 2003, some players on the field of play were forcefully taken to join the militia of the president. A football team comprising of children were killed in the middle of a match when a rocket-propelled grenade was released in their midst. The authors also recounted the fleeing of the most famous, adored and respected

national of Liberia, George Weah on two occasions. The first, as a result of threat from the forces of the President and the second, due to failure to qualify the national team to the World Cup, an action some angry mob believed was mainly his fault. In the end, the authors concluded that “there was no shortage of incidents in Liberia in the aforementioned years that could be classed as ‘terrorist’ and indeed terrifying; sporting practice at times, exemplified the alternatives available to conflict, yet at other times it accentuated the fault lines in what BBC political journalist Fergal Keane famously called Africa’s ‘basket case’.”³⁷ The main reason why their work is relevant to this study is that, it clearly showcases how some leaders in government rely on the game of football in diverse ways to score political points through propagandist activities. The article however was neglectful of the actions of football institutions in the Liberia civil conflict.

Another relevant literature to this study is the work of Lea-Howarth (2006) titled “*Sport and Conflict: Is Football an Appropriate Tool to Utilise in Conflict Resolution, Reconciliation or Reconstruction?*”³⁸ He explains the importance of team-sports in peace building under the concepts of ‘conflict resolution’, ‘reconciliation’ and ‘reconstruction’. Also, he argues that, sports that involves teams can serve as a tool in addressing “cultural violence, engender reconciliation and aid rehabilitation primarily by building social networks and educating participants”. Soccer-based peace building initiatives in Sierra-Leone and Israel are analyzed as case studies by the author. He analyzes his argument through the lenses of the peace building theory of Paul Lederach, and the ‘3Rs’ theory of peace and violence by Johan Galtung. Lea-Howarth (2006) further argues that, both Galtung and Lederach neither presents real-life examples through which building relationships to foster peace can be achieved. Based on the critically assessed case studies, the author suggested recommendations to those who desire to rely on team-sports for peace building projects and also supports grassroot projects as part of the comprehensive peace building methods

in today's world. Lea- Howarth's (2006) work is relevant to this study because it provides detailed description and explanation of the '3Rs' theory of Johan Galtung which happens to be the convenient theoretical framework for this study. He also provides vivid findings on the activities of NGOs that focus on peace making through sports. However, his focus on the peaceful initiatives undertaken by the world's governing body, FIFA and that of Africa, CAF was very limited. This is a major gap this study seeks to fill.

In the article, *"Football for Peace and Liberation in Africa: South Africa, Algeria and Ivory Coast."* Sellstrom (2010), looked at how soccer has historically been used as a strong influential force in the social and political mobilization of Africans against the domination of foreign countries, racial abuse and injustices.³⁹ Illustrations and events are derived from the history of South Africa, and also from Algeria; two countries that competed in the 2010 World Cup on the continent of Africa. Having traced the beginning of the soccer journey in Africa from South Africa, the article demonstrates how African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria and most especially Nelson Mandela of South Africa, capitalized on the game to achieve their liberation and peace agenda in their respective countries. Illustrations of how the national team of Ivory Coast used football in calling for peace during the civil war in the country, concludes the article. The author recounted and analyzed the immense contribution of Captain Didier Drogba, two times African Footballer of the Year, with the help of his team mates in preaching peace to the disagreeing factions in the Ivory Coast civil war. The eventual accounts demonstrate the importance of football personalities in peace promoting activities and initiatives in Africa. Sellstrom's (2010) historical account about the origin of football in Africa and how African leaders used the sport to their advantage in fighting for racial justice and independence

makes the study, a relevant one for the topic under study. Having come out with findings on the contributions posed by certain key personalities in ensuring peace within their countries, certain actions from international organizations, NGOs and football bodies mainly, FIFA and CAF, were not given much attention by Sellstrom (2010), thereby creating a huge gap for this study to fill.

1.9 Clarification of Key Concepts

Peace: Peace in this study refers to the absence of conflicts, violence and wars but also embodies the fight against racism, reintegration of victims and perpetrators of conflicts, promotion of friendly relations among countries and fight against poverty and diseases.

1.10 Sources of Data

Sources of data for this study are both primary and secondary. With the secondary sources, data is collected and analyzed from books and related documents, journal articles, magazines, newspapers and the Internet. Also contributing to information, is primary sources which includes, official records and documents from FIFA, CAF and other institutions such as the Ghana Football Association, Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Sports Directorate of University of Ghana. In addition, the study derives information through oral interviews with resource persons from diverse backgrounds, whose knowledge on the topic under study, are believed to be relevant. These prominent individuals include, Deputy Communications Director of CAF, BBC correspondents, Sports Journalists and Director of Sports, University of Ghana.

1.11 Research Methodology

The study, in coming out with findings on how FIFA, CAF and football can promote peace on the African continent relies on the qualitative cum descriptive method. The information or data derived from the various sources of the study are analyzed in a form of narrations, descriptions and explanations. Also, about four experienced resource personnel in the sports fraternity were sampled to derive information. The sampling method used in reaching these personalities for the study's interview is purely purposive, that is to say that, only experts knowledgeable in the area under study, are consulted.

1.12 Limitations of the Study

Due to the exigency of time and limited resources, there was an inability to travel to the headquarters of CAF and FIFA, to access first-hand information on the activities they perform that aim at fostering peace. Therefore, assessment and analysis of data were based on secondary sources including few documents sent by FIFA and CAF via internet. Difficulty in reaching most of the resource persons due to tight schedules, coupled with the popular "Number 12" undercover video released by investigative journalist, Anas Aremeyaw Anas, accounted for the lower levels of interviewees. Consequently, findings and conclusions from this study might not fully be the accurate picture on the ground but could give insights for useful measures to be undertaken by FIFA, CAF and other governmental and NGOs, when using football to promote peace in general.

1.13 Arrangement of Chapters

The study is organized into four chapters. Chapter One constitutes the Introduction. Chapter Two provides a brief history of football's contribution to peace. Chapter Three gives an examination of the interventions put in place by FIFA and CAF in using football to bring peace on the African continent, the successes achieved in this process and the challenges. Chapter Four consists of summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

ENDNOTES

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- ² Melissa Block interview with Author and African history Professor Peter Alegi about soccer's long history in South Africa, prior to the 2010 World Cup. Available on <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=127600200>
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- ⁵ Sellstrom, Tor. "Football for liberation and peace in Africa: South Africa, Algeria and Ivory Coast." *Conflict Trends* 6. Special issue 1 (2010): 6-16.
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CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL FOOTBALL'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights the positive historical impacts of football to international relations globally and on the African soil, most especially in the area of peace. It also seeks to answer the research question, to what extent does football contribute to peace? However, before that, a look at some of the documented contributions made by the sport in hooligan activities, wars and propaganda are also recounted.

In an attempt to define what sports is, the English author and journalist, George Orwell, once referred to sports as “war minus the shooting”.¹ According to him, the act of overcoming a rival or the opposing team at all cost in the quest to humiliate their supporters, was the sole objective of competitive sports with football inclusive.² In his opinion: “serious sport has nothing to do with fair play rather, it is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence”.³ It must be asserted that probably, an appreciable number of individuals will on any day, be in support of the argument posited by this writer due to the numerous unpleasant incidences, that have shrouded the history of the game as far as violence is concerned. Not just the unpleasant historical happenings, but also the fact that, the football academic discourse, has failed to extend extensive attention to the game’s power in fostering peace, facilitating communication and promoting respect for international football values of fair play.⁴ This neglected gap has contributed to the minimal required attention accorded the sport, in

peacebuilding processes as many believe much of its focus leads to nothing, but xenophobic hooliganism amongst its followers or an exploitative venture used by politicians for nationalistic purposes.⁵

2.1 Football as a Cause of Hooliganism and War

Despite the acceptance and promotion of football by actors such as the UN and its sub organs, UNICEF AND UNESCO, International NGO's, FIFA and many other viable organizations, as a useful vehicle in the promotion of peace as far as global affairs is concerned, the propensity and the calculative force of the game to orchestrate hooliganism and even well-organized conflict, is properly documented and scholarly popularized.⁶ Several literatures particularly on Britain, exists on the phenomenon of hooliganism as far as football is concerned.

Until 1964, the biggest tragic disaster that had befallen the football fraternity was the Bolton disaster in 1946. This unfortunate incidence saw the crushing to death of thirty- three football supporters, when a wall collapsed as a result of overcrowding situations in Bolton, England.⁷ Even though this condition contextually falls beyond hooliganism and war in football, as many believe it was an accident, the death toll and the fact that it marked the beginnings of most disasters in football competitions makes it relevant to the historical account.

The decision of a referee during a football match between Peru and Argentina sparked a riot in May 1964. In this violent incidence that occurred at the national stadium in Lima, Peru, about three- hundred (300) and five- hundred (500) fans were killed and severely injured respectively.⁸

With some few minutes left to end proceedings during the 1964 Olympics qualifying match,

Peruvian fans seriously began cheering their team on. The stadium all of a sudden went wild and violent when Peru's last-minute goal, was disallowed by the referee. The resulting fear and ineffective crowd-control measures adopted, caused stampedes, leading to the eventual crushing, injuring and killing of people.⁹

Exactly five years later, another regrettable incidence in what many have classified as the “Football War” between El Salvador and Honduras took place. The burning of Honduran Flags and some deadly attacks on the fans of the visitors as a result of the victory of El Salvador in the 1970 World Cup qualifying match in San Salvador, created the most unfortunate incidence in the history of the game.¹⁰ The two countries engaged in unfriendly post- match diplomatic exchanges, leading to Salvadoran troops invading their neighboring country, Honduras and laying the grounds for a five-day war which claimed the lives of about 2000 people in both countries.¹¹ It is believed that these wars had dicey social, political, geographical, economic, historical and cultural causes and would have taken place even if football did not come into the picture. But the fact that a football conflict degenerated into the main fighting means that, the sport can be a flashpoint for latent violence to explode as such, must serve as a caution to those motivated to use the sport in bridging divides between communities or participants whose relationships are nothing to write home about .¹² According to some scholars, soccer in this case was employed by politicians as a means to sustain the traditional order that creates disparities and domination by the big landowners in the two South American countries.¹³

The 1980s saw heightened level of hooliganism by English football clubs leading to what most scholars have referred to as the ‘English Disease’. Several hooligan actions, especially amongst fans, brought about many casualties. These actions mostly led to a maximum of two deaths, but

the disaster that has received much attention from historians is that of 1985, at the Heysel stadium that occurred when Juventus from Italy and Liverpool FC of England met in the finals of the European Cup. The incidence saw thirty-nine (39) Juventus fans crushed to death when Liverpool supporters defeated a defending line of the police and aggressively ran towards the location of the Juventus fans in the stadium. Upon trying to avoid the attack, a fence collapsed on the fans resulting in the unpardonable casualties. The aftermath of the incidence, saw the banning of English clubs from all European competitions until 1990.¹⁴

Also, many researchers argue that, the start of the war and the further disintegration of former Yugoslavia was as a result of a football match.¹⁵ The local match which ensued between Dinamo Zagreb and the Red Star Belgrade in 1990 could not come to a closure because of the clashes that occurred between the fans of the two clubs, the players and the Yugoslavian police.¹⁶ Developments after this, sparked full time warfare between the two regions ending up in the emergence of succession. The nationalistic passions attached to football that makes it an effective avenue for factions to express their sentiment is a must consider option when employing the game in the peace building phenomena. Lea-Howarth (2006) however believes to a larger extent that, this war as well, had underground causes that fell way beyond the spectrum of football.¹⁷

Putting Africa in context, the continent has as well witnessed some misfortunes as far as football hooliganism is concerned. Hooliganism in football within the region has not got a long history as compared to the Western and Southern American countries. On 14th January, 1991, forty people died in Johannesburg, South Africa when supporters rushed in the direction of the overcrowded exit to escape violent fans during a football match southwest of the capital city.¹⁸ In Libya, eight fans died and thirty-nine were severely wounded in December 1996 as the military fired at fans to

stop both pro- and anti-Muammar al-Gaddafi sentiments being showcased during a match in Tripoli between Al Ahli and Al Ittihad.¹⁹ In 1998, the government of Mozambique had to send an apology message to Zimbabwe, as Ferroviário fans from Mozambique, attacked the players of the Zimbabwean team, Dynamos as well as the referee. The fans threw stones at vehicles and battled with the police outside the stadium leaving fifteen individuals hospitalized.²⁰ Moreover, the year 2001 saw the deadliest acts of football hooliganism on the African continent. About one hundred and twenty-five people lost their lives and several of them getting injured, when soccer fans got trapped in a stampede at the Ohene Djan Sports Stadium in Accra, Ghana. Hearts of Oak of Accra got a 2-1 lead against their fierce rivals, Kumasi Asante Kotoko with few minutes left to be played in the game when bottles and chairs flew onto the turf from angry fans. The police in an attempt to stop the act, fired tear gas at the crowd which created panic and fear. Supporters rushed to avoid the gas and, in the process, 125 of them lost their lives.²¹ This incidence occurred exactly three days after fighting among fans caused one death and 39 people injured in Ivory Coast²² The mere mention of May 9th today in the Ghanaian society triggers nothing but the reflex of sadness. In the quest to ensure the ‘never again’ sentiments in the minds of the populace, the Ghana Football Association in collaboration with the government on yearly basis organizes a match on this date between the two rivals, to remember those who lost their lives in this occurrence and to serve as a remembrance and lesson package to the entire nation.

Furthermore, it was not just Ghana and Ivory Coast, in 2001, but the Democratic Republic of Congo in that same year recorded 14 deaths when an equalizing goal in the match between TP Mazembe and FC Saint Eloi Lupopo resulted in the throwing of missiles. As usual, the firing of tear gas by the police caused stampede leading to the eventual casualties.²³ Egypt in 2006, 2012

and 2013 witnessed severe hooligan actions resulting in the death of about 79 people in 2012 and about 30 in the latter.²⁴ In 2015, during the semi-final clash between Equatorial Guinea and Ghana in the Africa Cup of Nations (AFCON) tournament, hooligans invaded the pitch throwing bottles and missiles at the Ghanaian players leading to a halt in proceedings for more than 30 minutes. The Ghana Football Association (GFA) tweeted about the incidence on social media comparing it to a war zone.²⁵ In Angola, Santa Rita de Cassia met Recreativo de Libolo in a match that will not be forgotten by fellow Angolans after 17 football fans lost their lives during a stampede that broke out at the entrance of the stadium in Uige, northern Angola.²⁶

An introspective look at these acts of hooliganism and its casualties especially on the African continent clearly shows that, most often than not, the measures put in place by the police in curtailing or calming the riots caused by fans, turn out to be the major cause of the deaths and injuries that most people go through.²⁷ While there are debates amongst scholars over what constitutes hooliganism in the present-day soccer organogram, Warner (2013) believes that, verbal assaults on opposing teams, players and supporters, violent or racist chants, pitch attacks, severe damaging of properties, and aggressive assaults on opposing players, fans, referees, or even innocent individuals caught after the match, embodies the act in current football.²⁸

2.2 Football as Propaganda

In paying attention to the politicization of football, one area worth mentioning, owing to the attention extended to it by many scholars who criticize the game's ability to contribute positively to the field of peace building, is propaganda. In the words of Melisen (2005), "Propaganda is the deliberate attempt to influence the opinions of an audience through the transmission of ideas and

values for the specific purpose, consciously designed to serve the interest of the propagandists and their political masters, either directly or indirectly”.²⁹ The potential that football comes with as a secular opium of the multitudes, was not missing in the minds of a number of the 20th century’s most notorious autocrats.³⁰ It is believed that Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, the most revered promoters of authoritarian regimes in the early stages of the 20th century understood that, the way to power lay in the mastery of a united psychology and the additional control of the passionate desires of the masses.³¹

Football as a source of propaganda has its roots most likely in the aftermath of the First World War, when Jews started creating their own football clubs. The most popular among these teams was the Hakoah Vienna, whose physical activities and representation were purely political. Touring the whole of Europe and the Americas, they became the first club to beat an English side, West Ham United, 5-1 on home grounds. The English, then regarded as the masters of the game, upon their defeat, provided a fertile ground for the resilient Israeli side, the Hakoah Vienna, to use football to sell Zionism and eventually become the strength of the Jewish Fraternity. Hakoah was shut down when Anschluss ended in 1938.³²

The regime of Benito Mussolini in the bid to ensure at all cost, a win for the host nation Italy in the 1934 World Cup, was generally believed to have offered bribes to officials to portray and fancify the fascist regime to his citizens and the world at large.³³ Similar developments were believed to have occurred in the 1936 Olympic Championship and the 1938 World Cup by Mussolini to portray the dynamic qualities of himself and the Fascist regime. Franco and Hitler were also believed to have followed similar footsteps, by providing support for their regimes but

were less successful as compared to the Italians.³⁴ To improve his diplomatic ties with other countries, Hitler utilized International soccer most especially in enticing England in 1938 to play a friendly match in Berlin, where he ensured that, the English players through their appeasement-minded government, offered a Nazi salute before the start of the game. All these were tools employed by these dictators in creating legitimacy, while simultaneously strengthening feelings of national pride among their local citizens.³⁵

Moreover, the decision by FIFA to grant an authoritarian regime the opportunity to host the 1978 World Cup in Argentina, an era lightened by the Cold War, was deemed by Amnesty International and many other democratic regimes as an act of propaganda.³⁶

Considering the above accounts, one may want to think manipulating football for more political ends, was an act solely implemented by dictatorial regimes to push forward their agenda. It must however be emphasized that, most democratic regimes have followed suit in this regard and its rampancy in today's football makes us want to think it is a norm. Government officials are quick to tap on the successes of their national teams in their tenure of office for political interests.³⁷ It is equally a conventional political duty to see Heads of State of competing national teams at finals of a tournament these days especially the FIFA World Cup.³⁸

Also, the selection and the laying off of some national team coaches in most democratic countries today, lies in the hands of the government. A typical example was when a defeat to Spain by Cyprus in the 1998 World Cup saw Javier Clemente, the coach of Spain sacked. The government of the day saw a disgrace to its image and that of the country.³⁹ Not just Clemente, but Glen Hoddle

of England in 1999 following a statement by the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, that he deserved to be sacked.⁴⁰

2.3 Contextualizing the Negatives

It is indeed true that all these negativities recounted cannot be scrapped off the football terrain. But the question most scholars have not been able to answer is, if the game was mainly the cause of these unpleasant atrocities and political manipulations. The truism that bad news sells indeed is a valid statement.

Beginning with the fact that football instigates acts of hooliganism and war, it is important to note that, the ‘Football War’ as it has been tagged, between El Salvador and Honduras was at first glance, a proof that, sporting events like football is directly related to the starting of wars. However, it is also believed that, both countries dominated by big landowners, saw the government take advantage of the patriotic nature of football and its inherent antagonism, to ignore paying heed to the claims of the majority small farm holders.⁴¹

Also, Hough (2008) believes that, the claim that soccer can draw countries into violence and wars does not stand up to much scrutiny and that any seasoned scholar who is well vexed in the politics of Latin America will acknowledge the fact that, the so-acclaimed ‘Football war’, was the peak of a territorial dispute between El Salvador and Honduras that has been in existence for ages.⁴² Equally, the war of secession between the Croats and Serbs would have happened even if their football clubs had not met for a match on the pitch. To him, football matches tend to defy diplomatic hostilities and as such, serve as a highlighting figure of conflicts rather than a causal agent.⁴³

Government's standings and image can be boosted by a national team that has been successful in an international football tournament but it must be emphasized that, propaganda is not easily achieved in the football spectrum. The Nazi's reliance on the use of football as a means of propaganda failed when the intention to use the 1938 World Cup as a way of celebrating the Anschluss, fell in deep waters. When Hitler annexed Austria who were by then possessing a much stronger football side, the coach of the German national football team, Sepp Herberger was placed on orders by Nazi officials, to field in every match, six German players and five Austrian nationals or vice versa. The intention was to produce a formidable team such that a German victory of the 1938 World Cup, will justify Hitler's incursion into Austria.⁴⁴ To the dismay of Hitler and his officials, the anticipated formidable team made an early exit in the group stages, losing to Switzerland by 4 goals to 2. This captivated some fans of the Austrian national team with the Anschluss as they saw their Wunderteam displaced and defeated as a result of the merging with that of Germany's. The inability for a coerced union to produce harmony on the pitch and a defeat in Paris, showcased an obvious moral difficulty in applying propaganda within the football discourse.⁴⁵

Putting the 1978 World Cup victory by Argentina classified as a means of Propaganda in context, Hough (2008) opines that, the regime's hosting of the tournament was in the end, a political own-goal since the presence of world-wide media in the country served a good deal in plainly projecting the regime's brutalities and corruption.⁴⁶

In taking a critical look at the football hooligan activities in Africa, yes, it is true some clashes among fans took place or does take place, but most often than not as alluded to earlier, the casualties that are reported as been caused by the game, emanates from the ineffective control

measures put in place by the police in curtailing the contacts between opposing fans. Gulve Anthony has it that, the use of tear gas by these security officials are mostly the cause of the stampedes that leads to deaths, injuries and eventually, a bad name for football as an instigator of violence among fans.⁴⁷

2.4 Contribution of Football to Peace

In 1992, Nelson Mandela was believed to have made an important statement. He said “soccer is one of the most unifying activities amongst us”.⁴⁸ Similarly, Sepp Blatter, the former president of FIFA, is renowned in 2004, before a match between Brazil and war-ravaged Haiti, to have urged the world to “make goals not wars”. The said statement had a significant political backing way beyond the football organogram.⁴⁹ Former UN Secretary General, Mr. Kofi Annan also pointed out in 2001 that, “Sport in which football is a part, is a universal language. At its best, it can bring people together, regardless of their origin, background, religious beliefs or economic status. That is why the UN is turning more and more to the World of sport for help in our work for peace and our efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals”.⁵⁰ These personalities did not make those statements from an empty vacuum but probably due to experience, previous positive happenings the game has impacted, and above all the simplistic, popularity, the rules and values the sport comes with. It is for these reasons that this study at this point draws on some historical underpinnings in the area of peace (deepening diplomatic ties, improving international relations, conflict resolution and reconstruction, liberation tool etc) that has seen the impact of football significantly.

The process of using sporting activities to advance peace initiatives is not a new phenomenon. According to Alexander Cardenas (2013), the first recognized usage of sport to intercede in

moments of conflict, dates back to the ninth century BC in ancient Greece. This was done through the creation of an Olympian Truce (*Ekecheiria*), with the motivation of briefly halting the war between the Peloponnesian city-states during proceedings of the Olympic games. Spectators, competitors or athletes, artists and their respective families were able to travel to the Olympic games peacefully and return to their homelands totally safe.⁵¹ In the early 20th century and during the First World War, another instance of the peacemaking character of football was the well-known Christmas Truce of 1914. German and English troops stopped fighting to exchange gifts and play football.⁵² This according to Cardenas (2013), was a validation of the potential use of sport by the rival troops as an agent of transformation and revolution. He also asserts that, the game of football provided brief relief coupled with temporal cease-fire for the soldiers of the two great political powers.⁵³

2.5 Improving Diplomatic Ties

International football has, on several occasions created beneficial channels for improvement in diplomatic relations among hostile governments. Football matches can even break ice when the formal form of diplomacy has failed.

Though less popular as compared to the usual ‘ping-pong diplomacy’, football assisted the thaw in Sino-US relations in the early part of the 1970s. The United Kingdom government furthered Oriental- Western rapprochement, by inspiring West Bromwich Albion to represent the country as the first British football club to play behind the bamboo curtain in many televised friendly matches in 1978.⁵⁴ Similarly, soccer played a part in the Greco-Turkish “earthquake diplomacy” when

PAOK of Thessalonika, played a fundraising friendly match at the stadium of traditional archrivals Galatasaray of Istanbul after the 1999 earthquake disaster in Turkey.⁵⁵

The memorable match between Iran and the USA at the 1998 FIFA World Cup in France, depicts one of the famous examples of football strengthening diplomatic relations between countries. Though many anticipated the match as going to cause political hitches, ideological battles and a platform for the exhibition of nationalistic tendencies, the players did their best to overcome political divisions. The two sides in portraying protection against all manner of hatred or bringing the tenets of politics onto the football field, exchanged gift amongst themselves and took friendly group photos before the match began. President Clinton in a message, expressed his wish that, the event or the match brought cordial relationship that will further bring to an end, the long hostility between USA and Iran. The match encouraged leaders of both countries to communicate and carried a signal to the whole world that, the confrontation between Iran and USA with respect and mutual understanding, can end up in a peaceful manner.⁵⁶

Another proof to showcase the impact of the game of football in developing a policy of rapprochement, is the decision by FIFA to allow Japan and Korea to host the 2002 World Cup, the first of its kind in the history of football. The mega international event in Asia greatly helped in the promotion of reconciliation between Japan and Korea.⁵⁷ Some notable achievements were reached at this collaboration though the two were regarded as traditional antagonists to each other. The Government of both countries in fear of hooligan activities, engaged in security dialogue that saw the designing and ratification of an extensive extradition treaty and improvement in the exchange of intelligence.⁵⁸ Though Lea-Howarth (2006) believes football matches can indeed unite people, but seemingly on a temporal basis,⁵⁹ it is important to note that, the blessing of hosting the World

Cup by the two countries three years later in 2005, led to the negotiation of a free trade agreement between Japan and South Korea. An embargo placed on Japanese cultural products by South Korea was also lifted and above all an increase in social and cultural interactions between both States re-emerged.⁶⁰

A notable example of how football can transcend beyond just being a game to improving communications is the case of Turkey and Armenia. 6th September, 2008, was the date set for these two to partake in pre-qualifying World Cup match in Yerevan. Until this fixture, the two countries were believed to have hitches diplomatically, with a closure of their border for 15 years. Also, two major issues that caused the citizens of Turkey and Armenia to part ways with each other, was as a result of the long history of mass Armenian killings in Turkey during and the aftermath of World War One. The other issue been the extension of support by Armenians to the Nagorno-karabakh in Azerbaijan. In the heat of all these strong hostilities, Turkish president, Abdullah Gul was invited by Serz Sargsyan, the President of Armenia to watch the above match together. This visit in the modern history of the two countries, was the first time a Turkish leader was entering Armenia. Also, for the first time, over 5,000 Turkish fans travelled with the national team to watch a game in Armenia. The new level of push in terms of diplomacy that was created between Turkey and Armenia was as a result of football. Subsequent signing of protocols between the two countries was achieved. The most notable among these protocols was the establishment of diplomatic relations, by the Foreign Ministers of both countries in the presence of the Secretary of States of the United States Hillary Clinton, Foreign minister of Russia Sergei Lavrow and the European Union's Foreign Affairs and Security official, Javier Solana.⁶¹

2.6 Reconstruction and Nation-Building

Football in some part of history has also been used by governments and NGOs as a means of facilitating post-war reconstruction, to promote community and national unity. In 2004 when former President Sepp Blatter called on nations to make goals not wars, it was an address to the players of Brazil and Haiti during a friendly match organized by FIFA as part of United Nations' peacekeeping mission agenda in Haiti. Brazil, then champions of the world and having most of the world's best players, like Ronaldo, Ronaldinho, Dida to mention but a few, had their identity revered with affection and respect throughout the Caribbean. Though the match ended in a defeat to the politically disturbed country Haiti, Latortue, the President proclaimed that, "a few Brazilian football stars could do more to disarm warring militias than thousands of peace keeping troops."⁶²

Open Fun school project that had its beginnings in 1998 as a grassroot initiative in Bosnia and Hezegovinia, is a typical example of the ability of sports in the promotion and development of social cohesion between communities that have problems as far as peaceful coexistence is concerned. According to Cardenas (2013), the inception of this youth football program has since brought tens of thousands of children from disagreeing communities to play football together.⁶³

Football's involvement in the process of inclusion, reconciliation and national celebration in the history of Southern America is phenomenal. In Brazil, Natali (2007) has it that, the heightened positive understanding of racial diversity in the country today, is as a result of the successes chocked by the national team which was made up of mulattos like Pele, the best if not, one of the finest players the game has ever seen and Garrincha in the mid-20th century.⁶⁴ Also, the success of a national team in Southern America is perceived by the populace and their government as the attainment of independence.⁶⁵ Instances of this nature includes the qualification of the national

team of Costa Rica for the 1990 FIFA World Cup that was held in Italy and the achievement of the Bolivian National team in the 1994 World cup in the United States. The said incidence brought so much joy to the respective countries creating togetherness among the citizens.⁶⁶

Moreover, in 2009 when Paraguay beat Argentina by a lone goal to qualify for the 2010 World Cup held in South Africa, the joy, happiness and national unity that this victory brought to the citizens and their government, saw the president, Fernando Lugo declare a national holiday in honour of the history making national team. Football is able to move across social and political tensions to create some opportunities for national celebrations.⁶⁷

2.7 Football and Peace in Africa

The continent of Africa has also been a beneficiary of the peace that football comes with on several occasions. The history of football and peace in Africa was mostly centered in the area of liberation, nation building, racial justice,⁶⁸ improvement of countries relations and as tool for internal community reconciliation and resolution in conflict prone areas. According to Sellstrom (2010), leaders like Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, used the sport as a means of liberating and ensuring unity among the citizenry of their respective countries in the middle parts of the 20th century, when the fight for independence was the order of the day.⁶⁹

In 1960, a FIFA congress that took place in Rome declared that any country practicing racial discrimination would not be accepted within the football family. Exactly a year after, the nod fell on apartheid South Africa, getting the country suspended after acts of discrimination and racial abuse were levelled against the regime. Though reinstated in 1963, protests from African leaders, anti-apartheid pressure groups including Asian Football Associations saw the restoration of the

ban in 1964 lasting until apartheid was lifted in 1992.⁷⁰ Here, we see football, fight against racial injustice and calling on the international community that, the importation of the game is to ensure harmony, peace and togetherness no matter the race one belongs to. Analysts have it that, the FIFA ban and those that followed (Cricket and Rugby) had a lot of impact in turning the political face of the African country than the periodic economic sanctions levelled against the government.⁷¹

In 1969 during the heat of the Biafran war, the Santos team of Brazil had agreed to partake in a match against the Green Eagles of Nigeria. Edson Arantes do Nascimento popularly known as Pele, travelled with the Santos team. The popularity and admiration that ‘The king’ brought with, ensured that, a three-day ceasefire between the Biafrans and the Nigerians was agreed upon to peacefully allow the match to come off and call on people to come and watch. The popularity of football and the prestige it comes with to be known as the best in its discourse, can transcend beyond the field. In the words of Lima, a team mate of Pele at Santos, he shared memories of the event saying:

It was strange because the whole country was divided and in conflict. But as soon as they found out the game was to take place, that was put on hold. It was a tiny pitch, I remember it well, the people arrived carrying chairs on their heads in order to watch the game.⁷²

Nelson Mandela like Kwame Nkrumah and other leaders before him, turned to sport in building a new South African nation after the collapse of the apartheid regime in 1992. Knowledgeable as he was about the power of football in nation building, Nelson Mandela’s presidential inauguration on May 10, 1994 featured a football match in Johannesburg between South Africa and Zambia. Having been reinstated into CAF after their ban in 1963, the South African National team known as Bafana Bafana triumphed in the African Nations Cup in what is called a “host and win” affair. With a crowd of about ninety thousand people at the FNB stadium, the national team made up of

both whites and blacks tremendously lifted rainbow nationalism in the country, instigating the spirit of racial reconciliation and national unity. The streets of cities and towns were filled with black and white nationals jubilating to the victory of their country in a peaceful manner. This success came just a few months after the South African Rugby team hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup and won.⁷³ Analysts believe the dramatic move on the part of CAF to even make the new reinstated South Africa host the 1996 AFCON, was in itself a step by the football governing body to aid in the nation building process of Nelson Mandela's new South Africa. The social and political significance of the rugby and soccer triumphs entrenched a desire among increasingly self-confident South African leaders, to host sporting mega events for the purpose of bolstering the quest for national unity and triggering faster economic growth.⁷⁴

In 2003, a decade after the unforgettable conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups in Rwanda, a historic moment created by the national team of Rwanda, ignited the spirit of love and happiness in the country once again. The team having made it to the AFCON tournament to be held in 2004, for the first time after beating Uganda, got about half of the country's eight million Tutsi and Hutu population on the streets dancing and embracing one another in unison. Paul Kagame, a football fanatic himself, gave a presidential speech, virtually assuring the citizens that, the presidential elections that was to be held (the very first since he ascended onto power after the genocide), were in the bag. The team's Serbian coach Ratomir Dujkovic in amazement proclaimed; "This satisfaction is huge, for me personally to give such joy to such a poor country is a huge honour". Only soccer could have had such a massive influence on the vastly ambitious national task of reconciliation, and of restoring to health, the world's most miserable and destroyed land.

Football in Rwanda was joy, a consolation, it was balm. It was, as Nelson Mandela had said, a “force that mobilizes the sentiments of a group of people in a special way that nothing else can.”⁷⁵

In 1995, George Oppong Weah was awarded the Best Footballer of the Year making him the first African to be crowned the title. Having been awarded the European footballer of the year not just once but twice the previous years, George Weah was further assigned a role as a goodwill ambassador of Sport for UNESCO and a subsequent FIFA ambassador for football.⁷⁶ On achieving all these, “The King” as he was known in his homeland Liberia, assigned a peace making function to football and declared that he was going to show the confronted army groups in the politically disturbed country that, there were other means to fight in favour of the country.⁷⁷ As scholars like Gary Amstrong (2002) and Tor sellstrom (2010) have shown, the contribution of ‘The King’ in restoring the image of conflict prone Liberia, cannot be written off as he repeatedly appealed to the warring groups to lay down their arms.⁷⁸ Also, when some western governments and NGOs recognized that sports particularly football has the potential to help in preventing arms conflict, a Liberian project with the aim of integrating ex-combatants especially the children amongst them back into society, was established in 2006. The program run by “Samaritan’s Purse”, an international NGO, relied on value-driven coaching philosophy in the area of self-discipline, truthfulness, appreciation, and respect corrupting into the acronym ‘STAR’.⁷⁹ This is what Galtung (1998) in his ‘3Rs’ theory refer to as resolution, the last ‘R’ in peace building process, where teachable moments are used in a constructive way to help solve disagreement and misunderstandings.⁸⁰ It is believed that this intervention really was a well thought idea, as it effectively assisted some children traumatized by the Liberian war to socialize into their societies. The term “STAR” forms a crucial part of the history of Liberia as it portrays the declaration of the country’s independence from the American Colonization Society.⁸¹

The history of football assisting in the attainment of peaceful societies in Africa cannot be complete without the mention of the contributions made by the game through the Elephants of Ivory Coast in the civil war that split the nation into a Muslim-dominated area in the North - held by insurgents from the new forces under the command of Guillaume Soro, and the primarily Christian-dominated southern parts, controlled by the forces of Laurent Gbagbo's government. With players from the national team tracing their origin from both the Northern and the Southern territories respectively, the united team consistently pleaded to the warring factions for peace. After qualifying the team to the 2006 World Cup in Germany for the first time, the captain of the side Didier Drogba, surrounded by his team mates, delivered a message live on national television on their knees. Emotionally, he said; "We have proved that all Ivoirians can live together, we can unite with the same objectives. Please, put down your weapons!". Having been involved in the mediation efforts between the Ivorian warring parties, the West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) shortly after the Ouagadougou Peace Accord was signed in 2007, reported that it had "suggested the use of Ivorian soccer stars and heroes to broker peace. Over the period of three to four months before this suggestion, Didier Drogba was involved in a silent but successful soccer diplomacy between the two sides, admitting that he personally partook in the process of convincing former President Gbagbo and the then Prime Minister Soro to agree on the Ouagadougou Accord". Drogba in the quest to further the unification of the two sides, convinced president Gbagbo that their qualifying game against Madagascar for the AFCON, be played in Bouake, the stronghold of the forces of Soro. Before the match, Drogba stood in front of the crowd and showed to them his award as the African footballer of the year saying, "This date will be a memorable day. It will be a victory for Ivory Coast football, a victory for the Ivory Coast people and, quite simply, there will be peace". He later proclaimed in an interview that upon all the trophies he had won in his career,

none of them comes near to using his identity as a footballer, in helping win the battle for peace in his country.⁸² Here, one can say that, the imaginative tool that Lederach Paul (2005), suggests must be considered in fulfilling Galtung's (1998) second 'R' which is reconciliation, was successfully fulfilled by the peacemakers in rebuilding a psychologically healthy environment between the warring parties involved in the conflict. This therefore contributed immensely to breaking the vicious cycle of hate, deep suspicion, resentment, and revenge.⁸³

In 2009, when Ghana became the first African country to win the Youth (U20) World Cup in Egypt, football fans in the cities and towns across the country, were thrown into massive jubilation. Enthusiastic men, women, young ones and the elderly, filled several streets singing and dancing to the glory of the gallant Black Satellite players on their return.⁸⁴ In a personal interview with Fiifi Anaman, a broadcast journalist for AE media and Kwese Free Sports, he said:

I could not help it. It was an amazing feeling for the people of Ghana to get back as one people. It came at the right time as well, helping the nation to take its mind off the tension of the 2008 elections, which went as long as three rounds to decide a winner, a situation that could have easily brought the nation to the doorstep of war.⁸⁵

2.8 Conclusion

The history of International football has been influxed with several happenings that can be classified into the good and the bad. While a lot has been written to portray the game as a platform for propaganda, hooliganism, conflict and above all war, an appreciable number of scholars have done the game a great favour by highlighting the influence football had had, in promoting international relations, fostering liberation activities and playing roles in the reconstruction of several torn-apart societies as a result of conflict. While some of the negatives levelled against

soccer can be contextualized, it must be strongly emphasized that, the ability of the sport to fuel or propel nationalistic and aggressive sentiments, sometimes cannot be written off. As such, stakeholders who seeks to employ it as a peace-building and peace enhancing tool must pay particular attention in doing so in the right manner.

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CHAPTER 3

THE ROLE OF FIFA AND CAF IN PROMOTING PEACE USING FOOTBALL IN AFRICA

3.0 Introduction

The chapter assesses what FIFA and CAF, as part of their social responsibilities, have done and are doing, in using the game of football to promote peace specifically on the African continent. Challenges and the limitations of using football by these bodies as a tool in promoting peace are also highlighted.

A number of academic treatments of football or soccer have either tended to focus on the game's ability to foster peace or its influence in the promotion of fanatic nationalism, hooliganism, conflict and wars. But one important aspect worth pondering about is the sport's inability to lead to any of the above incidences without institutions. Football, from the very moment it gained international recognition, has thrived through the actions of institutions who handles it, the first of it being FIFA. Though many literatures on these bodies in charge of football have laid much emphasis on their quest for economic gains and to some extent development, quite a handful tackles their policies towards maintaining inter and intra peace within and among countries. It is for this reason that this chapter in particular seeks to study what the worlds governing body, FIFA and its regional affiliate, CAF have done and are doing in using football to create and promote peace on the African continent.

Several reasons can be produced to answer the questions why FIFA, CAF and Football for peace instead of other important traditional peace curbing mechanisms? First, the heightened level of intra- state conflicts that shrouded the African continent (one major football loving territory in the world) just after the Cold War requires some attention by the governing bodies. Also, the nomination of international football in 2001 for the Nobel Peace Prize award, meant that perhaps its institutions have done great in the area of peace or have put measures in doing so hence the need to assess these ventures.¹ Thirdly, also because prominent individuals including Jules Rimet, the founder of FIFA World Cup, Kofi Annan, former UN secretary General, Sepp Blatter , former FIFA president and Nelson Mandela to mention but a few, have labelled the sport as an effective tool which can foster peace hence the need to grant football for peace some focus.

3.1 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)

3.1.1 Brief Overview

The world's governing body for football, FIFA, was founded in 1904 in the quest to unify the interpretation of the rules of soccer and set up a major European competition.² The decision to create this organization was taken by a few cosmopolitan football officials from France, Spain, Denmark, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and Netherlands. In seeking legitimacy to lead the world game, FIFA spent close to 24years of its existence, battling with the likes of Britain and the South Americas who by then strongly claimed leadership in the sport within the territories they found themselves and beyond.³ It was the argument over the issue of eligibility and amateurism to compete in the summer Olympics in the 1920s that saw the British Football Association exit FIFA. This paved way for Uruguay to offer FIFA the rationale and a venue for the commencement of

what has turned out to be the most popular world event, the ‘World Cup’.⁴ Today, the 211-member organization not only supervises world football, but also considers the game as a unifying activity whose values and principles can and must play a major role in creating a world that is better for all. According to FIFA, the power of football is used by the organization as a human and social development tool by increasing the activities of several initiatives around the world in support of local societies in the area of peace building, health care, social integration, education and many other social responsibilities.⁵ It is based on these current initiatives of FIFA, that this paper seeks to assess the organization’s contribution to the peacemaking agenda on the African continent.

3.2 FIFA and Racial Discrimination in Africa

FIFA has over the years shown its displeasure in any form of racial abuse and discrimination and its intervention on the African continent is well written in the history books. South Africa in 1962 was suspended by FIFA for not adhering to the principles of the organization that states that “a national member association must be opened to all who practice football in that country whether amateur, non-amateur or professional and without any racial or political discrimination”.⁶ When the apartheid regime failed to get back to terms with this FIFA rule by 1976, the country was expelled from the organization to highlight the claim that, the game of football stands for peace and liberation of the oppressed.⁷ Scholars like Hough (2008), as highlighted in the previous chapter, has it that, the expulsion coupled with similar stance by the Rugby and Cricket Associations had a lot of impact in turning the political face of the African country than the periodic economic sanctions levelled against the government.⁸

In the early 1990's when the apartheid regime fell, FIFA readmitted South Africa into the international sporting World in 1992,⁹ a call to the belief that, the organization did not take its expelling decision for economic or political benefits, but for the restoration of peace and unity in the country just as the AU, UN and other international organizations were yearning for. In July that same year, South Africa for the first time in three decades, played their first international match in Durban crashing Cameroon by a lone goal. The first democratic elections were organized in 1994 formally bringing to maximum end, the racial oppression that had existed in the country for centuries.¹⁰

In 2013, FIFA during its 63rd congress in Mauritius, passed a resolution on the struggle against racism and discrimination. The congress having acknowledged the fact that, racism still had it nose within the football spectrum concluded among others, to improve the game with regards to its unifying, educational, cultural and humanitarian values. Also, by serving member associations reminders on their duties in helping to erase racism and discrimination within their territories and above all acknowledging that both putting in efforts to fight the act and levelling sanctions, are very important to tackling racism and discrimination in global and African football.¹¹

With respect to the strategies adopted in the area of sanctions, the congress agreed that, the sanctions imposed on a club or a representing team as per the FIFA Disciplinary Code (FDC), will be meted out in two stages; 1. Extending sanctions, paying fines and/or playing matches behind closed stadiums shall be ensured when a team commits a minor offence.; 2. For serious incidence or offence, sanctions such as deduction of points, expulsion from a competition and the organization like that of the apartheid South Africa, or a penalty of being relegated if it is a club, should be applied. Also, any individual (player, match official etc.) who engages in racism and

discrimination shall be suspended for five matches or even more, with the inclusion of a ban on entering any stadium as foreseen in the FDC.¹²

In late April 2017, during a match between Pescara and Cagliari in the Italian Serie A, former Ghanaian International Sulley Muntari, walked off the pitch in anger when he was yellow carded for protesting to the referee to halt the game due to racial chants on him by the Cagliari fans. Adding salt to injury, the Italian Football Association (FIGC), handed a one match ban to Muntari for walking out when proceedings for the game had not ended. In his Interview with BBC sports Muntari stated:

I am going to walk out if it happens today, tomorrow and the next game. FIFA and UEFA are not taking racism as a big deal. About 99.9% of victims are black players. If FIFA and UEFA want to do something about it, of course they can. Whoever does this must be pulled out, banned whether the home or the away team, they must be fined. FIFA and UEFA should put strict laws on it. We must come together to do it because one man only cannot fight it.¹³

In the same interview, Sulley Muntari called on FIFA president Gianni Infantino to do something about it because he found him capable of doing so. In response to this, the FIFA president got perturbed that the referee did not apply FIFA protocols. He said:

The three-step process (is) stop the game, make an announcement, stop the game a while, get the players out, unfortunately idiots are to blame. There are always idiots everywhere but we have to fight them. Continue to fight. It's good to bring these things out when they happen. We have to work, of course I will speak to Carlo Tavecchio, the Italian Federation president and I will speak to Muntari as well. We will work together.¹⁴

The following remarks by the FIFA president in addition to several public criticisms against the FIGC, saw Muntari's ban overturned. It was also not surprising that before the 2017 Confederations Cup, some few months after Muntari's incidence, FIFA announced that it was

going to deploy trained anti-discrimination observers to every stadium during the event. Their duty was to report to FIFA on any racism-related issue. Also, referees were given the go-ahead to stop and call-off matches when fans engage in any racist behavior.¹⁵ FIFA's president Gianni Infantino speaking about the changes and improvement on the response to racism labelled the new development as "Ground-Breaking."¹⁶

The praise showered on the Football Association and Fans of England in the same interview by Muntari, as a country that has done enough to fight racism shows that, FIFA's rules on the fight against racism are in existence but the failure to apply them when necessary and the will to live by them as a group of people is where the problem lies. The fact that an African player stood for his right and that of other black players from the continent of Africa and beyond, for FIFA to respond in the positive direction, brings some good news to the football fraternity. The interventions on the part of FIFA in the quest to wipe out racial sentiments within the sport in Africa and the world at large is gradually seeing broad day racial gestures in the game, become extinct. Though not entirely erased, African players, the most vulnerable in this area today, are progressively receiving some relieving breath in carrying out their duties as far as playing in foreign countries are concerned. The actions of Football Associations of various countries in quickly responding to some of these issues is the area FIFA must extend more attention to.

3.3 FIFA and Peace Building

In 1999, FIFA and the UN went into partnership agreement in the quest to use football and other sports as a means of fostering peace in the world most especially conflict disturbed areas. UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan's submissions on that event are still fully relevant: "I am very

happy to announce a new partnership between the only truly international organization, the UN and the only truly international sport, football." Ever since, a great surge of hope has been produced and the number of collaborative activities by the two in the field, is constantly on the rise.¹⁷

As part of FIFA's social responsibility to enable young individuals envisage a better and productive future, FIFA as a sporting body, believed it was not in the position to act alone but rather, the cooperation with organizations possessing precise expertise and better understanding of issues it thought, will provide effective results. The said action and objective were what pushed the sporting organization into entering into alliance in 2001, with UNICEF, an agency that collaboratively works with NGOs, private sector firms and many other humanitarian bodies.¹⁸ "We are very excited about this partnership with FIFA, said UNICEF Executive Director Carol Bellamy. It is not the first time that UNICEF and football have joined forces, the game has been helping us to Kick Polio out of Africa, and several of our goodwill ambassadors are current or former football stars who are working tirelessly to build a world fit for children".¹⁹ These alliances FIFA entered, has enabled the organization to carry out major peace building initiatives in the world.

3.4 FIFA's Football Kits for Children

In 2004, as part of FIFA's continuing centennial celebrations, the organization announced that it will "continue to help by promoting various peace-building activities such as football matches between children of warring nations and the presentation of pleas for truce signed by distinguished members of the football family to various Heads of State."²⁰ As a way fulfilling this agenda, FIFA

assisted UNICEF acquire sport-in-a box kits for 100,000 children in twelve countries that utilize football in their efforts to build peace after stages of conflict. Out of these 12 countries, seven African countries riven by conflict, were beneficiaries. These countries included Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Sierra Leone and Guinea. Each of these countries that received a share of the \$250, 000 package had a planned aim the initiative sought to achieve at the end of the interventions.²¹

3.4.1 Guinea

The programmed aim for the FIFA ‘sports-in-a box’ kits donation and peace initiative, was to support girls’ education. Focusing mainly on the northern and central regions of Guinea, 20,000 children in hundred schools with the lowest percentage of girls’ enrolment, were the target population. The reason for this was because, out of the 63% national population of girls who did not attend school, 30% among them, were located in these regions.²² In October 2004, national tournaments were organized and the UNICEF office provided video coverage of these competitions and proceedings.

In addition to encouraging the sport and girls' education as a part of the general peace building process, the UNICEF Guinea office worked with groups of youth and NGOs in the Guinea-Forest province, to organize soccer practices and other sporting events in the refugee camps for all Liberian and Ivorian refugee children.²³

3.4.2 Liberia

FIFA’s hundred ‘sports-in-a-box kits’ was channeled through UNICEF’s Liberia Child Protection partners who were creating Interim Care Centres, Drop-in Centres, impactful skills-training

programmes, Community Centres and Youth groups in the country. The Interim Care Centres (ICCs) were designed to actually support rapid disarmament and demobilization processes, distancing children from their matured commanders and to speed up the reintegration process of these children into society in an immediate manner. Out of 6,403 Children Associated with the Fighting Forces (CAFF) who entered the process formally, 5,424 were reunified with their families.²⁴

3.4.3 Rwanda

The motivation for the programme in Rwanda was to provide increased sports and recreational opportunities to children and the youth. A special focus was given to those in helpless situations. Also, another goal of the initiative was to contribute to the integration of orphans, vulnerable young ones and former child soldiers, through their participation in sporting activities with other children. The FIFA donated 'sports-in-a-box kits' was used as a part of the core activity, in providing sports apparatus to schools with a special focus placed on those with little or no access to sports recreation and 'child friendly environments'. Initially, this was conducted in the Gisenyi and Kigali Ngali provinces, where UNICEF already had strong influence. Communities in these provinces expressed willingness to oversee to the distribution and effective utilization of the kits in their competitions and teaching programs within and between communities. Such soccer teams and football matches positively affected the integration and peace building processes within the country.²⁵

3.4.4 Sierra Leone

In Sierra Leone, the FIFA donated kits were to benefit 40 schools. The kits helped in the physical and psychomotor development of most children, by providing conducive learning environment, which in turn encouraged parents to send their children to school. Also, UNICEF supported the training of teachers in child-centred participatory teaching and learning methods. In all, the kits helped to create conducive and enjoyable environment for both teachers and pupils during study hours. Thirty (30) of the FIFA donated kits, were to be used in Sierra Leone by Right to Play (RtP) in promoting peace-building activities and soccer competitions in eight refugee sites under the control of United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR). Five more kits were presented to an SOS Children's community in the country.²⁶

3.4.5 Somalia

Given the near absence of all forms of sporting apparatus in Somalia for a very long time before 2004, the FIFA donated kits were to solve such limitations and allow for the hosting of sports competitions in the entire country within and between communities with a focus on fostering peace. The FIFA 'sports-in-a-box kits' also aimed at contributing to UNICEF's Somalia sports that involved cultural and recreational activities. These activities served as a means of fulfilling the right to recreational time of the youth in the country. UNICEF was initially facilitating such sporting events to promote the theme that will focus on the participation of girls, as their hinderance in Somalia has not only been set aback by socio-cultural factors but also, the absence of female-friendly sports facilities. Such an initiative was projected to go a long way to foster peace within Somalia. In effect, balancing the playing field with gender equity and fairness did a

lot to lessen stigmatization. It also ensured that, girls had equal opportunities not just on the football field but in their lives.²⁷

3.4.6 Sudan

As decades of civil war left children in the southern city of Juba orphaned, malnourished and traumatized, fifteen (15) kits sponsored by FIFA were to be distributed to towns in Southern Sudan. The kits were to be used in facilitating activities that promotes the respect for International Humanitarian Law (IHL), especially those that concerned children. The towns for this initiative were selected, either because there was the presence of authorities, civilians and the military. Also, because they were zones where problems involving children, were identified.²⁸

These projects to a large extent bridged divides between warring factions and restored a sense of normalcy among children and youngsters affected by conflict. They also supported existing psychological programmes for young ones and taught tolerance and non-violence in schools and societies in general.²⁹

This is what Galtung (1998) in his '3Rs' theory refers to as rehabilitation; a sub category of reconstruction. He believes rehabilitation programmes that provides healing through psycho-social initiatives, forms a part of the core requirements to achieving success in peace building activities using football.³⁰ Mimica and Stubbs (1996) think that, rehabilitation which includes skills re-training and psycho-social projects that further attempts to facilitate peace and trust in relationships across ethnic lines, are more desirable.³¹ The FIFA 'sports-in-a-box' initiative coupled with UNICEF's integration programs in the war-torn communities above, achieved this feat as the kits were not only distributed, but were attached to programs that enhanced recreation, skills-training,

youth integration, fairness and tolerance irrespective of the ethnic backgrounds of the target population.

3.5 FIFA's Goal Program in Africa

As intra- state conflicts troubled most African countries in the 1990's and early 2000's, a large part of the continent was left aback either as a result of lack of resources for development of facilities to improve the game or because, the ones available had suffered from damages and poor maintenance due to brutalities of wars. As part of FIFA's social responsibility to touch the world and make an impact, the organization using its GOAL programme in Africa started in 1999,³² to set the continent on level footing with their western counterparts and as well, create effective avenues for NGOs using the game to enhance peace building initiatives do so at ease.³³

It is these initiatives that Galtung (1998) classify as rebuilding; a must-consider process in fostering peace.³⁴ For Lea-Howarth (2006), rebuilding which includes infrastructure, buildings, networks, institutions, ecosystems are considered as more desirable to keep.³⁵ The FIFA Goal programme is a very good example of how football helps in rebuilding infrastructure in Africa especially conflict disturbed areas.³⁶ Real instances on the continent was in 2004 and 2005, when FIFA financed the construction of small pitches in Rwanda (Kigali), Freetown and Nablus to be used by the municipal authorities and the Glocal Forum organization in their programmes that focus on social integration.³⁷ In a personal interview with Mr. Oti Adjei Michael, a BBC Sports correspondent in Ghana and a Sports presenter at TV3-Ghana, he showered praises on the world's football governing body by saying:

Yes, I believe FIFA through the Goal project in Africa have been able to make effective impacts and must be commended. I mean when FIFA gives you \$500,000 for a Goal project and says use some to educate kids and others, it is trying to break inequality gaps which forms part of the grassroot causes of conflicts in Africa.³⁸

While FIFA's support has been accepted and praised, Lea-Howarth believes, the rebuilding of stadiums or professional football leagues and administrations are unlikely to lead to a permanent escape from the worries of affected people.³⁹ Thierry Regenass, Director of FIFA Member Associations however accounts that:

Throughout the past years, Africa has been the largest recipient of the FIFA's Goal projects.⁴⁰ A total of \$67,600,000 USD has been made available by FIFA between 1999 and 2012 for the implementation of 163 Goal initiatives in the CAF region. Most part of the funds has been used for the construction and extension of technical centres (73), football pitches (39) and headquarter projects (29).⁴¹

The Goal programme accompanied with governmental support for projects does not only focus on infrastructure but also helps to address health issues and improve education on the African continent.⁴² In the area of health, Mauritius has been one of the prominent beneficiaries. The '11 for Health' initiative that was launched in January 2010 by the Mauritius government and Football Association, with support from FIFA, has benefitted about 20,000 young ones in their first year of Secondary School. In addition, these children were taught through football-based programmes, how to live a healthy life and avoid diseases.⁴³ According to Jiri Dvorak, FIFA's Chief Medical Officer, he stated that:

The results obtained after the implementation of '11 for Health' in Mauritius clearly showed the positive impact football can have as an effective and low-cost tool to prevent diseases. The special session we implemented on diabetes proved an excellent platform to tackle one of the major health threats in Mauritius.⁴⁴

3.6 FIFA's Football for Hope programme in Africa

For the last twenty years, agencies in charge of aid and development ministries' attention, have progressively been drawn to the potential that football possesses as a tool to bring development and peace to most countries in the developing world.⁴⁵ It is in light of this wave, that FIFA and the organization, streetfootballworld, came together with the effort "Football for Hope Movement".⁴⁶

It all began in 2005, with a 'Football for Hope' solidarity match arranged for the victims of the Indian Ocean tsunami. Ever since, FIFA's 'Football for Hope' programme has matured into a comprehensive social development enterprise, which harnesses football's great potential and provides assistance to a broad range of community organizations, who work with the game of football in bringing about social change all over the world.⁴⁷

In the period between 2007 and 2010, the main focus of the campaign, was on the African continent in addition to other initiatives such as "Win in Africa with Africa". In line with the agreements reached by industrialized countries at the Conference on Financing for Development to contribute 0.7% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) towards development aid in 2002, FIFA set for itself the target of contributing at least, the same amount in the quest to support the same initiative using football.⁴⁸ The support provided by FIFA through 'Football for Hope' has already been of a benefit to more than two hundred and fifty (250) programmes in over sixty (60) countries on every continent. These programmes featured areas such as HIV and AIDS education and awareness, conflict resolution, gender equality, social integration of individuals who are intellectually disadvantaged, capacity building, peace building, youth leadership and life skills.⁴⁹ The most notable on the African continent during the preparations for the 2010 World Cup, was the

establishment of the '20 Centres for 2010' project. The aim of these 'Football for Hope' centres, was to provide facilities to local best practiced organizations, who reach out to individuals in pursuit of any of the above areas within the communities they found themselves.⁵⁰ Several NGOs were beneficiaries, but the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) and the Association des Jeunes Sportifs de Kigali (Espérance) whose activities fall within using football to promote reconciliation, reintegration and peacebuilding, are highlighted.

3.6.1 Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA)

The talk of football as a tool for peace and socio-economic development in Africa, cannot be complete without the mention of the MYSA in Kenya. For over twenty years now, it has been an exceptional exemplar of effective social practice through soccer not only in Africa, but the world in general.⁵¹ MYSA has been relying on football as an entry point towards social, personal and community development and is supported by FIFA.⁵² Born in 1987, the organization benefited from the FIFA 'Football for Hope' programme with a centre consisting of high quality 3G all-weather 5-a-side soccer pitch and an ICT/library department.⁵³ In a country where professional football has been negatively affected as a result of ethnic divisions and animosities, MYSA explicitly uses football in educating young Kenyans on the values of social reconciliation to counter the indigenous or ethnic rivalries among communities in Kenya.⁵⁴

The MYSA has its own league organized in 16 different zones grouped into two regions. It uses the FIFA principle of fair play in addition to its own code; "fair play is only for those who want to be winners on and off the field". If this principle is violated, punishments are applied. For instance, if a player orally abuses a referee, it results in instant suspension until the offending person himself,

or herself, has refereed a maximum of ten (10) games.⁵⁵ Lea- Howarth (2006) believes that, red card sanctions and match bans encourages rule-based behaviour and maximum respect for authority. However, total exclusion from partaking in the activities of the game, must be avoided if it results in alienating the hard to control participants.⁵⁶ As at 2010, MYSA had about 20,000 members not only in Mathare, but also in other notable slums located in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. In addition, some 10,000 destitute children from neighbouring countries were organized by MYSA in the large Kakuma refugee camp in the extreme North-Western Turkana region of Kenya.⁵⁷

3.6.2 Association des Jeunes Sportifs de Kigali (Espérance)

Espérance was established in 1996 in Kigali, Rwanda. Ever since it was established, the organization have worked with young children in pursuit of unity and reconciliation in extremely divided communities across Rwanda. Espérance was a part of the organizations that benefitted from the FIFA 'Football for Hope' project and took part in the 'Football for Hope' festival during the 2010 World Cup in Alexandra and Johannesburg.⁵⁸

The organization had the spot to be blessed with a centre, due to the innovative mechanism it puts on board in using the game to foster peace among its members. It has its own unique style to the game of football where football matches are played with teams consisting of six players (three boys and three girls). These matches are not played with a referee as the players themselves must arrive at a peaceful solution to the problems they may encounter during the match.⁵⁹ This style has been imitated by several other organizations in this field most notably the Association Malienne pour la Promotion de la Jeune et de la Femme (AMPJF) in Mali.⁶⁰ In 2002, Espérance launched

the initiative, 'Football for Peace' in the Great Lakes region. This also included the eastern areas of the Democratic Republic of Congo, where the organization in 2009 took part in events to promote conflict resolution and reconciliation among several Rwandan refugees within and around Goma, across the border from Rwanda.⁶¹

3.7 The FIFA World Cup in Africa

The first ever FIFA World Cup was hosted and won by Uruguay in 1930. In that era when football was seen as the reserve of some major players in Europe and the Southern Americas, only 13 national teams competed not by qualification as the case is today, but by invitation.⁶² Until the turn of the 21st century, no African country had ever come closer to hosting the event. It was not until 15th May, 2004 in Zurich, Switzerland, that South Africa got offered the right by FIFA, to host the 2010 World Cup. While Nelson Mandela wept with joy for the opportunity, as he knew what it meant to host the most popular and widely attended world event, the streets in South Africa were filled with jubilant citizens as if they had rather won the World Cup.⁶³ South Africa's foreign policy since 1999, had stressed on Pan-Africanism (an ideology that lay emphasis on the unity of the African continent and residents outside Africa who are of African descent), but whereas Mandela's policies were dominated by promoting democracy and human right, Thabo Mbeki, the president who won the bid, looked towards the revival of Africa through economic development, peace, stability and integration of the continent.⁶⁴ This was showcased in the letter he wrote to FIFA in the bid to host the World Cup. He wrote that "In the name of our continent, we wish to organize an event which will send waves of confidence from the Cape to Cairo." This to a higher extent, conveys the idea that South Africa wanted to host the World Cup to portray the spirit of Pan-Africanism and South Africanism.⁶⁵

In other instances, while the Executive officer of the Local Organizing Committee (LOC) of the World Cup reiterated the unification agenda of the World Cup in South Africa and Africa at large, FIFA's then president, Joseph Blatter and Thabo Mbeki in their quest to ensure that, the entire African continent benefitted from the event, initiated the "Win in Africa- with Africa" slogan. Moreover, the South African Deputy minister of Foreign Affairs proclaimed that, the 2010 World Cup was going to serve as "a catalyst for further nation building, building national unity, regional integration and continental solidarity".⁶⁶ All these put together conveys an important message that the World Cup in South Africa was not only staged for its economic and developmental priorities, but for something beyond that. The mention of peace, unity, integration, nation building and pan-Africanism, could not have been made without any agenda as such, this section assesses how the FIFA World Cup ignited the spirit of oneness, peace and unity, within the country that had suffered racial discrimination for decades and on the African continent at large.

3.7.1 The World Cup as a Peace Maker on the Continent

The unifying traces of the World Cup did not only ensue during the event but way before the blowing of the first whistle for the start of the tournament. South Africa's bidding and preparation to a larger extent, was supported by AU and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). It was in view of these backings that in 2007, the AU lunched the International Year of African Football (IYoAF) as part of its solidarity with South Africa.⁶⁷ In addition to this, the 2010 African legacy Initiative that imbibed in it, the 'Quick win' strategy, was signed by the AU Heads of State and government in April 2007. This strategy among others, included revitalizing and strengthening the African Women in Sports Association (AWISA), the creation of a continental

policy framework on sports in Africa, the initiation of campaigns using the game of football to solve socio-economic problems such as the rehabilitation of youth, eradication of malaria and drug abuse and to provide room for the development of campaigns on the theme, “Sport and Peace”.⁶⁸

In view of the latter, the AU chose “Building and Maintaining Peace through Sports in Africa” as its theme for the celebration of Africa Day in 2010, also in solidarity with South Africa.⁶⁹ President

Jacob Zuma stated:

We need to find resonance between the ability of sport to unite a people and to establish the roots for peace and development. This international event, to which all of us can rightly claim ownership, should be used to deepen our understanding of our shared cultures and ensure that dialogue and cooperation among Africans is promoted.⁷⁰

A year after South Africa had won the bid to host the World Cup, the Executive Officer of the LOC, Danny Jordaan stated that, in preparation for the event, several talents from other African countries were to be drawn to work at the 2010 finals most especially in the area of security. This eventually saw most Zimbabwean construction workers in South Africa working on the World Cup projects.⁷¹ While Scholars like Theron (2008) believes that was detrimental to the Zimbabwean economy as skilled labour was dragged out of the country coupled with South Africans themselves losing those opportunities to foreigners, the fact that, the initiative made room for other African countries to have a feel of the benefits of organizing the World Cup was in itself, very important to strengthening the unity and peace of the continent.⁷²

Moreover, FIFA permitted South Africa to allow some of the participating national teams to base in neighbouring African countries provided the standard of their cities were in tandem with what the host country preferred. This was a major decision considered by FIFA as it had to take the governing body, the need to amend some of its rules to suit South Africa’s interest to involve the

entire Africa in the organization of the World Cup.⁷³ Other initiatives to portray the Africanness of the 2010 World Cup was clearly showcased in the official ‘waka waka’ song for the event implying that ‘this time is for Africa’ and the official 2010 World Cup Poster conveying the profile of the Cameroonian legend Samuel Eto’o who had sold positively his country and the continent both in Africa and on the International football stage.⁷⁴ When the Bafana Bafana of South Africa failed to progress to the next stage of the competition, the Black Stars of Ghana became the Flag-bearers of Africa with support from the entire continent.⁷⁵ The name ‘Baghana Baghana’ was the title most South Africans and Ghanaians associated with the Black Stars. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Sabelo (2011), the name Black Stars perfectly suited their continental task and identity and was another indication of the decision and effort to blend South Africanism with Africanism.⁷⁶

3.7.2 The World Cup as a Unifying and Peaceful Force for South Africa

The 2010 World Cup was seen by many pundits as an opportunity to redefine South Africa to the World and its people as a nation desiring to drag prejudices out of the 19th Century, propel the national tenterhooks into the 21st century, and to unite citizens still reconciling decades of racial divisions.⁷⁷ The FIFA World Cup did change the unifying face of south Africa totally in the positive direction, but its permanency was what faced several criticisms from scholars.

Two days to the major event, the South African national team engaged in an open-top parade; a ceremony that is mostly exhibited by teams who have rather won the World Cup. To the amazement of the organizing team, the streets of Sandton was brought to standstill as young men, women, school kids, workers, blacks and whites altogether, cheered on the Bafana Bafana team as

though they had won the Cup. Executive officer of the LOC likened the scene to what ensued when Nelson Mandela was released from Prison.⁷⁸

Also, in the words of Lucas Radebe, a former defender of Bafana Bafana, he said:

This World Cup can be a catalyst for integration, this is a great opportunity to take this country forward. I remember Nelson Mandela telling me that football has the power to unify people and to bring people together. And out there today you saw South Africa: there is a mix of black, white, Indian. That was really impressive, a great thing to see.⁷⁹

South African nationalists during the tournament, tried to promote and increase patriotism through symbolic means. These among others included declaring Fridays as 'Football Fridays' where workers were free to wear sports regalia to work. The Bafana Bafana t-shirt became a national dress, the country's flag turned out to be the dominant symbol of unity and motorists, irrespective of their race and ethnic background, thumped up their cars, motors and even bicycles with the national flag to depict a sign of pride.⁸⁰ Mr Oti Adjei on sharing his experience on this event said:

What the 2010 FIFA World Cup did was that, it felt like winning a Cup for all in South Africa and the continent. I spent a month in South Africa during this period and I saw unity. The stadiums were people of all colours, they opened their doors, in fact they were magnificent to everybody and for something happening on the continent for the first time, everybody felt a genuine part of it. So yes, I think the 2010 FIFA World Cup did an amazing job for South Africa's reputation on the international scene, for its reintegration efforts and basically getting people to understand the country.⁸¹

Staging the World Cup in a country that had a history of racial discrimination serving as a standing block between the white and black population, FIFA used the four quarterfinals of the World Cup, to express the organization's massive stance against racism and to use the most watched tournament, as a platform to educate millions of people in South Africa and across every continent, to say no to all forms of racism.⁸² The captains of the teams who played in the 2010 World Cup

quarter-final matches on 30th June and 1st July; FIFA's Anti-Discrimination Days, read pre-match pledges against racism. "Football is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers," said Nelson Mandela. "It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination".⁸³

3.8 Confederation of African Football (CAF)

3.8.1 Brief Overview

The governing body of African Football, CAF, was founded in 1957. The initial founding members of the organization were Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia and South Africa. The 54-member Association has its secretariat based in Egypt. The wheels that brought about the birth of CAF, were set in motion in Lisbon, the capital city of Portugal in June 1956. The Portuguese capital city was playing host to a FIFA Congress. It was the African countries in attendance, (Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia and south Africa) who conveyed the African Confederation to the baptismal front of the congress, taking advantage of the gathering to discuss matters of common interest to the continent. Following the Congress, the four nations agreed to convene again in Khartoum, Sudan, in February 1957, to draft statutes and discuss organizing the first Africa Cup of Nations.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, the 1954 FIFA Congress in Berne, Switzerland had already voted to recognize Africa as a confederation. The said action gave the African continent, the right to present its first representative to the FIFA Executive Committee and that fellow was, Abdelaziz Abdallah Salem from Egypt. CAF's constitutional act was signed in Khartoum, Sudan on 8th June, 1957 and Abdallah Salem, Africa's representative at the FIFA Executive Committee, was named the organization's first president. On 10th February 1957, after CAF's constitutive assembly, Khartoum witnessed the commencement of the first AFCON, which was won by Egypt.⁸⁵

3.8.2 Intervention of CAF in Peace Building Initiatives

Most a time, there is the belief and acceptance that, CAF plays a supervisory role to the measures and interventions put in place by the world's football body, FIFA, on the African continent. While this belief is valid, it must also be noted that, the regional body on a number of occasions, take decisions and measures that are relative to that of FIFA. As this piece dwells much on what initiatives the two bodies have embarked on or are embarking on in ensuring peace on the continent, some of the major drives taken as a regional body in ensuring a peaceful continent by CAF are highlighted.

South Africa as echoed above, were ruled by a government that was tagged by the international community as embarking on racial discrimination against the blacks especially. In showing disregard for these acts, CAF was instrumental in the quest to see a united and peaceful South Africa as such, extended a ban to the all-white Football Association of South Africa (FASA) in the late 1950's way before FIFA followed suit.⁸⁶ When FIFA reinstated FASA in the early 1960's, it was the strong opposition from the African bloc and CAF, that saw the overturn of the decision until 1992 when apartheid fell.⁸⁷ The immediate acceptance of the United football administration of South Africa (South African Football Association) by CAF, as soon as apartheid fell, was an indication to the fact that, the football regional body was also in support of the liberation and the peace searching agenda that had been chased by the OAU and several International Organizations.

In 1996, Kenya due to lack of financial backing by the government as well as poor facilities and infrastructure, were withdrawn from hosting the AFCON. CAF, in the search for a new host for the tournament, granted South Africa, the newly accepted country into the confederation, the

opportunity to do so.⁸⁸ While critics might consider it an overstatement to say CAF did so to use football to strengthen peace in a country that had just engaged in a multi-party election for the first time, the moment and the situation in the new country, when this decision was reached, might need us to credit the regional body some accolade, because the event, did serve South Africa right in building a unified country. South Africa took the opportunity, participated, conquered and won the tournament for the first time. According to Alegi (2010), rainbow nationalism, racial reconciliation and national unity received a tremendous lift after the victory as home fans (whites', blacks, Indians) poured onto the streets of cities and townships across the country in collective jubilation of their team in a peaceful manner.⁸⁹

In that same year, CAF expelled Nigeria from its activities until 1998 when Sani Abacha refused to allow his solid Nigerian team to partake in the 1996 tournament because South Africa had backed the expulsion of Nigeria from the Commonwealth amid the intense opposition at home and abroad for executing human right campaigner Ken Wiwa Saro and his followers. CAF's decision exposes its intention to promote friendly relations among its members using football irrespective of the political situation in the international community.⁹⁰

In 2000, when Zimbabwe failed to organize and host the AFCON tournament, CAF for the first time experimented with Ghana and Nigeria to co-host the event. While the lack of resources and the sense of urgency might have drawn the organization into taking such initiative, Gary al Smith, an assisting editor for the Multimedia Group (Ltd) in a personal interview pointed out that:

The hosting of the tournament by the two countries provided a blue print for the future. It definitely would have brought the two countries together to collaborate on pressing issues that politics would not have been able to achieve. The decision on how, where and at what time matches will be played, the flight to be taken by

teams required dialogue between the two. The effective dialogue was what turned the tournament into a success and provided a room to clear some complications and stigmas. It was indeed a practical example of sports diplomacy and the two countries must first be commended for opening up for it and then CAF, for being the mastermind behind the initiative.⁹¹

In 2006, CAF in preparation for its 50th anniversary the following year, came together with the AU to declare 2007 as International Year of African football (IYoAF). The declaration made by the AU General Assembly in Khartoum, Sudan, was in acknowledgement of the role played by CAF in using football as a tool to promote peace, reconciliation, unity and as a means of preventing HIV and AIDS through its campaigns on the continent.⁹² The major goal of the IYoAF, was to honour the significant contribution of African football and CAF, in using the sport to foster peace in Africa and to serve as a motivation for the regional football body to continue in the same regard. Also, it was a way to employ football in the activities of the AU in ensuring development on the African continent especially the AU's New partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) agenda. Lastly, the programme was to serve as a build-up to the 2010 World Cup that was seen as an all-African event though in South Africa.⁹³

Since 2010, the African Union in recognition of the fact that sports bring people together, sought to use football to promote peace under the banner "Make Peace Happen". This initiative was massively endorsed by CAF.⁹⁴ In the words of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Mr. Jean Ping, he said:

This year we are pushing for a day of non-violence in every country on Peace Day, 21st September. So that while Africa makes history by staging the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Africans will be making another kind of history too: One billion people working together to make peace happen for one day. We will show that peace is possible and establish a stronger platform for sustained peace in Africa.⁹⁵

CAF in showing commitment to the ‘Make Peace Happen’ program in 2012, signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Commission of AU, to capitalize on the universal appeal of football, in serving as a platform for advocacy and the promotion of social change in Africa.⁹⁶ Also, in response to the call made by the AU during its conference in Addis Ababa on 25th August, 2011, to mobilize resources for victims of severe drought and famine in the Horn of Africa especially Somalia, CAF donated US\$ 200,000 in Libreville, Gabon to AU in order to assist in alleviating the plights of individuals in this region.⁹⁷ Mr. Issa Hayatou, the then president of CAF reiterated the organization’s continued commitment to supporting the AU’s efforts towards the promotion of long and lasting peace, security and stability on the continent.⁹⁸

Moreover, in January 2013, ahead of the Orange AFCON in South Africa, twenty-two boys and girls were selected from Gauteng Province, a disadvantaged community in Alexandra township, to play a football match for peace and also partake in the ‘Make Peace Happen’ parade during the opening ceremony of the same tournament.⁹⁹ To show how strengthened the bond between CAF and AU had reached in the quest to fight for peace on the continent, CAF tasked the AU’s Peace Ambassador in the name of Oscar Pistorius, to be the peace-torch bearer at the Flame of Peace ceremony.¹⁰⁰ Linked to this same tournament, the former President of CAF Issa Hayatou, the former president of South Africa Jacob Zuma and the Executive Director for the UN programme on HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS), Michel Sidibé, launched the “Protect the Goal” initiative at the opening ceremony of the AFCON in Johannesburg, to raise awareness on HIV and AIDS and mobilize the youth to commit to its prevention. “The Africa Cup of Nations, the most prestigious sports tournament on the continent, provides an exceptional opportunity to mobilize and re-

energize Africans against AIDS, as millions tune in and turn up to support their teams.” said Michel Sidibé.¹⁰¹

When Ebola found its way into Africa, death, fear and panic filled the skies of the continent as the world was in a searching state for measures to curb its spread into all areas of the region. On November 17, 2014, CAF and FIFA joined hands with several world-class players to launch the campaign, ‘11 against Ebola’. Some of these top players included Cristiano Ronaldo, Neymar Jr. Didier Drogba, Philipp Lahm and Obi Mikel among others. The campaign included several designed messages with the assistance of animated films, radio contents, banners, posters and pictures. It was mainly aimed at providing reassurance, positive messages to affected communities and to assist in combating the deadly disease. Through the power and popularity of football, the campaign also sought to reach as many people as possible especially in affected zones and to create awareness on what the virus was all about.¹⁰² Moreover, among some of the interventions CAF and FIFA put in place was to organize the international matches of countries experiencing intense Ebola transmission (Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea), on neutral grounds. CAF and FIFA also recommended that, football clubs carried out intensive medical check-ups on players returning from international fixtures in countries reported to be highly affected by the virus. This was to ensure that, actions that could lead to getting the virus spread further through football, was curtailed.¹⁰³ Speaking to the Director of Sports, University of Ghana, Dr, Bella Bello Bitugu in a personal interview, he said:

Just as conflicts and violence take lives, so does viruses and disease outbreaks. And since one cannot be at peace when his health is threatened or that of his neighbours are at risk, the intervention by CAF and the help from FIFA, and other international bodies such as the World Health organization (WHO) towards such humanitarian initiatives must be recorded, commended and acknowledged.¹⁰⁴

CAF in 2016 teamed up with streetfootballworld and the Esperance organization to ran the “Unleash African Football” festival at the ‘Football for Hope’ centre in Kigali. The event brought on board young boys and girls, musicians, current and retired football legends, alongside some senior CAF and Rwandese Football Association delegates, to celebrate the power of football for good. The event featured two ‘Football for good’ educational programmes; “Football for Peace” (Football Amahoro) and “Football 3”. Both methods employ football as a medium for encouraging dialogue, conflict resolution and respect among participants.¹⁰⁵ In the “Football for Peace” event, players became actors in a social theatre, addressing issues pertaining to gender equality, discrimination and HIV and AIDS while soliciting response from spectators and officials. The occasion also featured “football 3”, an educational approach to football, that promotes the values of fair play, teamwork and respect. Named after its three halves of playing time, mixed gender teams agree on rules before the start of the game. Upon closure of the match, participants reflect on their behaviours and that of the opposing team. Also, points are awarded for goals scored and for fair play attitude.¹⁰⁶

3.9 Limitations to CAF and FIFA Peace Initiatives

FIFA and CAF as demonstrated, have as part of their social responsibilities, used football via tournaments, donations, infrastructural developments and sponsoring of NGOs to write their names in the good books of peace promoting organizations on the African continent. However, some challenges and limitations of using football in these ventures can be highlighted.

3.9.1 Not Everyone Enjoys Football

Though football has won the accolade of being the most popular sport in the world we find ourselves today, not everyone enjoys the game as such using it in reconciliation and reconstruction

processes becomes difficult a task. Therefore, not all the football for peace initiatives by FIFA and CAF on the African continent has benefited all victims and communities who have little knowledge on what the sport has to offer.

3.9.2 Unforeseen Social Problems on the Continent

The uninformed and complicated nature of conflicts, disease outbreaks and other social issues is another challenge to the activities of both organizations as the impact of the values such as fair play, respect and tolerance in ‘football for peace educational mechanisms’ are mostly replaced by donation of monies to affected individuals. This does not hugely have long and lasting positive effects in the reconstruction processes as compared to the value-based education of the game in peace seeking ventures. Mr. Oti- Adjei Michael in a personal Interview said:

The political nature of most conflicts in Africa sometimes put these organizations on rest. CAF for instance seems to be more concerned about the bottom line. The continent is full of too much fragmentations and so to decide on what to focus on, becomes a problem. CAF has this crippling fear of getting knocked out into various political device on the continent and sometimes just simply stay away from intervening in strict and dicey conflict locations and situations.¹⁰⁷

3.9.3 Corruption

Corruption within football is a universal problem which begins at the very top, FIFA. The scandals and corrupt cases in FIFA and CAF, that has cost top officials their positions as a result of ban and sanctions over the past three to five years, points to a world football system that lacks credibility.¹⁰⁸

The current up rise in match fixing coupled with the alleged and evidenced bribes received by referees to decide the outcome of games makes it difficult to include tournaments organized by both CAF and FIFA, as a viable platform among the broader initiatives, that foster genuine grass root peace.

The re-election of Sepp Blatter to the presidency of FIFA some years ago for example, has been partially attributed to his misuse of GOAL project funds, which meant that some of the electorates were effectively offered GOAL money to ensure that, they voted for Blatter.¹⁰⁹ The said canker has given critics the ability to render the governing bodies as having a lot to do in the area of peace building, since it is believed funds allocated for such activities have not been utilized to its full capacity for effective results.

3.9.4 Football Hooliganism and Wars

The fact that football erupt tensions of hooliganism and conflicts, serve as a limitation to the work of FIFA and CAF in using the same game as a platform for peacebuilding. Quite a number of such examples where football had raised conflicts and hooliganism to an unpardonable level have been highlighted in the previous chapter. Using the same game that promotes nationalism, anger in win-lose situations and heightened racial sentiment has labelled the bodies' actions in peace promoting situations as idealistic, lacking permanency and validity. But what these critics must accept is that, even mediation in diplomacy that has received much recognition as far as peace building is concerned, is likely to escalate conflicts if not applied or done in the right manner.

3.9.5 Gender Imbalance

From time immemorial, football has been the reserve of the masculine, though women gradually are getting on board. In using football to reintegrate ex-combatants into society for example, focuses much on the males at the expense of females. Questions that FIFA must answer is, what becomes the share of women in the same situation? Though most NGO's such as Experance in

Rwanda and MYSA in Kenya employ football styles that accommodates all, the issue of whether these initiatives are psychologically accepted by the female participants is another dilemma to ponder about.

3.10 Conclusion

Football, the most popular sport in the world, has always been run by organizations. Globally, the organization that sees to how the game must be played, its rules and structure is FIFA. Every continent is also represented by a regional body and, on the African continent, CAF is that mandated body. These bodies and their mother organization, FIFA, as part of their activities, have social responsibilities they fulfill. Given football's ability to promote peace, the chapter assessed what FIFA and CAF have done and are doing in using the sport as a tool in fostering peace and unity within and among societies on the African continent. By relying on projects, tournaments, policies, donations and collaborations with other organizations to mention but a few, the chapter gave insights on how both institutions have successfully contributed to peace and some challenges that limit their work in this area, on the continent of Africa.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to bring out some salient points and issues observed in the course of answering the research questions of the study in the previous chapters. The objectives of the study include finding out the extent to which football contribute to peace in Africa, assessing the contribution and successes of FIFA and CAF in using the game to promote peace on the continent and finally highlighting some challenges in using the game to foster peace. In sum, this last chapter provides the summary of findings, draws conclusions and offers recommendations.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The study relying on historical occurrences and current underpinnings have showcased the extent to which football fosters peace. Football in itself, is one major instrument that can break the ice of tensions among individuals and societies who find themselves on opposing ends. The study further has shown that, football matches that involves especially highly popular and revered players can make warring factions for a period of 90 minutes and beyond, ceasefire in a bid to catch glimpse of heroes and the excitement that comes with the beautiful game. Also, it has been found that the winning of matches and tournaments in most countries have reintegrated and united citizens. The values of football such as fair play, respect, tolerance, teamwork, leadership, responsibility and trust among others, have also been applied in teaching moments and have produced many effective results in the area of reintegration and reconciliation of ex-combatants and victims of wars, back into societies on the African continent.

In addition, it has been observed that, just as any good producing material can have side effects, so is football. The fact that football can help in bringing peace among people and societies does not mean that, it cannot fuel conflicts, wars and acts of violence. The study has showcased among others, several instances where football has helped hooligans portray their acts to serve as a yardstick for the propelling of underground sentiments into larger social problems such as wars. As such, it is important for one to be circumspect, skillful and strategic when employing football in peace building initiatives.

The study also came out with the finding that indeed, FIFA and CAF respectively, have among their broader activities of what they refer to as social responsibilities, embarked on peace building and peace promoting initiatives. Though, both have been massively impressive in promoting peace using football in Africa, it appears FIFA tops in the said area due to lack of resources on the part of CAF coupled with the unclear political structure of most countries in Africa. CAF on many occasions will want to stay safe from being tagged a political body.

Moreover, unlike mediation and other peace building initiatives that require dialogue and table discussions, the FIFA and CAF's style to any peace agenda centers around advertisement and declarations mostly through tournaments. The two also extend donations in kind and cash to assist victims of natural disasters and conflicts. In a nutshell the two football organizations embark more on reconstruction (rebuilding and rehabilitation) and reconciliation than resolution in conflict situations.

Finally, FIFA and CAF, to effectively improve upon their quest to touch the world and make impacts in the area of peace, dwells much on collaborations. For example, FIFA instead of going

out all alone to intervene for children will rather do so through UNICEF. Also, instead of going in to prevent a conflict from escalating, it will rather team up with the UN peacekeeping mission in the affected country for a peace match. In addition, FIFA supports NGOs to use the principles and values of the game in teaching situations or moments in order to bring positive change especially in conflict disturbed areas. CAF on the other hand embarks on similar collaborations with organizations such as WHO, UNAIDS and many others to achieve results in the area of health as far as malaria, HIV and AIDS and Ebola are concerned. Both organizations rely much on collaborations because they believe their expertise in every area is limited as such teaming up with experts from different angles will be beneficial in planning and coming out with the best program that can yield successful results.

4.2 Conclusions

The study hypothesized that FIFA and CAF have not just immensely contributed to but also continuously contribute to using the game of football to promote peace in Africa. In drawing evidences from the activities of the two bodies in the said area, the study first recounted historically in chapter two, the extent and capacity to which the game of football, the tool used by FIFA and CAF, contributes to peace. This was important because the successes of their actions will only rely on the effectiveness and the efficiency of the instrument they use which in this case is football. The study gave crucial instances in the world and Africa to come out with the finding that indeed, football to a higher extent, can integrate people, promote international relations, prevent racial injustices, promote nation building through reconstruction and reconciliation and above all call warring factions to cease- fire.

Based on these findings, the study in chapter three focused on the what Africa has benefitted and are benefitting from the world's governing body of football, FIFA and regional body CAF, in their peace initiatives. The analysis shows that, FIFA is concerned about promoting peace using the game in Africa so do CAF.

FIFA has worked tirelessly on pushing for a stop on racism, a canker that defames most people from Africa. The organization have also on numerous occasions partnered UNICEF and UN to see to the needs and plights of children in conflict disturbed areas in Africa and have used same platform to reintegrate children into societies after going through traumas of wars. FIFA has also engaged in reconstruction programs through building of facilities and centres for NGOs and governments to use in fostering togetherness and promoting the game. FIFA by also staging the World Cup in Africa did the continent a great offer as it brought unifying traces from Cape to Cairo. Its efforts on helping to combat diseases on the continent was clear in the discussion. As such the study concludes by justifying the claim that FIFA has done well in promoting peace using the game of football though there is more room for improvement.

CAF on the other hand has set some outstanding marks in the peace struggle from fighting against racism to contributing monies to help deal with poverty. Their partnership with AU in seeing a united Africa is shown in the numerous policies the two have drafted. The usage of tournaments to spread the words of peace and awareness on deadly diseases on the continent as the study has shown among others, justifies the claim that, CAF has also done extremely well in the fight for peace in Africa but must push forward more and put behind the issue of lack of resources and the dicey political nature of the continent. Prioritization in any venture is a stepping stone to success.

4.3 Recommendations

- First, the services of qualified experts who have in-depth knowledge on using football in peace building ventures must be employed by FIFA and CAF, if really their goal is to touch the world and make an impact. FIFA and CAF, should move beyond using former and current players in preaching peace to the world. Most of these players have no expertise in the said area and so the decision to tag a former player as an ambassador of peace is not enough. Qualified experts with training in football values must be employed to take charge in the said initiative to produce results. If FIFA and CAF believe the personalities of these players due to popularity will be effective, then such persons before they embark on these missions must be thoroughly trained to acquire the necessary skills in executing the real duties of peace ambassadors.
- Also, FIFA and CAF must put in place effective monitoring mechanisms to see to the impacts and effects of the resources they invest in the programs that falls within the broader social responsibilities they embark on. Sponsoring and providing monies for NGOs to use football in promoting peace does not end there. There must be a monitoring system that checks the actions of these organizations to ensure that, the aim for which such support was given, is achieved. The widespread of corruption in Africa is such that, many can ride on some of these projects to build palaces for themselves rather than structures that can yield safer environment for the vulnerable.
- Racism is the broader spectrum of discrimination. FIFA and CAF as proven, have invested a lot through policies and resources, to ensure that racism becomes a thing of the past. As

days move by, the plights of several minorities in societies also take different dimensions. In recent times in Africa, the high-level stigmatization that has painted negatively, Albinos and the Fulani is on the rise. While the Fulani feel dejected from societies, the Albinos also find it difficult to integrate with others in most communities due to their complexion. Since football has the capacity of reaching millions of people world-wide and FIFA and CAF in current days, have been working tirelessly to erase discrimination and racism, the study recommends to these bodies to include several minorities such as Albinos and the Fulani in the bigger picture, by preaching peace through slogans like ‘Win for Albinos’, ‘All for the Fulani’ to paint a better picture about these people and sensitize the public on who these group of people are. The said action will promote integration and upon knowing that everyone stands for them, certain actions they take out of share frustration might reduce to the minimum and peace will be achieved.

- FIFA and CAF, must allocate a percentage of revenues raised out of tournaments like the World Cup, AFCON, advertisements, television rights and licensing, in building peace centres for member countries in Africa and other continents. These centres must be tasked to design effective peacemaking programmes for the benefit of individuals in the said area. The centres, must also be tasked with disseminating information on adverts FIFA does, in pushing a peace, health and non-racial agenda. Also, these centres must be provided with at least one FIFA trained expert as highlighted in the first paragraph to see to the effectiveness of the program.

- Though FIFA and CAF are for football, the issue is, not everyone likes football as such, when tasking NGOs to employ the game in teaching at the grassroots level which most especially involves children, other sports such as volleyball, handball which ladies mostly find easy playing, cricket, rugby and basketball can be added to football in these teaching moments, to ensure that, those who do not enjoy the game of football can have other variety of sporting activities to rely on. This in a long run will effectively increase the speed in the integration process of many societies.
- Finally, more attention must be as well extended into designing special courses by FIFA and CAF, within physical education and sports science departments of universities and colleges in the area of 'Football and Peace' for students to take. The said action will create opportunities for obtaining more experts in the field and as well improve knowledge on the fact that, football goes beyond just kicking a ball to include other important off- the- field initiatives, that helps in solving several social issues.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of Oral Interviews

1. Dr. Bella Bello Bitugu, The Director of Sports, University of Ghana, Legon, Oral Interview at the University of Ghana Sports Directorate, on 21/06/2018, at 1:00pm.
2. Mr. Oti Adjei Michael, Head of Sports Department at TV3 Network and BBC Sports Correspondent, Oral Interview on July 06, 2018 at TV3 premises at 10:00am.
3. Mr. Gary al Smith, Assisting Editor for Multimedia Group (Ltd) and Freelance Journalist for BBC and ESPN, Oral interview on June 29, 2018 at Joy FM, at 12:00pm.
4. Mr. Fiifi Anaman, Broadcast Journalist at Kwese Free Sport and AE Media, Oral interview at the Kwese TV Station Premises, on June 24, at 2:00 pm, Accra.

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

This interview is meant to access information on “The role of FIFA and CAF in using football to promote peace in Africa”. This is purely an academic exercise in honour of a Masters Degree at Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD). You are assured of confidentiality of any information that you may provide. It is my hope that you kindly grant me your utmost cooperation and assistance.

Name.....

Institution.....

Office position.....

Main Questions

1. In your view do you think football has the capacity to promote peace? (Conflict resolution, improving diplomatic ties among countries and promoting unity in nation building)?
2. Can you provide some instances where football has promoted or fostered peace?
3. In Africa, do you think the values of football can break the social canker of intra-state conflict and also improve relations among countries?
4. Non- Governmental organizations including Sports for Peace and Development Working Group (SDP), Football for Peace (F4P), Samaritan Purse, Right to Play to mention but a few have focused on using sport most especially football to promote peace. Do you think it is a good initiative?
5. Given FIFA's nomination in 2001 for the Nobel Peace Prize Award and Sepp Blatter's 2004 statement for the world to make goals not war. Do you think the world's football governing body has done much in the area of using football to promote peace?
6. If yes, can you highlight some of these projects on the African continent from the early 1990's to date?
7. Do you think the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Africa created any peaceful and unifying force for South Africa and the continent at large?
8. What about CAF? Has the regional body done much in the area of peace building using football in Africa? Can you recount some of these instances?

9. Given the intervention of CAF and FIFA, can you say the two have been successful in using football to promote peace in Africa?

10. What do you think are some of the challenges face or will face in using football to foster peace?

11. What mechanisms can be put in place by FIFA and CAF to strengthen the football for peace agenda in Africa?

THANK YOU