



***"Our Club, Our Community" –
The Contribution of a Football Project to
Conflict Transformation in a Divided Society***

**Abschlussarbeit zur Erlangung des
akademischen Grades
Master of Arts**

vorgelegt dem Fachbereich 03 – Gesellschaftswissenschaften
der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

von

Christian Wölfelschneider
aus Erlenbach a. Main

2015

Erstgutachterin: Prof. Dr. Tanja Brühl

Zweitgutachterin: Dr. Cornelia Frank

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| List of Figures | III |
| List of Appendices | IV |
| List of Abbreviations..... | V |
| 1. Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.1 Problem and Research Question | 1 |
| 1.2 Research Design | 4 |
| 2. Theoretical Framework..... | 6 |
| 2.1 Irish Conflict: A Divided Society as Benchmark..... | 6 |
| 2.2 The Need for Conflict Transformation in a Divided Society | 9 |
| 2.3 Sport in Peace and Conflict Research..... | 18 |
| 3. Football and Community Relations in Northern Ireland | 23 |
| 4. “Our Club, Our Community”: Glentoran’s Idea for Conflict Transformation | 28 |
| 5. Methodological Approach..... | 32 |
| 5.1 Benefits and Shortfalls of Qualitative Research | 32 |
| 5.2 A Look into the Research Field through the Lens of a Problem-Centred Interview ... | 36 |
| 5.3 Sampling the Data and Approach for Data Collection | 39 |
| 5.4 Transcripts and Data Evaluation..... | 42 |
| 6. Data Analysis | 44 |
| 6.1 Method of Data Analysis and Evaluation Categories..... | 44 |
| 6.2 Glentoran’s Contribution to Conflict Transformation..... | 45 |
| 6.2.1 Sectarianism in Irish Football | 45 |
| 6.2.2 Differences in Addressing Sectarianism between Football and other Sports | 48 |
| 6.2.3 Sectarianism in Connection to Belfast’s Past and Present..... | 49 |
| 6.2.4 Actors and Measures to Deal with Sectarianism..... | 52 |
| 6.2.5 Contribution of OCOC-Project to Community Relations | 56 |
| 6.2.6 Potentials for a Desired Future for Belfast/NI..... | 62 |
| 7. Conclusion and Future Research..... | 65 |
| 8. Bibliography | 75 |
| 9. Internet sources | 84 |
| 10. Appendix..... | 86 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|----|
| Figure 1: <i>Actors and Approaches to Peacebuilding (Lederach 1997: 39)</i> | 15 |
| Figure 2: <i>The Nested Paradigm of Conflict Foci (Lederach 1997: 56)</i> | 17 |
| Figure 3: <i>Conflict Transformation. Design inspired by Lederach (1997: 82-84)</i> | 17 |
| Figure 4: <i>Qualitative and Quantitative research in comparison (Bryman 2012: 408)</i> ... | 34 |

List of Appendices

| | |
|---|----|
| Appendix 1: <i>Interview Guide</i> | 86 |
| Appendix 2: <i>Short Questionnaire</i> | 87 |
| Appendix 3: <i>Postscript</i> | 88 |
| Appendix 4: <i>Standardised Mail</i> | 89 |
| Appendix 5: <i>Transcript System</i> | 90 |
| Appendix 6: <i>Content of attached CD</i> | 91 |
| Appendix 7: <i>Categories with included Codes</i> | 92 |

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---------------|--|
| AIA | Anglo-Irish-Agreement |
| CAIN | Conflict Archive on the Internet |
| CCETSW | Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work |
| CRED | Community Relations, Equality and Diversity Northern Ireland |
| FAI | Football Association of Ireland |
| FIFA | Fédération Internationale de Football Association |
| FYR | Former Yugoslavian Republic |
| GDR | German Democratic Republic |
| ICC | International Criminal Court |
| ICR | Institute for Conflict Research |
| IFA | Irish Football Association |
| IFI | International Fund for Ireland |
| IKG | Institut für interdisziplinäre Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung |
| IRA | Irish Republican Army |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| NI | Northern Ireland |
| OCOC | Our Club, Our Community |
| OFMDFM | Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister |
| PCI | Problem-Centred Interview |
| ROI | Republic of Ireland |
| SARI | Sport Against Racism Ireland |
| UEFA | Union des Associations Européennes de Football |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |
| YC | Youth and Community Centre |

1. Introduction

1.1 Problem and Research Question

On the 24th June 1995 Nelson Mandela walked down the steps from Ellis Park Stadium in Johannesburg and handed over the Rugby World Cup Trophy to South African Captain François Pienaar – an iconic moment in the history of sport. Driven by his experiences during the World Cup Nelson Mandela (2000) verbalised his feelings about the power of sport at the Laureus World Sports Awards five years later in front of a large audience consisting of some of the most important sportspeople of the world:

„Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers.”

By stating this famous quote Mandela was aiming at his constant efforts to face the South African past, which was overshadowed by the cruelties of the former apartheid regime. So, dealing with the history was a huge burden for the newly elected president. But Mandela also had to spread hope to his people and create a desired future free of discrimination, prejudices and racism for an amalgamated society. This meant also the inclusion of the minority of white people who ruled over the black majority for a long time. Mandela utilised the Springboks, the South African Rugby team and a symbol for the white suppression, despite many concerns, as a major driver for a peaceful living together in the new integrated state. He showed that sport is able to help to transform conflict in a divided society.

Besides rugby, there are many other sports that show a positive impact on teaching values like respect, fair play or humility. Association Football, in particular, takes a prominent role in anti-discrimination endeavours. Figures by Giulianotti and Robertson (2002: 219) saying that 250 million people are playing football and 1.4 billion are interested in it strengthen the unique position of the sport. In reaching out so many people, football has an enormous potential to (dis)unite societies – a potential which different actors at all levels of society have realised.

According to Sugden and Bairner (1993), football is central in Northern Ireland where people face barriers every day. In contrast to South Africa the cleavage runs between Protestants and Roman Catholics, which included a terrible Civil War in the early 20th

century. Further, the struggle in Northern Ireland is one of the most deep rooted conflicts in Europe and therefore attracts special research interest.

Glentoran FC¹, a perceived Protestant football club in East Belfast, try to tackle this cleavage. They are a suitable example because they never had a policy of excluding Roman Catholics, a practice quite common in some Irish League clubs. Out of their claim to be a people's club and promote reconciliation, they use football as a medium for their "Our Club, Our Community" project. The hope is to provide opportunities for Roman Catholics and Protestants in order to develop relationships and reduce tensions between the communities. Such a football project contains an innovative idea as John Paul Lederach (1997) is searching for in his conflict transformation concept. It aims to construct a desired future by turning a society divided by violent conflict into a peaceful shared society. For this reason, the research question will be: What contribution is a football project able to make to conflict transformation in a divided society?

In general, not everybody regards sport as a way to foster conflict transformation. In the academic discourse, researchers like Guttman (1986), Elias and Dunning (1986), Stevenson and Alaug (2000), Jäger (2008, 2009) and Heptner (2009) take an optimistic position about the power of sport. NGO's like Streetfootballworld and Sport Against Racism Ireland (SARI) or an international institution like the UN (2005) support their viewpoints. Erhart (2006), Jarman (2005, 2007) or Kidd (2008) are scientists who take more of an average position.

On the other hand, there are authors like Bairner (1993, 1997, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2003, 2004, 2006), Shirlow (1998, 2000, 2001, 2005), Sugden (1993, 1995, 1998, 2005, 2010) and Cronin (1999) who see sport in a more pessimistic way. They comprehend sport more as "war minus the shooting" referring to Orwell (1970: 63). Bairner is definitely one researcher who has been studying the topics of football and sectarianism in Northern Ireland extensively for many years now. It is interesting to observe that most (theoretical) research went into government programmes in the middle of the 2000s (OFMDFM: 2005, 2010, 2013).

Considering the publications about football having an impact on divided societies, this master thesis will contribute to a valuable discussion. For instance, Duke and Crolley (1996) for Canada, Vanreusel et al. (2000) for Belgium, Stevenson and Alang (2000)

¹ Glentoran (FC) is a collective noun and is synonymously used with singular and plural form throughout this master thesis.

for Yemen, Edensor and Augustin (2001) for Mauritius, Walton (2005) for Spain or Reiche (2011) for Lebanon offer productive insights about the uniting or disuniting force of football in other divided societies. Generally, the role of football for Peace and Conflict Research is not really conceptualised and empirically less investigated. Many publications can be classified as popular literature published by different sport governing bodies. This is especially true for the German academic discourse where Jäger (2008, 2009) is the leading scientist. Other researchers rather look on the role of sport and violence or fan behaviour (Pilz 1976, 1982, 2013). Hence, the studies published in the Anglo-American community of science demonstrate that a connection of football projects and Lederach's theoretical conflict transformation approach is not utopic.

Lederach's (1997) perspective is one of the well-developed ideas among other conflict transformation concepts (Kriesberg: 1989; Curle: 1990; Väyrynen: 1991; Galtung: 1995). Furthermore, his conflict transformation approach is more than just postaccord peacebuilding. It is beyond the scope of conflict resolution or conflict management and works better in alliance with an innovative approach like a football project. Lederach provides a theoretical framework which cares about the construction of reality.

On the Glentoran side, the research carried out by Bruce and Galloway (2011) had its foundation in the community relations audits at Irish League level. This audit was aimed at identifying Glentoran's perception in the wider community. The investigation follows a well-documented methodology and was done with a business approach. So, the community was seen more as a market place and economic implications were relevant. As the political and sociological dimension also had an influence, the research results provide valuable insights to which this master thesis can hopefully add. Next to Bruce and Galloway (2011) a second study which focuses on Glentoran exists.

Murdock (2012) provides a fruitful link to Lederach. He examined if Glentoran are capable of influencing the Roman Catholic and Nationalist Short Strand community in a positive way. His master thesis has a different perspective than this study by not taking into account the Our Club, Our Community-Project due to the time it was written. Although Murdock (2012) offers interesting results, his research design shows methodological weaknesses. For example, he chose a completely new interview guide for every respondent and did not attach his transcripts or interview guide. Further, he did not operate with real traceable citation. These requirements are essential for a

qualitative study and would have made his findings even more valuable. Furthermore, he was less focused on Lederach's theory. Murdock (2012) used it more as a means to an end to explain his case study. This master thesis turns his view around to some extent and considers Glentoran's project more as one of many social football projects. This does not imply a neglect of the particular context. Instead, it demands the programme to serve as a model if Lederach's vision is feasible. As a result, a country was chosen which experiences the effects of a deep rooted conflict. If a football project is able to contribute in a positive way in such a negative long-term setting, the assumption is that it should be able to contribute in other societies too.

1.2 Research Design

The period of inquiry in this master thesis focusses on the OCOC-Programme itself, which started in July 2011 and ended three years afterwards. It is not as much about the pre- and post-project work which was more of an unstructured type. The Glentoran approach should illustrate the potential of football in form of a specific programme at Irish League level.

To get insights into the research field, it was decided to interview people who know about Glentoran's project and provide different perspectives. Former Chairman of Glentoran, Stafford Reynolds was chosen to function as a gatekeeper. He helped finding appropriate interview partners. As the research of Bruce and Galloway (2011) and Murdock (2012) was a semi-structured interview method, this came out to be a suitable way to generate knowledge and was employed in the process. The Problem-Centred-Interview developed by Witzel (1982) was made accessible to the Anglo-American community of science by Witzel and Reiter (2012). The PCI was a reasonable method to ensure a flexible research process without losing the focus on the research agenda.

It was important to understand the project and get to know the experiences of people who deal with the topic of football and division on a daily basis. According to Reinders (2005), six to eight respondents are the perfect amount for a master thesis. In the end, seven interviews with actors from various backgrounds would be conducted. They were expected to be 15 to 20 minutes long.

In terms of structure this master thesis is designed as a funnel. First of all, the theoretical framework is revealed. The context of Irish conflict is required to understand the overall setting. Besides, it lays the foundation to explain the need for conflict

transformation in a still divided society. Therefore, the concept of Lederach (1997) provides the central theoretical input which is mirrored in the later interview guide. Afterwards, sport and especially football are located in the field of Peace and Conflict Research.

In Chapter 3 the study takes a closer view at the connections of football, history and recent community relations in Northern Ireland. After having this concentration on whole NI, the “Our Club, Our Community”-Project of Glentoran is explained. It presents the idea of a semi-professional football club to provide a contribution to conflict transformation. In Chapter 5 the methodological concept is demonstrated. This demands an overview about the benefits and shortfalls of qualitative research which still faces much criticism in the community of science. An insight into the PCI, the sample and data collection, the transcribing process and data evaluation follows after section 5.1.

In Chapter 6 the outcomes of the data evaluation are offered. The analysis is inspired by a method developed by Schmidt (1997) which fits very well with the theoretical framework and qualitative studies. It produced the six following categories: “Sectarianism in Irish Football”, “Differences in Addressing Sectarianism between Football and other Sports”, “Sectarianism in Connection to Belfast’s Past and Present”, “Actors and Measures to Deal with Sectarianism”, “Contribution of OCOC-Project to Community Relations” and “Potentials for a Desired Future for Belfast/NI”. Finally, the research results and suggestions for future research are discussed.

2. Theoretical Framework

In section 2.1 an introduction to the (Northern) Irish conflict² is given before examining John Paul Lederach's (1997) theoretical framework as a means to transform such a conflict. At the end of this chapter, a literature overview about the advantages and disadvantages of football as a medium in terms of conflict transformation is provided.

2.1 Irish Conflict: A Divided Society as Benchmark

The Irish conflict³ presents an important benchmark before talking about conflict transformation and football in NI. Essential in this context is a quote by Hoberman (1984: 20) claiming that "sport is a latently political issue in any society, since the cultural themes which inhere in a sport culture are potentially ideological in a political sense." If this stays true for any society, the history in the Irish conflict is of major importance.

The conflict itself can be traced back to 1606 when British Protestant citizens started to settle on the mainly Roman Catholic⁴ island of Ireland and the Plantation of Ulster began (Grote 1998: 649).⁵ The Irish conflict nowadays is rooted in this influx of Protestant settlers who were deeply connected to the British Crown (ibid.). In the nineteenth century Protestants and Roman Catholics started to develop into separate communities which perceived their interests as incompatible (Brewer et al. 2001: 4).

Throughout this century there were many peaceful attempts to grant more autonomy to the Irish people – who were part of Great Britain since the Act of Union in 1801 – but they all failed (Brewer et al. 2001: 4f.). This led to the violent "Easter Rising" in 1916 to gain independence, but this endeavour was not rewarded by then (Beggan/Indurthy 1999: 5). As the riots did not stop, a solution was found, by Treaty, in 1921 when a new state was created in the north of the island: Northern Ireland (Brewer et al. 2001: 5).⁶

² The Irish conflict takes the history of the whole island of Ireland into account. Calling it "Northern Irish conflict" would mean to start in 1916 or 1921 which is not appropriate.

³ The definition of conflict refers to Lederach (1997: 63): "Conflict is never a static phenomenon. It is expressive, dynamic, and dialectical in nature. Relationally based, conflict is born in the world of human meaning and perception. It is constantly changed by ongoing human interaction, and it continuously changes the very people who give it life and the social environment in which it is born."

⁴ The term "Roman Catholic" is more accurate than Catholic (refers to all Catholic persuasions) and is therefore used within this study (Cooper 2013: 47). They are used synonymously in popular usage (ibid.).

⁵ For a complete account of Irish History see Duffy (2000).

⁶ According to Boyle and Hadden (1995: 270), NI was made out of six of the original 32 Irish counties and had a Protestant majority of about 60 % at this time. In contrast to this, only 20 % of the inhabitants on the whole island of Ireland have been Protestants (ibid.).

After the Civil War, between 1922 and 1927, the conflict escalated again in October 1968 due to violent riots in Derry-Londonderry (Grote 1998: 660). Six years later, the Sunningdale Agreement, which came close in its content to the later Belfast/Good Friday Agreement⁷, was constructed as a mediation attempt (Grote 1998: 664; Beggan/Indurthy 1999: 10; Reynolds 2000: 621; Byrne 2001: 335; Hancock 2008: 203). It failed because of the Unionist opposition (ibid.).⁸

Indeed, the fighting did not stop and the year 1985 brought a new proposal for solution: the Anglo-Irish-Agreement⁹ (Boyle/Hadden 1995: 274). The AIA led the foundation for the following peace process, because, like Byrne (2001: 327) notices, it “ended the Unionist veto and included the Irish government in the political process to find a solution.” Despite the claims of a successful agreement or not¹⁰, it was not possible to bring the central actors to negotiations (Breuer 1994: 59).

According to Reynolds (2000: 613), “it was not until the Downing Street Declaration of December 1993 that the horizon brightened and negotiations’ between all significant actors began to be a real possibility.” The difficult talks ended with the signing of the Belfast Agreement on 10th April 1998: an uncertain peace in the opinion of Lloyd (1998).¹¹ The top level solution was confirmed per referendum by 94 % of inhabitants of the ROI and 71 % of residents of NI on 22nd May 1998 (Guelke 2003: 65f.).

It can be said that the killings¹² stopped in 1998 but the hatred and sectarianism¹³ is still existing (Bruce and Galloway 2011: 17; Murdock 2012: 38). Therefore, in 2003 the Government of NI suggested two alternatives for the future: Accept the existing patterns of segregation to remain and focus on stabilisation or alternatively promote an integrated and shared society (Darby/Knox 2004: 3). As many views concurred with the

⁷ It is not intended to reveal any political orientation by using either Belfast or Good Friday Agreement (Murdock 2012: 3). Belfast Agreement is referring to a “neutral” locus (in itself) rather than to a religious festival. That is why this master thesis decided to choose this term. However, Belfast was together with Derry, the city where most of the riots took place.

⁸ According to Grote (1998: 661f.), one year before there was a vote about NI remaining within the UK in 1973. It had an astonishing majority but failed due to boycotts of the Roman Catholic minority.

⁹ This settlement is also known as Hillsborough-Agreement in the literature (Grote 1998: 664).

¹⁰ The AIA provokes different reactions as it is seen as a failed agreement by Grote (1998: 664), Beggan and Indurthy (1999: 11f.) and Williams and Jesse (2001: 587). In contrast to this, it is seen as a successful one by Guelke (2003: 63) and Hancock (2008: 203).

¹¹ Mitchell (2010: 125-130) describes the tensions in the last hours before the signing.

¹² CAIN (2002a) provides an overview about the annual killings. Overall, the CAIN website is highly recommendable for their general outlook on the Irish conflict.

¹³ This master thesis follows the definition of sectarianism from Brewer (1991: 101): “It is a social marker through which conflict is articulated rather than as a source of conflict in its own right.”

latter one, it was no surprise that the Government adopted a policy of Good Relations which placed “sharing over separation” (Darby/Knox 2004: 3; OFMDFM 2005: 14).

In 2005 Jarman (2005: 56) concluded in a study that “sectarian violence in Northern Ireland indicates that it remains a significant problem for many people and in many areas.” With the help of police data Jarman (2005: 3) recorded “376 cases of rioting and 1.014 disturbances in interface areas of North Belfast between 1996 and 2004.”

Another current example are the flag protests about the decision of Belfast City Council in 2012 to restrict the flying of the “Union Jack” on 18 designated days each year (Nolan et al. 2014: 9). This issue revealed again the deep-rooted sectarianism still embedded in the minds of people (Nolan et al. 2014: 70-73). The existing “peace walls”, segregation, the clashes at interfaces or sectarian parades are more examples for the ongoing major sectarian problem (Shirlow/Murtagh 2006; Knox/Quirk 2010; Byrne/Gormley-Heenan 2012). The cleavage is not stereotypical between Protestants and Roman Catholics or Unionists/Loyalists and Nationalists. Ruane and Todd (1996: XV) formulate accurately the claim of this master thesis: “[...] General tendencies are present and have to be grasped if the conflict is to be explained [...]. At the same time we were always conscious of variation [...]” Bairner (1997: 96) supports this view.

Consequently, it can be concluded that there is a divided society present in Northern Ireland (Ruane/Todd 1996: 115; Fulton 2005: 144; Darby 2006; Murdock 2012: 2). The improvement of community relations¹⁴ is still needed (ibid.). Further, Brewer et al. (2001: 6) recapitulate that “Belfast is a divided city whose geography and physical space vividly portray the conflict.” As a result, the city of Belfast serves as the prime example for the Irish conflict. It is noteworthy that Bruce and Galloway (2011: 20) back up the perspective of Ruane and Todd (1996: 115) 15 years after the Belfast Agreement and introduce the role of football:

“This conflict manifested, in extreme form, the polarization of society and deeper underlying tensions regarding identity, culture, self-perception, fear, and acceptance of the other and understandings of community. It is evident and not surprising that football was affected by this social conflict.”

¹⁴ According to Eyben et al. (1997: 1), community relations in NI are defined as “a search for practical ways for people of different identities, backgrounds and goals to live and work with one another with mutual respect.” That sectarianism is still present and recently undermined by Kilpatrick (2015) in a Belfast Telegraph article available at <http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/parents-dropped-off-their-children-for-sectarian-riot-31064702.html>.

Glentoran play their part in this huge history. According to Bruce and Galloway (2011: 4), the East Belfast club is

“perceived predominantly as a protestant club in a predominantly protestant community, yet there are many fans from the catholic community who, even if some feel marginalised by the events of Northern Ireland’s most recent history, are positively disposed to support the best traditions of Glentoran Football Club.”

This Roman Catholic, especially Short Strand¹⁵, support traces back to a policy of Glentoran which was never to exclude Roman Catholics at any time in their history (Magee 2005: 176; Bruce and Galloway 2011: 7). These facts underline the importance of Glentoran as a mirror of the past, but a vital ground for a shared future.

2.2 The Need for Conflict Transformation in a Divided Society

Although the signing of the Belfast Agreement marked formally the end of the conflict in Northern Ireland, it was obvious that there are still existing problems. Lederach (1997: ix) says that for reuniting a divided society it needs “more than the already difficult tasks of brokering a cease-fire, negotiating a peace agreement, or implementing a multi-faceted peace accord.”

For exploring possibilities to foster conflict transformation, John Paul Lederach¹⁶ delivers a conceptual framework about peacebuilding which influenced this master thesis and the later questions in the interview guide.

But before starting this section it is important to lay open the role of theory. Schatzmann and Strauss (1973: 12) claim:

“The discovery process and the questions raised by the researcher need not be related to any ‘received’ or prior theory. [...] What he does need is some theoretical perspective or framework for gaining conceptual entry into his subject matter, and for raising relevant questions quickly. His framework need be no more elaborate than a scheme of general but grounded concepts commonly applied by his discipline.”

Mayring (2008: 52) supports this view. Schatzmann and Strauss (1973: 12f.) add: “Nor is it necessary for him to work with explicitly formulated hypotheses [...]” So, the

¹⁵ According to Murdock (2012: 16), “the Short Strand is a Catholic community situated in Inner East Belfast, across from the river Lagan between the Newtownards and Albertbridge Roads. There are approximately 3,000 residents surrounded by a much larger Protestant area of about 60,000 [...]” Nowadays, the Markets would be another area in Belfast to which Glentoran aim at.

¹⁶ Because Lederach is so central for this master thesis, it should be a little bit said about his background. For fifteen years he had worked on peace-building initiatives in Somalia, Colombia, Nicaragua, Northern Ireland and the Philippines and many more (Lederach 1997: xvii).

objective is to work with a flexible research agenda which is open for influence. Nevertheless, the theoretical framework is important as it lays the basis for the interview guide and the formulated questions related to the research question throughout the interviewing process. Further, it shall allow indicating some general suggestions for other football projects out of the sample. Therefore, this master thesis is guided but not driven by theory. It does not require explicitly formulated hypotheses. Both findings are relevant for the later analysis.

This stance goes hand in hand with Lederach (1997: xvi) who calls himself more “a practitioner rather than a theorist”. Lederach (1997: xvi) works out a practical way to look on peacebuilding because he believes “that the nature and characteristics of contemporary conflict suggest the need for a set of concepts and approaches that go beyond traditional statist diplomacy.”¹⁷

First of all, Lederach (1997: 10) thinks that it is important to *understand* conflicts and not to present them in mere figures. They contain struggles in divided societies about three central issues: identity, diffusion of power and long-standing relationship (Lederach 1997: 13-15).

Moreover, these conflicts are often called “ethnic” or “religious” in the popular press. But Lederach (1997: 8) refers to Fridberg (1992) and Regehr (1993) who call for the term “identity conflicts” instead. Lederach (1997: 13) supports this point of view in saying “that unit of identity may be clan, ethnicity, religion, or geographic/regional affiliation, or a mix of these.” Bairner (2005: 160) notices that football in Northern Ireland made a major contribution on how the self-identity was reproduced and constructed.

The concept of the IKG (2006) about group-focused enmity adds a valuable input to Lederach’s perception. It further goes in line with the understanding of sectarianism in this master thesis offered by Brewer.¹⁸ The theory developed by Zick, Heitmeyer and Küpper (2010) states that prejudices against a range of very different groups (social, religious, ethnic etc.) are rooted in hostile mentalities. The shared core of all these syndromes of group-focused enmity is the ideology of inequality (IKG 2006). Nevertheless, all different sources of conflict should not be amalgamated under the

¹⁷ Lederach (1997: 16) remarks that diplomacy developed out of the state system.

¹⁸ For the definition see footnote 13.

terms “inequality” or “identity”¹⁹ – a cautious approach in identifying the individual roots of each struggle is inevitable (Lederach 1997: 23-25). But this idea helps to understand Lederach’s (1997: 17) picture of group identity lines²⁰ in long-standing conflicts. Here, the different groups aim at achieving collective rights with their fighting (ibid.). Again, this stays true for the Irish conflict but does not lead in underestimating sectarianism as one peculiar syndrome. However, it allows identifying general conclusions based on the assumption that group-focused enmity is the coverage of different negative outcomes. In consequence, the concept permits this master thesis to draw cautious general remarks about the actors involved in conflicts and does not restrict the findings to the area of Belfast or Northern Ireland. Wrona (2005: 6, 12) adds that with a careful and reflexive argumentation even qualitative results can be generalised to some extent.²¹

As already mentioned, the roots of conflicts in divided societies are individual. According to Lederach (1997: 13), they can be traced back to long-term distrust and fears which are very often strengthened by the experience of violence. These can be manipulated easily (ibid.). Even a shared history like the one on the island of Ireland does not prevent of stereotyping and different perceptions of the other (Lederach 1997: 13, 23). For Lederach (1997: 14f., 149) social-psychological²² aspects play a very important part. It is essential for him that governmental or international institutions are not competent in addressing these psychodynamics (Lederach 1997: 15).

In the view of this master thesis this missing capability of governing bodies is the foremost cause for his request for conflict transformation and for another understanding of peacebuilding (Lederach 1997: 18). Lederach (1997: 20) refers to Boutros-Ghali’s (1992) UN-Agenda for Peace which officially introduced the terms “preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding”. He contradicts the presented UN-perspective on postconflict peacebuilding because it is “more than postaccord reconstruction” (ibid.). Further, Lederach (1997: 18) identifies several problems of the common concept of peacebuilding. Lederach (1997: 18, 130-133) misses innovative ways to transform an international culture, a long-term perspective

¹⁹ For more reading on group conflicts, social categorization and identity Tajfel (1978, 1982) and Tajfel and Turner (1986) are highly recommendable.

²⁰ Group identity lines are drawn more vertically than horizontally within Lederach’s (1997: 43) concept.

²¹ However, they just realise a small scope (Wrona 2005: 42). Of course, a case study has its strength in understanding rather than a positivistic evidence of causalities (ibid.).

²² Other authors dealing with social-psychological issues in International Relations are Kelman (1965, 1999, 2001), Giersch (2009) or Volkan, Demetrios and Montville (1990).

and a comprehensive, preventive approach. He complains about restrictions in funding, time and institutional capacity (ibid.). The key dilemma of peacebuilding is the coordination of different but related activities at diverse levels of the divided society (Lederach 1997: 33). In answer to these shortfalls, Lederach (1997: 20) defines peacebuilding

“as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords. [...] It [peace] is a dynamic social construct.”

It is important to differentiate his concept of peacebuilding from the UN-terms²³ of peacemaking²⁴, peacekeeping²⁵ and peacebuilding²⁶ which ascribe specific tasks to each phase (Boutros-Ghali 1992: 51-62). Peacemaking is related to negotiation, inclusion of the ICC, sanctions or the use of military force (Boutros-Ghali 1992: 51-57). Peacekeeping needs well-trained personnel and good logistics to make the sustaining of peace more profitable than war (Boutros-Ghali 1992: 57-60). The last one, peacebuilding is the completion of the other two and asks the involved actors in the description of Boutros-Ghali (1992: 62) to carry out for example tasks like “disarming the previously warring parties and the restoration of order, [...], repatriating refugees, advisory and trainings support for security personnel, monitoring elections [...]” and many more. Lederach’s (1997: X) presented concept is more than that and practically includes them all.

It has to be stated that the “conflict transformation”²⁷ term, which is situated within his infrastructure²⁸ of peacebuilding, is completely different to the academic terms “conflict

²³ Here, this master thesis excluded preventive diplomacy because in Lederach’s concept the conflict already exists. However, his aim of creating a desired future is at the same time a preventive approach.

²⁴ According to Boutros-Ghali (1992: 45), peacemaking “is action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.”

²⁵ In the words of Boutros-Ghali (1992: 45), peacekeeping “[...] is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace.”

²⁶ Peacebuilding is in the sense of the UN only related to post-conflict accords (Boutros-Ghali 1992: 46).

²⁷ The introduction of conflict transformations dates back to the early 1990s (Albert 2009: 40). Mitchell (2002) is one of the main opponents of the new term. Mitchell (2002: 14-19, 22) especially warns about the imprecise concept of relationship and the exchangeability of transformation with change. Furthermore, Mitchell (2002: 22) calls the supporters of conflict transformation “the social alchemists of the early 21st century.” Mitchell (2002: 1) thinks that “the concept of conflict transformation has emerged because of the corruption of the conception of resolution.” It is beyond the scope of this master thesis to review all critiques. However, the raising support of conflict transformation by authors like Curle (1990), Galtung (1995), Kriesberg (1989), Rupesinghe (1995) or Väyrynen (1991) next to Lederach (1996, 1997) shows that it is not an isolated concept but has a place in the field of Peace and Conflict Research.

²⁸ The infrastructure exists of reality, transformation and a desired future (Lederach 1997: 114f.).

resolution”²⁹ or “conflict management”³⁰ (Albert 2009: 40; Lederach 1997: 114f.). Hence, a comprehensive discussion in the community of science is missing out that distinction³¹ (Albert 2009: 40; Lederach 1997: 114f.). That of all things, Mitchell (2002: 19) as one of the main critics of conflict transformation provides a distinction between resolution and transformation:

“Resolution has tended to deal with conflicts by operating close to official efforts and to deal with decision making elites [...]. Transformation both advocates and practices the conception that processes have to take place at all levels, including the very grass roots. Resolution has a tendency to concentrate upon the immediate and the shorter term, its advocates arguing that dealing with the issues and the deeper interests producing a current situation of intractable conflict is enough of a problem in itself. Transformation has deliberately included ‘the aftermath’ in its focus [...].”

In distinction to conflict resolution, conflict management involves the control but not the resolution of a long-term or deep-rooted conflict (Yakinthou/Wolff 2011: 1). Conflict management wants to deal with the situation in terms of making it more constructive and less destructive for all parties (ibid.).

As a result, the strength of conflict transformation towards the other two approaches lies in its long-term orientation, practical approach and inclusion of actors at different levels to create a desired future and not “only” to solve or manage a conflict.

At this point, two more things are of relevance. First, Lederach (1997: 20) sees peace as a social construct which is shaped by humans every day. Second, Lederach (1997: 85) introduces relationship as an important source for conflict transformation which is described later in more detail.

Regarding peacebuilding as social process and interaction involves many variations of interdependent elements and actions (Lederach 1997: 66-70). For instance, it requires acknowledgments for the unique nature of conflict types or to move from stagnant vicious cycles towards a desired future (Lederach 1997: 23, 84). Therefore, Lederach’s (1997: 24) developed conceptual framework explicitly aims at changing the subjective realities of actors and creating reconciliation – an innovative approach which the later presented OCOC-Project wants to follow too.

²⁹ Bercovitch (2009) provides a comprehensive overview about all aspects of conflict resolution.

³⁰ Conflict management in divided societies is described in detail in Wolff’s (2011) volume.

³¹ In addition, Albert (2009: 40) is saying that the terms are used synonymous in the academic literature.

Lederach's (1997: 150) major components in his peacebuilding paradigm are structure, process, reconciliation, resources and coordination. Some remarks should be made on the term "reconciliation"³² here. Again, for Lederach (1997: 27) it is a social space and a "point of encounter where concerns about both the past and the future can meet." It is central for reframing the conflict. Bruce and Galloway (2011: 5) remark that one key output of the Glentoran audit was promoting reconciliation in contrast to the obstacles of sectarianism and manifestations of intolerance.

Lederach (1997: 35) asks "to seek innovative ways to create a time and a place, within various levels of the affected population, to address, integrate, and embrace the painful past and the necessary shared future as a means of dealing with the present." Lederach's (1997: 152) call for innovation within that frame provides a productive harmony with the chosen sample and method. It is crucial to create a catalyst and sustain it in divided societies. Consequently, reality with relationships as a basis needs to be addressed (Lederach 1997: 26f.; 114f.). Encounters outside of common diplomacy should be created to foster conflict transformation and enhance a desired future (ibid.).³³ In the words of Lederach (1997: 83) conflict transformation is closely connected to peacebuilding, reconciliation and relationships and

"represents a comprehensive set of lenses for describing how conflict emerges from, evolves within, and brings about changes in the personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions, and for developing creative responses that promote peaceful change within those dimension through nonviolent mechanisms."

For making transformation possible, Lederach (1997: 37) demands a middle way as a key next to already existing bottom-up and top-down approaches. He opens up three major categories of leadership: top level, middle range and grassroots.

³² Höglund and Sundberg (2008) examine if sport should be used for reconciliation. Further, they connect the terms "reconciliation" and "peacebuilding" like Lederach does (Höglund/Sundberg 2008: 805).

³³ Lederach's (1997: 27) description of the Mohawk people who decide on the basis of seven generations is very impressive.

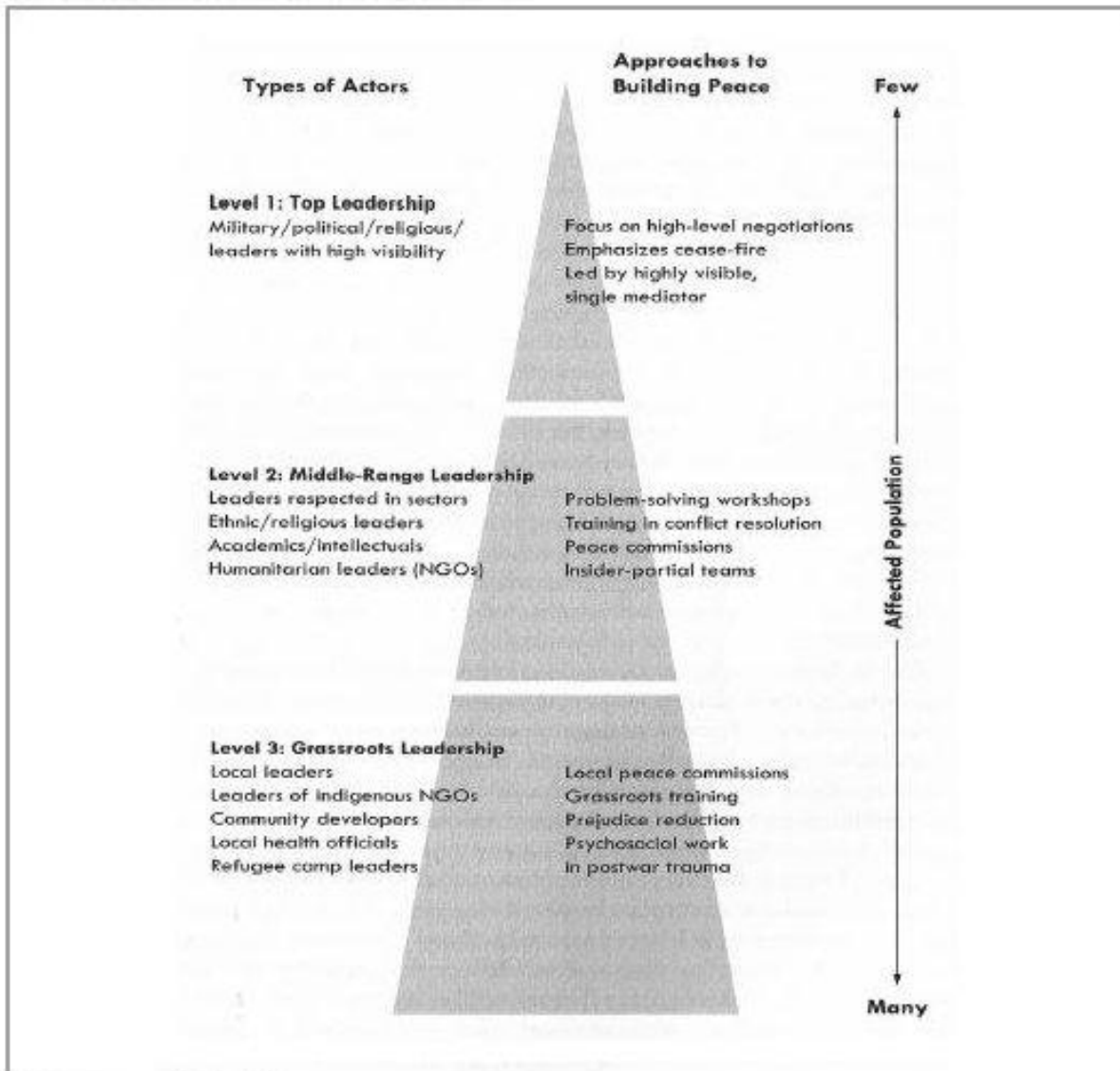


Figure 1: Actors and Approaches to Peacebuilding (Lederach 1997: 39)

The first level relates to key political leaders (Lederach 1997: 38). These are few but they are mostly public visible people with significant power and influence: the ones who make the decisions (Lederach 1997: 38-41). For the persons who possess a higher position, it is possible to frame the bigger picture of the conflict (Lederach 1997: 44-46). At the same time, they are less affected by the results of their own decisions (ibid.). Top-down approaches consider such persons to be central in settling a conflict (ibid.).

At the bottom of the pyramid is the grassroots level which includes the masses (Lederach 1997: 42f.). They are the ones who witness the core of the conflict made of deep-rooted hatred and animosity every day (Lederach 1997: 43). As a consequence, the basis of society is able to introduce pioneering ideas and practical efforts (ibid.). The ordinary people are normally affected the most by the decision-making (ibid.). At the

same time, they have very often limited access to decision-making procedures and lack the understanding for a bigger framework (ibid.). According to bottom-up approaches, the massive number of people is a problem (Lederach 1997: 51).

A key to connect these two poles is the middle level (Lederach 1997: 41f.). It comprises highly respected people or institutions within their community which are not necessarily connected to authorities or structures of the government (ibid.). As Lederach (1997: 41) puts it in words:

“Middle-level leaders are positioned so that they are likely to know and be known by the top-level-leadership, yet they have significant connections to the broader context and the constituency that the top leaders claim to represent.”

This perception fits to Glentoran FC as they engage on a cross-community basis and act as a middle-range leader (Bruce and Galloway 2011: 11; Murdock 2012: 20). Carál Ní Chuilín (Glentoran 2011e: 1), the Minister for Culture, Arts and Leisure, has admitted this fact at the launch of the OCOC-Programme: “It is an acknowledgement as well of Glentoran’s importance to East Belfast and its close identification with the communities in this area and further afield.” And OFMDFM Junior Minister Jonathan Bell (Glentoran 2011e: 1) noticed at the same event: “[...] I believe that the influence of a club like Glentoran can really make a difference to ideas, attitudes and values of the people of East Belfast.” These are two more rich examples for Glentoran’s middle-range role in Belfast.

This classification has three important implications: Middle-range leaders are connected to both other levels, they do not want to get into power and have relationships that cut across the lines of conflict (Lederach 1997: 42, 51). Although some grassroots approaches are used, the main contrast to the grassroots level is an underlying comprehensive programme (Lederach 1997: 52f.). Lederach (1997: 51) assumes that the “middle range holds the potential for helping to establish a relationship- and skill-based infrastructure for sustaining the peacebuilding process.” Hancock (2008: 232) came to the same result for the peace process in 1998 and acknowledged that the middle level „may hold the key to the sustainability and measure of success [...]“

Lederach (1997: 56) asserts that when different actors are dealing with a specific issue it further needs a “middle range *locus* of activity that connects the other levels in the system.” That means not only looking at the immediate issue or the broader system but to include the perspective on the subsystem as well (Lederach 1997: 55-60).

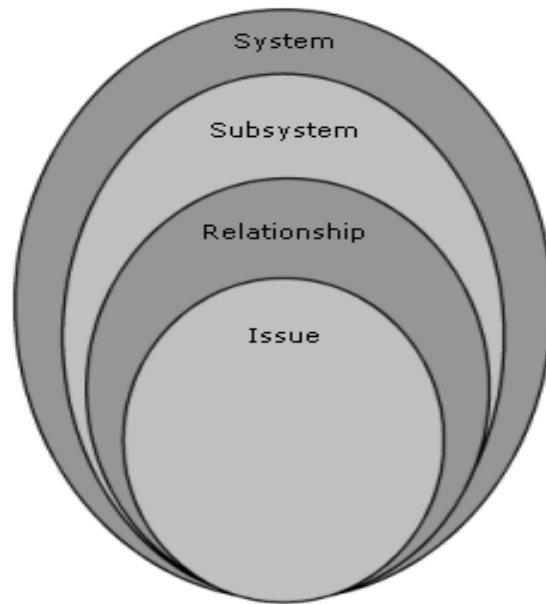


Figure 2: *The Nested Paradigm of Conflict Foci (Lederach 1997: 56)*

The actors have to bear in mind the time dimension in peacebuilding (Lederach 1997: 77-81). It goes across causes over crisis management and a vision to prevention (ibid.). These are crucial elements for conflict transformation to work³⁴ on a descriptive³⁵ and prescriptive³⁶ stage within four dimensions (Lederach 1997: 82; see figure 3):

| Four Dimensions | Fundamental Ways | |
|-------------------|---|--|
| | Descriptively | Prescriptively |
| Personal | Positive and negative effects for individuals, e.g. well-being or self-esteem | Reduce destructive effects of conflict and increase potentialities for personal growth |
| Relational | Perceptions of conflict and relationships of individuals in past and present | Reduce bad functioning communication and increase mutual understanding |
| Structural | Analysis of social conditions that give rise to the conflict and the influence of conflict on existing decision-making-structures | Reduce violence and increase participation of affected people in terms of procedural justice and meet their needs |
| Cultural | Conflict effects on cultural issues of groups and their understanding and response to it | Reduce cultural contributions to violence and increase a cultural setting which constructively deals with conflict |

Figure 3: *Conflict Transformation. Design inspired by Lederach (1997: 82-84)*

³⁴ Lederach (1997: 123-126) shares an example of how Transformative Training could be done.

³⁵ A descriptive level takes the changes a conflict creates and the patterns it typically follows onto account (Lederach 1997: 82).

³⁶ A prescriptive level takes the goals of the interveners into account (Lederach 1997: 82).

According to Lederach (1997: 83f.), this figure as an “integrated framework provides a platform for understanding and responding to conflict and developing peacebuilding initiatives”.

Bearing this theoretical framework in mind, this master thesis aims at clarifying one central question of Lederach (1997: 150) himself, considering a football project being able to make a contribution to conflict transformation.³⁷

2.3 Sport in Peace and Conflict Research

The UN (2005) considers sport as an important tool for transforming conflict and developing countries.³⁸ In terms of peace and reconciliation, the UN (2005: i) states that “sport can cut across barriers that divide societies, making it a powerful tool to support conflict prevention and peace-building efforts, [...] and [is] very practically within communities.”³⁹

Considering its global relevance, football is the most important piece of the sports puzzle.⁴⁰ Murdock (2012: 7f.) says that sportspeople do not regard themselves as politicians. Sport governing bodies like the FIFA are keen in promoting that there is no link between politics and the game. Others do not share this opinion, as there is a clear connection between sports and politics in numerous cases (Hoberman 1984: 20; Sugden/Bairner 1993: 136; Fulton 2005: 156).

Hassan (2005: 138) remarks that football might take a positive or negative character. One of the promoters are Elias and Dunning (1986: 65), who point out the civilising process, with sport having a moderating effect on social behaviour and beyond. In effect, it is able to make a positive contribution to peace and harmony (ibid.). Guttman (1986) shares this opinion. Taking this into account, the NGO Streetfootballworld (2014) with its 104 affiliated organisations uses football for social change in various projects across 66 countries in all five continents.

³⁷ The original question of Lederach (1997: 150) is: “What practical approaches and activities have the greatest potential for moving these conflicts toward, and for sustaining, peaceful outcomes?”

³⁸ The branch “Sport for Development” is not an issue in this master thesis. To read more about it see for example UN (2005), Kidd (2008) or Coalter (2007; 2010).

³⁹ Although this master thesis concentrates on the sport of football, it was noticed throughout the research process that the historical or other features of other sports in NI may have a different influence.

⁴⁰ This fact is reinforced by the UN (2005: 12-16) which highlights the role of football several times throughout their paper. For example, the UN (2005: 14) mentions the Danish/UEFA Project “Open Fun Football Schools” building 185 schools for 37,000 children between 8 and 14 years of age in Bosnia and Herzegovina, FYR Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro in order to help building bridges across ethnic division.

Even a look at the past offers several examples of football trying to transform a conflict. One famous case is the Christmas game of 1914 where French, British and German soldiers played a football match at the Western Front during World War One (Jürigs 2003).⁴¹ The troops taking part were all separated due to “fraternisation with the enemy” afterwards (Erhart 2006: 22). In modern times the first match in history between North and South Korea with over 60,000 spectators in 2005 is quite remarkable because it was considered impossible (Erhart 2006: 20). Bearing in mind the claim of Lederach for sustainability, not only one-off occasions are important.

As an example, Rudi Gutendorf (former Rwanda coach) gave an interview to the German magazine 11Freunde talking about the legacy of the Rwandan Civil War in his team (Schaar 2003; own translation): “The Tutsi delivered the cross and the Hutu headed a goal. Then, they embraced and kissed each other out of joy; even the whole stadium and country. Since that day, I know what football is able to do.”⁴² Maybe this is a too idealistic description but another more realistic example would be the Bnei Sachnin team in Israel.⁴³ It consists of Arabic and Israeli players and won the Israeli Cup in 2004 (Replinger 2005). For many years now, they struggle against constant barriers which do not want to see Jewish, Christian and Muslim people playing together in one team breaking down the main division in Israeli society (Heike 2006).

In the academic discourse Jäger (2008, 2009) and Heptner (2009) are other keen supporters of the power of sport. Stevenson and Alaug (2000: 454; 463-467) describe the positive role football took after unification in 1990 in a small football nation like Yemen. Sugden (2010: 264) refers to the example of Belfast United. It was a sports programme consisting of mainly football but basketball, too (ibid.). It was carried out in a neutral setting with Irish Protestants and Roman Catholics playing together, showing the positive impact on them (ibid.). Of course, there are more positive examples for the power of football.

⁴¹ In December 2014 a short-movie was produced by the UEFA (2014). It remembers the truce 100 years ago. For more information see <http://www.uefa.com/memberassociations/news/newsid=2196290.html>.

⁴² Eric Cantona, a former professional player and now actor, delivered a documentation called “Football Rebels” about what the sport can do. He portrays five (former) footballers (Didier Drogba, Rachid Mekhloufi, Carlos Caszely, Socrates or Predrag Pašić) who risked their life to show the potential football has in building bridges. They all had an impact in their countries (Kleffmann 2012).

⁴³ It is noteworthy that on an international level the Israeli team plays in Europe and not in Asia because of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. In earlier times they had to play in the Oceania (Sugden/Bairner 1993: 128).

However, Bairner (2003: 1524) is right in highlighting the shady side as well:

“Although sport possesses the potential to bring people from different backgrounds together, in divided societies, it is more likely to reflect divisions and, in some instances, to reinforce the sectarian identities that keep people apart.”

Several authors like Duke and Crolley (1996) for Canada, Vanreusel et al. (2000) for Belgium, Edensor and Augustin (2001) for Mauritius or Walton (2005) for Spain reflect both sides of the coin. The researcher Reiche (2011: 261) brings into the discussion the case of the very complex Lebanese society with even more serious confessional problems than NI. On the one hand, Reiche (ibid.) acknowledges the initiative of politicians to carry out a friendly match of all parties in the conflict, playing each other in mixed teams under the motto “We are one team.” On the other hand, he shows how sectarianism works in Lebanon and that football not only has the potential to reflect but to manifest the sectarian divide, too (Reiche 2011: 268, 274). This can go as far as supporting the opposite national team by Lebanese people in the national stadium if they believe to share their national identity (e.g. Sunni, Shia or Roman Catholic) with the opponent (Reiche 2011: 274).

This again emphasises an interesting and strong aspect which appears several times in this master thesis. But it cannot be addressed to an adequate extent within the scope of the study: identity.⁴⁴ As Giulianotti and Armstrong (1997: 11) remark “football centres upon an affirmation of faith, an element of identity, both personal and collective, that is never fully communicable in effectively rational terms.” It is no surprise that Cronin (1999: 151) calls football a “tribal game”. Sugden and Bairner (1993: 130) and Erhart (2006: 19) agree that emotions, collective identity and group solidarity do play its part.⁴⁵

For instance, this becomes evident when English and Scottish nationalism shown at international matches turns into violent confrontations (Sugden/Bairner 1993: 129). This is also visible at club level when “Protestant” Rangers and “Roman Catholic” Celtic Glasgow face each other (Reiche 2011: 263).⁴⁶ According to Bairner (2000a: 66), the “Old Firm” politically disappeared, but is still observable at football venues. The argument of Sugden and Bairner (1993: 128) saying that “football in particular

⁴⁴ The definition of “identities” in this master thesis follows Hopf (1998: 175): “They tell you and others who you are and they tell you who others are”.

⁴⁵ Again, the question of identity is not within the scope of this master thesis. Concerning football Armstrong and Giulianotti (1997) offer an edited volume about these issues.

⁴⁶ Reiche (2011: 263) further highlights that Celtic is still very proud of its ties to the ROI. The colour green is a proof for that perception (ibid.).

continue[s] to provide avenues for popular, nationalistic and ethnocentric expressions” is true. But they miss out an important argument made by Guttmann (1986: 2) who differentiates between the active role of the athlete and passive part of spectators. In other words for the people taking part in sport, it does not include so many negative aspects like external factors (spectators, media etc.) bring into the game. This may also explain Murdock’s insight (2012: 7f.) that sportspeople do not feel as politicians.

Authors like Sugden, Bairner or Cronin⁴⁷ who see sport more as “war minus the shooting” referring to Orwell (1970: 63) are definitely significant in pointing out to the destructive power of football. But to some extent they seem to focus the negative side too much. They share the opinion that sport causes more harm than good and that sport is a catalyst for serious internal conflict rather than for peace (Sugden/Bairner 1993: 127, 130). For example, Sugden and Bairner (1993: 127) refer to the “soccer war” between El Salvador and Honduras and offer the impression of Sugden (2010: 261) that “a series of hotly contested World Cup qualifying matches between two countries that were already in conflict over territorial and trade issues led to a short war that left more than 30,000 killed or wounded.”

It has to be mentioned that the war broke out after the first “two” qualifying matches and not a series (Kapuściński 1992: 253-255). The original report of Kapuściński (1992: 286-288) sheds more light on the dark. It reveals the causes for the war which have to be searched in oligarchic leaderships⁴⁸, immigration and agrarian issues in combination with a growing hatred and accusations between the two Latin American countries (ibid.). Nevertheless, according to Kapuściński (1992: 288), football was a catalyst in this already nationalistic and heated atmosphere. This fact warns to draw careful conclusions out of the impact of football, because it is no isolated element in society. Further, it is vital to regard the context and singularity of each struggle.

In addition, it is questionable to say that because football is competitive by nature it consequentially produces conflict (Bairner 2000a: 65).⁴⁹ It needs a well-balanced

⁴⁷ Maybe these authors are more pessimistic, because their experiences are drawn from their personal background of growing up in the heavily divided society of NI. Sugden (2010: 263f.) describes this precisely and asserts that an aim was “to demonstrate and argue that sport was part of the problem.”

⁴⁸ Erhart (2006: 20-22) gives a short but valuable insight about football in dictatorships. He points out to the story of GDR citizen Lutz Eigendorf who was killed by the Stasi although living in West Germany.

⁴⁹ For example, wrestling is very competitive in nature with a one-to-one fight. Nevertheless, the athletes show huge respect towards each other which is not unusual for martial arts in general. Another interesting input is that football was allowed in Germany early after the Second World War, because it was seen as a sport with no military characteristics.

presentation of facts, as delivered by Erhart (2006). It is very pessimistic to assert that “history favours Orwell as there are more examples of international sport damaging community relations as there are instances of it making a positive contribution to peace and understanding” like Sugden (2010: 260) does.⁵⁰ In effect, this viewpoint would fly in the face of all the works NGOs like SARI or Streetfootballworld are doing on a community level including football.

Furthermore, the above presented positive examples revealed that football can play a vital role. Nevertheless, Coalter (2010: 296) rejects “sports evangelists”. According to Erhart (2006: 18), war rhetoric, racism or other sorts of discrimination in football still pose a major problem. However, they are often brought in from the outside into the game. For that reason, an inside/outside differentiation, as suggested by Guttmann (1986: 2) is crucial. Football mirrors the existing difficulties in society and is not separated from them (Kidd 2008: 379). Therefore, it always depends on the surrounding football is practiced in (ibid.).⁵¹ Of course, the Northern Irish context is not the best one in promoting football without facing conflict. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily lead to a negative outcome.

⁵⁰ It depends on how long a scientist searches for positive examples. For example Sugden (2010: 262) only cites Elias and Dunning (1986) for the positive role sport can play and forgets about Guttmann (1986), Stevenson/Alaug (2001) or UN (2005). Of course, he cannot know about the German academic discourse introducing Jäger (2008, 2009). However, Sugden (2010: 264-266) having a more pessimistic viewpoint is somehow contradicting because he only describes own positive field experiences.

⁵¹ This is illustrated by the following example: At under nine level solely called “Fair Play Leagues” are existing in the regional football federation of South-West in Germany. These matches require that parents and coaches be placed some meters away from the pitch. This is due to the fact that they were identified as the main factors influencing the children and bringing negativity into the game. The adults want to see their kids succeeding and therefore encourage them to take unfair measures. The kids themselves are just playing out of joy, which shall be preserved through the “Fair Play Leagues”. Furthermore, this indicates that football is neutral in itself. It is the environment/people which let destructive elements enter the game.

3. Football and Community Relations in Northern Ireland

The literature overview gives an impression about the overall positive and negative impact of football. The neutral nature of the sport asks to take the context into consideration (Kidd 2008: 379). The particular history of football in Northern Ireland is essential to this insight. Moreover, it is closely related to today's community relations.

Bruce and Galloway (2011: 20) mentioned in section 2.1 of this master thesis that the history of football is connected to the Irish conflict. This was made commonly clear in 1921⁵², when the partition of the island was followed by the formation of the FAI in Dublin (Fulton 2005: 145; IFA 2005). Nowadays, the IFA⁵³ has a Football Development Department (IFA 2005). The requirement of a community relations policy was evident since the start of the Irish League.⁵⁴ Football was perceived as a British/Protestant sport⁵⁵ along with rugby⁵⁶ and hockey⁵⁷ (Bairner 2005: 161; Murdock 2012: 10). In contrast to this, the Gaelic games⁵⁸ would be seen traditionally as Roman Catholic sports (Hassan 2005: 127). Nevertheless, Hassan (2005: 131) mentions that football in Northern Ireland is popular amongst Roman Catholics and a sport played by both sides (Bairner/Shirlow 2000: 11).

Consequently, Sugden and Bairner (1993: 130) argue that football has a far greater potential than any other sport to bring the communities together. Sugden and Harvie (1995: 68) conclude in their analysis of almost all sports in NI that football has done the most about cross-community initiatives.

Nevertheless, Sugden and Bairner (1993: 130) take the position that football did more harm than good in NI. A look at the past at club level supports that perception. The very successful club Belfast Celtic had to withdraw their participation in 1949 (Fulton 2005: 143). They were a symbol of Irish national identity for the Roman Catholic working-class in Belfast (ibid.). Fulton (ibid.) considers Belfast Celtic still being one of the most hated clubs in NI. In 1972, Derry City, another club in a Roman Catholic and

⁵² The historian Garnham (2004) gives a valuable insight to pre-partition football in Ireland.

⁵³ The IFA was the only sport governing body which was based in Belfast (IFA 2005).

⁵⁴ Irish League is the common name for the football league in NI.

⁵⁵ According to Fulton (2005: 142), football was even perceived as British cultural imperialism.

⁵⁶ On the island of Ireland rugby is one of the few sports next to hockey, golf, rowing and cricket which are organised on an all-Ireland basis (NI Assembly 2001: 4-6). Nevertheless, it is interesting that the Rugby Union tends to defend the Union between GB and NI (Bairner 2005: 171).

⁵⁷ According to Sugden and Harvie (1995: 30), hockey is played by approximately 75 % middle-class and 90 % Protestant people.

⁵⁸ Gaelic Games are hurling, camogie, Gaelic football, Gaelic handball and rounders.

Nationalist area, chose a slightly different option when they decided to leave the IFA (Sugden/Harvie 1995: 17; Hassan 2005: 133). They joined the FAI in 1982 due to constant sectarian abuses (ibid.). Even at international level NI and the ROI did not play against each other for almost 50 years (Fulton 2005: 145). Indeed, the club level is of more interest for this study. It has to be mentioned that the atmosphere at international matches of NI is nowadays almost a sectarian-free space (Hassan 2005: 138; MB: 52-54).⁵⁹ However, the Windsor Park, home of Linfield FC, located in a Protestant, Loyalist area, still poses a major problem for Roman Catholics to attend matches (Magee 2005: 178).

At least the situation got better after the negative climax in 2001/02 when Roman Catholic Northern Ireland player Neil Lennon, who had moved from Leicester City to Celtic Glasgow, was booed in a friendly against Norway (Murdock 2012: 12). Finally, this led to his resignation at international level in August 2002 (Bairner 2003: 1524; Hassan 2005: 133). He was supposed to be captaining his side against Cyprus for the first time but got a death threat delivered before the game (ibid.).⁶⁰

Such occasions are not restricted to international level, as sectarian tensions have always been an issue at club level, too (Bairner 1997: 108f.). At the moment, Donegal Celtic and Cliftonville FC are the only two major clubs from Roman Catholic areas in NI (Bairner 2005: 161). Donegal Celtic, now playing in the second division, got a disputable fame when they cancelled their match against the Royal Ulster Constabulary⁶¹ police team in the cup semi-final in 1998 (Bairner/Shirlow 2001: 50).

Recently, the other club from a Roman Catholic area, Cliftonville⁶² has turned into a successful competitor throughout the last few years winning the Irish League twice. For

⁵⁹ The IFA has made huge efforts in implementing their “Football for All” Campaign starting in 2000 (MB: 47f.). Initiatives like changing the colours of the team helped to change the atmosphere at Windsor Park (Wilson 2011: 30). The IFA even won an EU-Award in 2005 for their anti-sectarian campaigns. However, Hassan (2002) argues that the “God Save the Queen” anthem and the flying of the Union Jack still alienate Roman Catholics. It is interesting to notice that NI is the only UK entity which does not have an own national anthem. Scotland plays “Flower of Scotland” and Wales “Land of our Fathers”.

⁶⁰ The Neil Lennon incident is another reason why Roman Catholics living in NI prefer to support the ROI (Fulton 2005: 146).

⁶¹ The RUC was the police force in NI which was seen as an instrument of suppression by many Roman Catholics (Kempin 2003: 130-137). It was finally reorganised within the framework of the Belfast Agreement (ibid.).

⁶² This is an interesting fact because over the years Cliftonville got more and more Roman Catholic supporters due to demographic changes in that area (Bairner 1997: 99; Bairner/Shirlow 2000: 12). According to Reiche (2011: 263), the change occurred in the late 1970s.

security reasons⁶³ they were not allowed to play Linfield at home until the season 1998/99 (Sugden/Harvie 1995: 16; Bairner 2000: 73). However, Cliftonville or Donegal City did not fill the gap Belfast Celtic or Derry City left. According to Magee (2005: 173), surprisingly Glentoran did step in instead. This goes back to a serious rivalry between the “Big Two” Belfast clubs Glentoran and record champions Linfield (Magee 2005: 176).⁶⁴ It always existed at Irish League level (ibid.). After 1949, some Belfast Celtic supporters turned to Glentoran because they always had a policy of inclusiveness towards Catholics (ibid.).⁶⁵ Furthermore, the Oval, the home ground of Glentoran, is situated next to a Roman Catholic Church (Bairner/Shirlow 2001: 50). Another interesting fact is that Glentoran’s club colours are green, black and red (Magee 2005: 176). These represent no symbols of Loyalism and are therefore easier to identify for Roman Catholics (ibid.).

In contrast to this, Linfield did not employ any Roman Catholic player between the 1950s and the middle of the 1980s (Bairner/Shirlow 2001: 46).⁶⁶ So, it is somehow contradictory that the biggest rivalry in Irish League football is not between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant club. Instead, it is between two clubs from Protestant areas. This relation is negatively underlined by an awful Linfield supporter’s song (Magee 2005: 177): “We are Linfield, super Linfield. No one likes us, we don’t care. We hate Glentoran, Fenian bastards⁶⁷. And we’ll chase them everywhere.”

Magee (2005: 187) asserts that there are more intra-protestant rivalries in Irish League football. For example, other Protestant clubs also do not have a very good relationship to Linfield for three reasons (ibid.). First, Linfield regards itself as the *only real* Protestant club in NI (Bairner/Shirlow 2000: 13).⁶⁸ Second, they attract antipathy because of their on-pitch success comparable to Bayern Munich in Germany (Magee

⁶³ So, if Linfield played ‘away’ against Cliftonville, they had a second home game at Windsor Park instead (Bairner/Shirlow 2000: 12).

⁶⁴ CG (21-101) in detail describes the bad experiences with the Cup Final in 2005 between Glentoran and Linfield when there were riots after the game.

⁶⁵ Belfast was the most industrialised city in NI (Magee 2005: 174). Glentoran attracted many workers from the shipyards who came from all over the world (Bruce and Galloway 2011: 18f.). Linfield supporters used to call the Oval “Vatican City” (KMC: 83f.).

⁶⁶ That was even some years later than their ideal Glasgow Rangers (Reiche 2011: 263). The Scottish club started employing Roman Catholic players in 1976 (ibid.). Now Linfield has a mixed team as well. Linfield even worked together with Phil Flynn (a Director of the NGO SARI) in a project called “Dunfield” which brought young people from Linfield (NI) and Dundalk (ROI) together to reduce prejudices (Sugden/Harvie 1995: 16).

⁶⁷ This term represents a common insult for Roman Catholics in NI.

⁶⁸ NJ (115) calls them „The Rangers of Northern Ireland“. CG (189) also calls Linfield the “Rangers”.

2005: 187). Third, Linfield has good connections to the IFA and earns huge benefits from the international matches held at their home ground (ibid.).

Despite, these intra-protestant mechanisms Bruce and Galloway (2011: 17) figure out that 67 % of Irish League spectators identified elements of sectarianism as the most urgent issue to address. Murdock (2012: 39) supports this view. The same is true for Dennis Rooney, the Chairman of the IFI, who said (Glentoran 2011e):

“Recent violence at the lower Newtownards Road interface is proof that there is still much work to be done if the underlying causes of sectarianism and violence are to be tackled and we are to build reconciliation between people and within and between communities throughout the island of Ireland.”

Furthermore, Bruce and Galloway (2011: 21) present figures in their research showing that in 2004 attenders at football matches in NI were 93% male⁶⁹, 78% Protestant, 100% white and 73% over 30 years of age. If Bruce’s and Galloway’s figures are true, Bairner (1997: 111) is right in stating that this only represents a small fraction of the Northern Irish society.⁷⁰ But in pointing out to this characteristic he forgets an aspect Cronin (1999: 187) highlights. Cronin (ibid.) has the opinion that football is a “centrally important vehicle for the transmission of ideology and identity to a huge proportion of population in Ireland.” In addition, Fulton (2005: 141) remarks that “Football [in NI], for supporters, players, and officials, is a lived reality, an arena wherein particular identities are produced and reproduced and a symbol of and a vehicle for these identities.”⁷¹

Football is a working-class sport which involves the most affected people by the Troubles (Sugden/Bairner 1993: 130). Even newer figures presented by the ICR support Cronin and Fulton. They show that sectarianism, racism and crowd trouble were not isolated incidents in Irish League matches (Jarman 2007). This means that football in NI provides a space where the inner feelings of spectators become visible in an emotional environment.

Consequently, after the climax of academic research in the late 1990s and early 2000s the politics got on the track. The implementing of the OFMDFM (2005) strategic framework “A Shared Future” in 2005 or the revised OFMDFM (2013) “Building a

⁶⁹ The relation of masculinity and violence in football is another interesting research aspect. Bairner (1997, 2000a) writes more about that connection.

⁷⁰ According to NJ (410f.), there are about 7,000 spectators a weekend when all twelve teams are playing. That would be the same crowd size like fourth division football in Germany.

⁷¹ Mittag and Nieland (2007: 24) maybe go a step too far in portraying it as “voice of the people”.

United Community” policy of 2013 are evidences for the shift of theory into practice.⁷² Both documents highlight the chances football offers for cross-community contact (OFMDFM 2005: 45; OFMDFM 2013: 58).

Glentoran, with their importance in the history of Northern Irish football, possess the potential to foster reconciliation between communities and tackle sectarianism. According to Bruce and Galloway (2011: 5), the East Belfast club has a self-image as a “people’s club where all people irrespective of religious belief or national identity can be united in their support of Glentoran, and feel welcome and included.” One topic in the following chapter is if this self-image is true and if Glentoran were able to bring this perception to the heads of the people throughout their community relations initiatives.

⁷² Here, Bairner’s (2004) review of football governance in small European countries provides a fruitful input.

4. “Our Club, Our Community”: Glentoran’s Idea for Conflict Transformation

Being aware of their history in Irish football, Glentoran FC are involved in numerous community initiatives in the area of East Belfast and beyond since many years. Especially the Catholic and Nationalist Short Strand area is of special interest for them. Glentoran try to cover topics like hate crime, suicide awareness, drug abuse, organ transplantation or food poverty (Glentoran 2014b). Even a day to build homes for disadvantaged people was at the stake of the club (ibid.).

These reliabilities are based on the club’s strong connection to their community⁷³ in East Belfast (Bruce and Galloway 2011: 18). According to Bruce and Galloway (2011: 11), this link further undermines Glentoran’s great potential. But the engagement in the past was too unstructured and piecemeal (Bruce/Galloway 2011: 11; Murdock 2012: 1). Bruce and Galloway (2011: 18) recognise the club’s “need to become more inclusive of the community⁷⁴ of East Belfast and be at more forefronts in relation to community activities and events.”

This need for change was expressed by several stakeholders in community relation audits on behalf of Glentoran FC (Bruce/Galloway 2011: 4). Murdock (2012: 12) mentions that every Irish League club was supposed to do an audit in accordance with the IFA’s Football for All Campaign. Here, an independent research team talked to key stakeholders through a significant number of personal interviews and focus groups (Bruce and Galloway 2011; Glentoran 2011f). The audits were carried out between February and April 2011 (ibid.). The results laid the foundation for the “Our Club, Our Community” programme (Glentoran 2011e, 2011f). It was officially launched for a period of three years in July 2011 (ibid.).⁷⁵

⁷³ The community in East Belfast changed since Glentoran’s foundation in 1882 especially due to de-industrialization. This is outlined by Bruce and Galloway (2011: 18f.).

⁷⁴ The audit called for an extended consideration of good community relations (Bruce/Galloway 2011: 22). Hence, this master thesis can only focus on Roman Catholic-Protestant issues which are identified as critical and essential by Bruce and Galloway (ibid.).

⁷⁵ The website states that it started already in November 2010 (Glentoran 2011e). However, the official launch was in July 2011 (2011e). That is why it had a different name (“One Club, One Community”) in 2010 (Glentoran 2011b). Aubry Ralph, who was Vice-Chairman of Glentoran at that time, expressed that in an official statement in February 2011 (ibid.).

The OCOC-Programme included some key findings of Bruce's and Galloway's (2011: 4)⁷⁶ study:

- “[...] Engagement by Glentoran Football Club with the community is viewed by the community as piecemeal, inconsistent and ineffective.
- Community support for Glentoran is significantly high from all sections and stakeholder groups, and the club is seen as both an integral and important component of East Belfast.
- There are opportunities for community engagement open to Glentoran, from community groups, immigrant groups, females, families, health promotion, and most consistently in this audit, by engaging with children and young people through schools, youth clubs, and soccer schemes. [...]
- There is an overwhelming desire to have a stadium where Glentoran can play quality football, to a community fan base, in a shared space that welcomes and includes all supporters regardless of their religious, political, or racial background, whether this is a re-development on the existing Oval site or a new site within East Belfast. [...]

On the one hand, these key findings underlined the huge support and possibilities of Glentoran to reach the community. On the other hand, they again pointed out the lack of sustainability and systematisation of their activities. According to Aubry Ralph (Glentoran 2011b), the deepening and structuring of Glentoran's community work was tied to the recognition of taking an active role in East Belfast. In accomplishing a more professional approach the renewed OCOC-Programme worked in partnership with the local community in a wide range of initiatives (Glentoran 2014a). These should help to bring forward issues concerning intercommunity prejudice, social inclusion, education and training as well as health and crime prevention (Glentoran 2014a). The programme was funded from the IFI Community Bridges Programme and the Belfast City Council Peace III Programme (Glentoran 2011e, 2014a).

Denis Rooney (Chairman of the IFI) said at the launch in July 2011 (Glentoran 2011e):

“Glentoran Football Club can play a vital role in building positive community relations through its ‘Our Club, Our Community’ Programme [...]. The ‘Our Club, Our Community Programme’ will reach out to all sections of the community and create a Club which is inclusive of everyone irrespective of age, gender, race and religion.”

⁷⁶ The ones concerning community relations were extracted of the study of Bruce and Galloway (2011).

The OCOC-Programme was welcomed by Junior Minister Jonathan Bell and Minister for Culture, Arts and Leisure, Carál Ní Chuilín. Ní Chuilín pointed out to the vision of the programme which seeks “to deeply embed Glentoran Football Club within [the] local community to make a positive social, cultural and educational contribution to society” (Glentoran 2011e, 2014a). For that reason the core objectives were

“to make a positive impact on the local community, to deliver increased support to the local community, to use the brand of Glentoran for the betterment of the local community, to drive increased support from the local community, to make the Oval a welcoming and inclusive environment, to work towards a tolerant and inclusive football club” (Glentoran 2014a).

In its first year, 27 projects with over 1,832 young people involved were realised according to Murdock (2012: 15). This included the inaugural cup tournament which brought together teams from various religious and ethnic backgrounds in August 2011 (Glentoran 2011d). Furthermore, a coaching programme which gave “young people the skills and confidence to move into coaching grassroots football by guiding them through the Irish FA’s ‘Grassroots Introductory Award’ and an extensive training course on the fundamentals of coaching” combined with various awareness courses and soft-skill-workshops was conducted (Glentoran 2011g). Another ongoing project was the Glentoran Family Fun Day which aimed at encouraging young football fans to attend the matches in a family friendly atmosphere at the Oval (Glentoran 2011c, 2012a). It was regularly visited by over 700 young people, parents and carers from the local community (ibid.). The Family Day included several activities for all ages, the Glentoran’s first team squad to give autographs and a collection of historical tokens (2011c). Besides, Glentoran donated toys to local community organisations in East Belfast and coordinated an Easter Soccer Camp for boys and girls aged between seven and eleven years in 2012 (Glentoran 2011a, 2012b).

In 2012, Glentoran brought 20 young people aged between 14 and 18 years from Cregagh YC in Belfast and St. Comgall YC in Bangor together (Glentoran 2012c). In cooperation with the CRED “Sectarianism in Sport” programme the OCOC-Initiative explored “issues associated with sport and sectarianism through group work, coaching, educational visits and guest speakers” (Glentoran 2012c). The information on the website is decreasing after 2012. Stafford Reynolds (238-262) sheds light on the dark, because in his interview he describes the problems they had with funding.

Besides all these grassroots and middle-level projects, Glentoran worked on their self-image⁷⁷ (Bruce and Galloway 2011: 5). According to Bruce and Galloway (2011: 9, 21), Glentoran are still seen as a predominantly Protestant club situated in a Unionist/Loyalist area which is not considered by many as a safe space.⁷⁸ However, Bruce and Galloway (2011: 21) mention that Glentoran was able to attract “considerable and consistent support from Roman Catholic and nationalist communities for many years.”⁷⁹ This fact qualifies them to do cross-community work. For example, Glentoran had increasing Roman Catholic attendance from the 1970s on, although their general support was declining (ibid.).⁸⁰

Bruce and Galloway (2011: 11) again confirm that Glentoran are able to “be a catalyst for bringing communities together, healing hurts and re-establishing old relationships.” This goes in line with their profile which is positive for 70% of the people (Bruce and Galloway 2011: 15). Furthermore, they were the only club to have a full-time Community Relations Officer with Russell Lever (Bruce and Galloway 2011: 7, 23; Murdock 2012: 32). He was replaced in 2014 by Bill Manson who only works at director level and not full-time (MB: 172; SR: 221, 228).⁸¹ At the moment, the community work of Glentoran is on a purely voluntary basis, although the OCOC-Project could have attracted further funding (SR: 202, 218f.).

Considering all the initiatives and troubles the data analysis in Chapter 6 will provide a valuable insight if Glentoran were able to contribute to conflict transformation in NI.

⁷⁷ Glentoran (2014c) adopted the UEFA Ten Point Plan (2003: 37) against racism and discrimination. The analysis of Jarman (2007) about the overall impact of it in the Irish League is very interesting.

⁷⁸ Bairner and Shirlow (2000) and Shirlow (2005) deliver a fruitful description of how territoriality plays a huge role of the perception of clubs as either “Roman Catholic” or “Protestant”. The building of the Odyssey Arena for the ice-hockey club Belfast Giants provides a good example of how a neutral location can promote a sectarian-free atmosphere at sport matches (Bairner 2003: 1525-1528).

⁷⁹ CG (180-184), a Glentoran supporter since he was two, highlights “the fact that we have a lot of Catholic players or managers, Catholic, our coaches, our first team staff they are Catholic. So, we’ve playing enough of good players that are Catholic. You know they get all well with Protestant players. So, I would say we are a Protestant club [...] but I don’t think that we are seen as a Protestant club from the outside as much as Linfield would be seen.”

⁸⁰ CG (266-272) describes that in the 60s and 70s there were about 15,000 to 20,000 supporters at home matches. Nowadays, it is about 1,000 at the best matches (ibid.).

⁸¹ SR (225) thinks that Russell Lever left in October/November 2014. Michael Boyd (170) relates to a time about two years ago. But, it is more realistic that he refers to the problems in funding which SR (238-262) describes as well and not referring to the replacement of Lever, which was definitely later. However, it is clear that there is no full-time Community Relations Officer in place.

5. Methodological Approach

Before the data analysis starts, the methodological foundation has to be revealed. This master thesis performs a qualitative research design. Regarding the many preoccupations, in the first part of this chapter the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative research are presented. An introduction of Witzel's PCI follows. The sections 5.3 and 5.4 are about the research process concerning sampling, data collection and transcribing along with data evaluation. Moreover, the used methods are understood in their original Greek meaning as "paths that lead to the goal". Kvale (1996: 4) shares this opinion.

5.1 Benefits and Shortfalls of Qualitative Research

As Bryman (2012: 380) highlights, qualitative research⁸² takes "an epistemological position described as interpretivist, [...] the stress is on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants [...]." Further, Bryman (2012: 381) states another noteworthy feature in saying that "an ontological position described as constructionist, which implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena 'out there' [...]." Insofar, he mentions two important implications of qualitative research concerning *understanding* and *social construction of the world*.⁸³ Flick (2007: 106) supports this point of view, which goes in line with the theoretical framework.⁸⁴

Understanding and social construction are based on an intersubjective reality⁸⁵ and a noticeability of structures through norms and practices (Deutsch 1953: 66-80; Hopf 1998: 173-175). Qualitative research which is intermingled with different theories deals with the uniqueness of the social world (Wrona 2005: 3). In making this social world

⁸² An account of the history of qualitative research and its acceptance in the community of science is made by Bryman (2012: 381f.). Moreover, Blatter et al. (2007: 39-57) give a summary of the developments in qualitative research.

⁸³ At this point probably three of the most important theories having inherent assumptions are *Constructivism* (see Kratochwil 1991; Checkel 1997; Hopf 1998; Ruggie 1998), *Symbolic Interactionism* (see Blumer 1938, 1986) and *Ethnomethodology* (see Garfinkel 1967). The examination of the various differences and emphases goes beyond the scope of this master thesis. For more information see the following secondary literature: Wiener (2007) for *Constructivism*, Reynolds and Herman-Kinney (2003) for *Symbolic Interactionism* or Maynard and Clayman (1991) for *Ethnomethodology*.

⁸⁴ For instance, Lederach (1997: 20) regards peace as a social construct.

⁸⁵ In accordance with Flick (2007: 27), this study understands reality as made by interactions between subjects.

visible, communication or language, which can be illustrated through interviews⁸⁶ (conversation), is a major driver for knowledge formation (Lindlof 1994: 27; Kvale 1996: 19; Reinders 2005: 40; Flick 2007: 103). Lindlof (1994: 163) summarises: “[...] speech performances are the primary means by which social life is enacted, organized and understood.”

To portray this social world in the best manner, the interviews should be done in the natural context throughout the daily routine of the respondents (Reinders 2005: 42).⁸⁷ For that reason, interviews are connected with field research (ibid.).⁸⁸ Schatzmann and Strauss (1973: 5) claim: “The researcher *must* get close to the people whom he studies; he understands that their actions are best comprehended when observed on the spot – in the natural, ongoing environment where they live and work.”

This is of high relevance when considering that qualitative research proclaims a reality which is shaped every day (Bryman 2012: 383). On this account, only descriptions of the social world are possible (Wrona 2005: 6).⁸⁹ Moreover, the researcher himself has to be aware of the own principles and values brought into the scientific process because this subjectivity shapes as well the research conclusions (Schatzmann/Strauss 1973: 2; Flick 2007: 25).

In contrast to this, quantitative research would postulate an objective view of the scientist motivated by natural sciences (Lindlof 1994: 21; Blatter et al. 2007: 39f.; Flick 2007: 27f.).⁹⁰ Beyond, there are other preoccupations qualitative researchers have to deal with such as seeing through the eyes of the participants and subjectivism in general, abductive reasoning, description and the emphasis on context, weight on

⁸⁶ As suggested by Kvale (1996: 2), interviews are understood as an “an inter change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest”.

⁸⁷ One critical point is that an arranged interview is very often no “natural” observation and hierarchical in its structure (Witzel 1982: 72-74). Gillham (2000: 1) asserts an “asymmetrical relationship” to it and Kvale (1996: 5) underlines its professional character. It was tried to face these doubts in creating a comfortable atmosphere and interviewing the respondents at a place and time they preferred like Witzel and Reiter (2012: 64) suggest 30 years later, too. As Lindlof (1994: 194) puts it in words: “[...] interviewing is a social accomplishment of all its participants.”

⁸⁸ This master thesis follows the understanding of Schatzmann and Strauss (1973: 2) of a field or field research: “The field researcher understands that his field – whatever its substance – is continuous with other fields and bound up with them in various ways [...]”

⁸⁹ Thus, this does not exclude explanations in qualitative research (Bryman 2012: 401).

⁹⁰ Of course, this claim of an objective scientist raises the question to what extent this is realistically possible. Quantitative researchers deal with objects which cannot attribute meaning to their environment compared to the capability of subjects of qualitative research: people (Bryman 2012: 399). Flick (2007: 25-29) discusses the issue about objectivity and concludes that it is only an ideal.

process or flexibility, limited structure, problem of generalisation and the lack of transparency (Bryman 2012: 399-405).⁹¹

To face these arguments of arbitrariness and subjectivity it is important to build up this study on intersubjective transparency (Blatter et al. 2007: 36f.; Rosenthal 2008: 98). Furthermore, the different approaches of quantitative and qualitative research need to be in mind. These are illustrated in the following table⁹²:

| Some common contrasts between quantitative and qualitative research | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Quantitative | Qualitative |
| Numbers | Words |
| Point of view of researcher | Points of view of participants |
| Researcher distant | Researcher close |
| Theory testing | Theory emergent |
| Static | Process |
| Structured | Unstructured |
| Generalization | Contextual understanding |
| Hard reliable data | Rich deep data |
| Macro | Micro |
| Behaviour | Meaning |
| Artificial settings | Natural settings |

Figure 4: *Qualitative and Quantitative research in comparison (Bryman 2012: 408)*

With these variances and the specifics of qualitative research mentioned above, it should be clear that the scientific quality criteria (Reliability⁹³, Objectivity⁹⁴ and Validity⁹⁵) cannot be imposed upon qualitative research (Wrona 2005: 39). They are linked to a positivistic understanding of science (ibid.).⁹⁶ Some researchers promote an adapted use of quality criteria in qualitative research (Wrona 2005: 39; Bryman 2012:

⁹¹ During the research process an awareness concerning these factors was necessary. Therefore, all the taken steps are described in style of a schedule for a better understanding (see page 35).

⁹² Bryman (2012: 409f.) and Flick (2007: 47-55) name similarities or possibilities for the combination of qualitative and quantitative research. Qualitative Compared Analysis (QCA) is an example for a combined design (Blatter et al. 2007: 189-235).

⁹³ Reliability describes the steadiness of a measuring instrument which asserts that every measuring of an object has to deliver the same figures (Blatter et al. 2007: 36).

⁹⁴ Validity can be divided into internal and external or ecological validity (Wrona 2005: 40-42). Internal validity raises the question if the instrument really measures what it should test (Blatter et al. 2007: 36). External validity aims at generalization (Wrona 2005: 42). Lamnek (2005: 155) adds that ecological validity is about the appropriateness of the findings in the normal environment of the participants.

⁹⁵ Objectivity asks the measuring results to be independent of the evaluator (Blatter et al. 2007: 36).

⁹⁶ King, Keohane and Verba (1994) were much criticized in their approach to put quantitative quality criteria upon qualitative research (Blatter et al. 2007: 39). Brady and Collier (2004) mention the most important ones in their book.

397f.). Their outcome is that it is important to guarantee communicative validity⁹⁷, triangulation⁹⁸, a good documentation, intersubjective transparency and an adherence to systematic analytical procedure (Wrona 2005: 41-44).⁹⁹ If the researcher is capable of meeting these requirements and is aware of the constraints of qualitative research the findings fulfil scientific criteria.¹⁰⁰

Consequently, the research process followed a schedule presented by Reinders (2005: 120f.) especially designed for a research design with a PCI at its core:

1. Analysis of the research problem → Identification and analysis of a specific research field.
2. Construction of an interview guide → Implementation of identified problems into the interview guide.
3. Pilot-Phase.
4. Interviewing → Interview itself and transcript.
5. Evaluation.

The research problem and the guiding theory have already been presented. They helped to construct the interview guide. Due to restrictions in resources it was not possible to include a time-consuming pilot-phase in the research process.

The steps four and five are at the heart of the research process. Hence, the decision for the PCI and for a qualitative interview in general is explained in the following section.

⁹⁷ Communicate validity means in general that the transcript is shown to the respondents for confirmation (Kvale 1996: 244-248). This was done within this study.

⁹⁸ The standards of triangulation presented by Flick (2007: 44-46) cannot be met in every term. At least a data-triangulation by comparing the results to the existing literature was guaranteed. Researcher- and method-triangulation could not be achieved within the scope of this master thesis. However, Schatzmann and Strauss (1973: 7) say that it is important to evaluate “what could have been gained or learned by any other method or set of techniques.”

⁹⁹ As already said, these criteria are enough to guarantee scientific standards. Kvale (1996: 145) offers other quality criteria for interviews, too.

¹⁰⁰ Schatzmann and Strauss (1973: 7) discovered this aspect some time earlier: “The field researcher is a methodological pragmatist. [...] He understands that every method has built-in capabilities and limitations that are revealed in practice [...]”

5.2 A Look into the Research Field through the Lens of a Problem-Centred Interview

The qualitative research design presented above takes a perfect symbiosis with qualitative interviews.¹⁰¹ Communication plays a central role in qualitative research and the methodology of it explicitly aims for interviews to gain knowledge (Lindlof 1994: 27). Discourse expressed through words marks the corner stone for complex discussions and makes the social reality of the interviewees alive. Indeed, Schatzmann and Strauss (1973: 13) argue: “[...] the observer is an outsider in an otherwise ‘inside world’.” That is absolutely true, but this master thesis tries to capture this inside world¹⁰² through a semi-structured, problem-centred interview.

Almost all qualitative interviews¹⁰³ can be subsumed as semi-structured (Kvale 1996: 27; Reinders 2005: 203; Wrona 2005: 24). They are based on an interview guide (ibid.). In general, qualitative interviews try to cover several objectives consisting of four very important ones presented by Lindlof (1994: 166): Learning about things that cannot be observed directly; understanding a social actor’s view; getting to know processes of interpersonal relationships and triggering the urban language used by respondents in their natural context.¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, the approach¹⁰⁵ was to do a PCI¹⁰⁶ developed by Andreas Witzel (1982) and revised by Witzel and Reiter (2012) almost 30 years later.¹⁰⁷ The starting point is always a relevant problem in society like the research question about the contribution of football to conflict transformation in a divided society (Witzel/Reiter 2012: 4f.).

¹⁰¹ The interview history was quantitative in its beginning. The birth of qualitative interviews can be traced back to the 1980s (Kvale 1996: 8f.).

¹⁰² In this sense the research field.

¹⁰³ For more information for other interview forms see Wrona (2005: 25).

¹⁰⁴ This was a main reason to write this master thesis in English. In addition, it could be avoided to lose specifics in the native language (Wills 1982).

¹⁰⁵ Witzel and Reiter (2012: 7) only concentrate on the interview phase. Originally, Witzel (1982: 74-89) divides his approach into three parts (biographical method, group discussions and case analysis).

¹⁰⁶ Although at first glance a traditional “expert/elite interview” would have been an appropriate interview form. Nevertheless, for two main reasons it was decided against this method. In expert interviews, the respondent and her/his views are not really important; she/he is only seen as a “factor” carrying out his institutions perspective (Meuser/Nagel 2002: 71-73). This is a fact that contradicts the view of the individual respondent experiences as an essential source for knowledge formation. Even more important, PCI already considers interviewees as experts of their own orientations and actions (Mey 1999: 145; Witzel/Reiter 2012: 33f.). Therefore, PCIs can be used to gain expert knowledge (ibid.).

¹⁰⁷ The main difference is that the new book, due to its well recognition in the community of science, is the first one written about PCIs in English (Witzel/Reiter 2012: 8f.). Furthermore, it is longer than the original developed interview method (Witzel/Reiter 2012: 9-11). It has many best-practice examples in it and derives out of 30 years of experience using PCIs (ibid.). The method in itself stayed mainly the same. However, it was attempted to use the citation in the newer version because of the English language.

Through the research process and the interview itself the scientist is allowed to play an active part and not constrained to solely observe (Witzel 1982: 68).¹⁰⁸ Related to this crucial role the researcher should be aware that he is interpreting all the time (Witzel 1982: 69). This view is supported by Kvale (1996: 187).¹⁰⁹

Bearing in mind that the interview is not an everyday situation and that it reveals only selective memories is significant (Witzel 1982: 72-74). Further, it is noteworthy that the qualitative understanding of science implies the situational context and an interpretation of perceptions (George/Bennett 2005: 19; Bryman 2012: 401f.).

Furthermore, the PCI includes the possibility to reveal subjective views of societal problems by the respondents¹¹⁰, a guiding by theory, a combination of a deductive and inductive approach to data and flexibility during the interview process. Consequently, this interview form was considered as the best one (Witzel 1982: 66-70; Reinders 2005: 117-119).¹¹¹

According to Reinders (2005: 119), the PCI perfectly meets the essential principles of qualitative research and complements it ideally. The qualitative framework calling for the criteria of understanding of the individual perspective and the social construction of relation can be met quite well throughout the interview process. Furthermore, Lederach's notion that transformation should consider the subjective realities of individuals can be valued.

The PCI is guided by deduction and induction at the same time. On the one hand, the explained theoretical previous knowledge of the scientist gives the interview guide an organisation (Reinders 2005: 118). This was done in section 2.2. On the other hand, the gained information may be used to modify the questions in an inductive procedure (ibid.).

¹⁰⁸ Kvale (1996: 3) presents two interesting images of an interviewer: as miner or as traveller. The traveller, who sees knowledge formation as a social construction, seems to be more appropriate for this master thesis (Kvale 1996: 5; Witzel/Reiter 2012: 1-4).

¹⁰⁹ This was true considering minor decisions all the time. For example, this had an impact on which words were used in the interview guide or whilst carrying out the interview. Nevertheless, Weiss (1995: 151) points out that full attention for analysis is just paid *after* the interview.

¹¹⁰ This implies to see the interviewee as a reasonable human being who is conscious about his (theoretical) utterances (Witzel/Reiter 2012: 5). Nohl (2009: 22f.) rejects this view. It is difficult to discuss this critical issue here. Nevertheless, it was decided to follow Witzel because all interviewees have been experts about the research problem.

¹¹¹ The PCI fulfils very well the Latin sentence inspired by Aristoteles: *virtus est medium*. This phrase was the major driver throughout the whole scientific process.

Besides, Witzel and Reiter (2012: 24-29) notice three central principles of PCIs:

1. *Problem-Centring*. This feature supposes that the interview should cover one socially relevant problem which is definitely satisfied by the topic of this master thesis.
2. *Process-Oriented*. This means that the research process is flexible and open for integrating new questions into the interview guide. The interviewer should follow the narrative of the interviewee and puts the pre-formulated questions on the right spot. Further, spontaneous arising questions can be asked all the time, if they help to understand the perspective of the interviewee. Again, the interaction between interviewer and respondent is very important and underlines the importance of a trustful atmosphere.
3. *Object-Oriented*. Firstly, it is recognised that a PCI should fit to the research object. Secondly, it implies that the questions should meet the competences of the research subjects.

With reference to the schedule outlined above, the construction of the interview guide was influenced by the theoretical framework and the research interest. The interview guide is an aid to memory for the interviewer and helps him to formulate the whole research problem into individual thematic fields subdivided in flexible questions (Witzel 1982: 90).

Before going over to step four, the interview guide was checked by the mentoring professor for finding possible weaknesses. After some remarks the interview guide was slightly changed and led to the final version (see appendix 1).¹¹² The interview itself followed five phases inspired by Witzel (1982, 2010): An introductory question, general explorations, ad-hoc questions, a short questionnaire and postscript.¹¹³

The introductory question should foster the narration of the interviewee, a trustful atmosphere, leads to the research interest and is very common in its design (Witzel/Reiter 2012: 64-71). The general explorations aim at introducing the questions stated in the interview guide at the right time (Reinders 2005: 121; Witzel/Reiter 2012: 24-29). For the researcher in order to get his answers, a high interviewing competence is

¹¹² Because of restrictions in resources, the model interview guide was not changed afterwards. Nevertheless, it was attempted to introduce relevant issues and questions which came up in the first interview into the next one. Reinders (2005: 124) shares the view that a modified interview guide is desirable but not vital for a master thesis.

¹¹³ Witzel and Reiter (2012: 64-98) later explained this procedure more detailed.

needed (Reinders 2005: 121). During the following ad-hoc-phase the researcher tries to get information about not revealed topics outlined in the interview guide (Witzel 2010: 15). On account of the flexibility of the research process, it is possible that the exploration- and the ad-hoc-phase overlap. Against the original impetus of Witzel (1982: 89f.) and in consensus with Flick (2007: 212) and Witzel and Reiter (2012: 91f.) a short questionnaire was accomplished *after* the interview (see appendix 2).

As suggested by Witzel and Reiter (2012: 95), the postscript was done immediately after the interview (see appendix 3). Lindlof (1994: 176) describes the main purpose of the postscript: “In fact, interviews are speech events informed by norms and rules, in which every utterance and nonverbal sign contributes to the social reality created in the interview.”¹¹⁴

5.3 Sampling the Data and Approach for Data Collection

Before being able to do the postscript it was required to turn the attention to the “prescript” in terms of sampling and data collection. Qualitative research designs very often deal with small-n-studies¹¹⁵ (George/Bennett 2005: 22f.; Blatter et al. 2007: 60). The objectives are to get profound knowledge about one case and to draw a more complex and differentiated picture of the examined football project and its implications (Wrona 2005: 10; Blatter et al. 2007: 127). It is of no concern that the OCOC-Project was chosen “on purpose” regarding Glentoran’s history of involvement with both sides of the community and the cooperation possibilities (Schatzmann/Strauss 1973: 38f.; Witzel/Reiter 2012: 61).

Further, it is important to acknowledge that it is an aim to gain new perspectives out of diverse experiences made by individuals and to identify new variables which goes in accordance with the PCI (George/Bennett 2005: 21; Wrona 2005: 10; Flick 2007: 27). This means to be able to draw conclusions for other football projects or other divided societies out of the chosen sample.

For getting access to the field of the respondents, Stafford Reynolds functioned as a gatekeeper. He made it possible to get the contact details of several actors who have knowledge about the project. They were contacted at the 5th of December 2014. The

¹¹⁴ Schmidt (1997: 546f.) agrees with this view.

¹¹⁵ King et al. (1994) present a valuable critique of small-n-studies. As an answer to this, George und Bennett (2005: 22-34) counter many frequent points of their criticism.

data collection was influenced by the theoretical interest. Stafford Reynolds identified key individuals from different areas. The gatekeeper has two disadvantages declared by Reinders (2005: 140): He is likely to choose only persons he favours and conducting a biased selection. In presenting the detailed research agenda and the underlying objectives to Reynolds, it was attempted to confront these “imperfect” conditions. Moreover, some persons (Neil Jarman, Mark Langhammer or Ken McCue) were independently contacted. Nevertheless, Stafford Reynolds did a great service, because he generated a leap of faith and had a better knowledge of the investigated field; two important advantages according to Reinders (2005: 140). Especially the advance in trust was of high relevance for the later interview situation to create a trustful atmosphere which stayed through all the interviews. This setting made it possible to gain knowledge and honest insights about difficult topics.

As already mentioned mails¹¹⁶ were written to three additional persons independent of Stafford Reynolds. In total, seven mails contained a positive answer about an appointment for an interview in Belfast and three were negative¹¹⁷ which made ten written mails in complete. This number of interviews concurs perfectly with the amount of six to eight PCIs suggested by Reinders (2005: 125) for master theses. In the end, the respondents were:¹¹⁸

- **NJ** = Neil Jarman (Professor at Queen’s University Belfast and Director Institute for Conflict Research Belfast).
- **MB** = Michael Boyd (Director of Football Development at the IFA).
- **CG** = Chris Gorman (Human Resources Employee and Social Media Volunteer for Glentoran).
- **KMC** = Ken McCue (International Officer at SARI and Cultural Planner).
- **SR** = Stafford Reynolds (Former Glentoran chairman and director of Glentoran Youth Academy).
- **RMK** = Ronan McKenna (Sports Development Manager at Shaftesbury Community Recreation Centre in South Belfast).
- **JH** = Jonathan Hodge (Community Worker and Company Director of Art).

¹¹⁶ The mails were standardised (see appendix 4).

¹¹⁷ Two of the negative answers can be classified as “not getting back” to the request.

¹¹⁸ The respondents are presented in chronological order of interviews and including their transcript abbreviation.

The variance in jobs of the respondents allowed different perspectives and insights towards the research question. The age variance was between 24 and 70 years with all being male. Two did not disclose their religion, one was Roman Catholic (RMK), one was Atheist (KMC) and three were Protestants (CG, SR and JH). Also concerning nationality, the study had a balanced variance including three Irish, three British and one Northern Irish citizen.¹¹⁹ Five out of seven had football as favourite sport in contrast to Hurling (RMK) and Cricket (JH). This master thesis included residents from all parts of Belfast. Furthermore, KMC living in Dublin (ROI) and JH living in Larne in East Antrim. Scientific confidentiality criteria and ethics in qualitative research proclaimed by Flick (2007: 56-70) and Kvale (1996: 109-123) asked for an informed consent of the respondents to publish their data (see appendix 2). It was inspired by Lindlof (1994: 99) and Kvale (1996: 112-114).

The interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder.¹²⁰ The advantages¹²¹ were the ability to completely concentrate on the difficult interview task, to gather linguistic turns like pauses or a variation in tone (Witzel 1982: 91). Voice recording is for Witzel (1982: 91) the best solution to conduct a PCI. It demanded to transcript the whole interview (ibid.).¹²² This went in line with the methodological criteria.

The interview guide had to be changed throughout the interview process. For instance, the question turned up, if football is different to other sports. This question was initially not included. Another point was the misunderstanding of the request to utter own experiences. This sometimes did not include personal experiences like Michael Boyd's (MB: 38f.) statement about a "death threat" rather than general knowledge like the Neil Lennon incident. Besides, the words "young people" were put into the final question. It could not be certain if every interviewee already had own children.

A critical aspect was that the concentration on the interview guide and the listening to the respondent sometimes did not allow perfect follow-up questions.¹²³ It could be discussed what could be classified as the ideal follow-up question. Nevertheless,

¹¹⁹ Here, it was noteworthy what the interviewees wrote down about citizenship.

¹²⁰ The interviews have been recorded with an OLYMPUS VN-7700 digital voice recorder. They were backed up with the recording function of a mobile phone. This was done in order to face eventually occurring technical problems, which did fortunately not arise.

¹²¹ A disadvantage compared to video recording is that it is not possible to catch mimic and gesture (Kvale 1996: 160). The postscript is a solution to fill this gap.

¹²² There were just few exceptions of the rule because of practical reasons. For example, if the abstract was completely off-topic the passage was summarised in a commentary. All the transcripts are attached together in a CD with for example the category system or the recorded data (see appendix 6).

¹²³ An example for improving interview method is delivered by Bradburn and Sudman (1979).

throughout the transcription process it was noticed that some more appropriate questions would have been possible at some point.

Furthermore, some problems occurred with the background noises during the interviews especially concerning the setting in the Linen Hall Library with KMC and SR. It was difficult to understand the verbal utterings of the respondents. A better environment will definitely be required in these cases for future interviews.

5.4 Transcripts and Data Evaluation

The setting influenced the flow of the transcription process. Without doubt the transcription was of high relevance throughout the research process and took longer than expected. All in all, 92 pages, 3.004 lines, 43.314 words and four hours, 25 minutes and 45 seconds of digital recording underscore this finding. The average interviewing time of almost 38 minutes was longer than the original planning of 15 to 20 minutes.

In any case the respondents were contacted to confirm their transcript. Four (KMC, MB, NJ, CG) reviewed the transcript with two making some changes (NJ, KMC) to it.¹²⁴ These changes were included, if they were related to incomprehensible parts or allowed for additional comments. The original flow of the interview was not changed. This approach was not easy to concur with some remarks in the reviews.

It was required to turn reality into text and make the text reality (Flick 2007: 383). As Kvale (1996: 168) notes information which are not transcribed are missing and do in consequence not exist:

“The emphasis on the linguistic constitution of reality, on the contextuality of meaning, and on knowledge as arising from the transitions and breaks, however, involves sensitivity to and a focus on the often overlooked transcription stage [...].”

That makes clear why a transcript is always a reduction of original data (Reinders 2005: 248). Furthermore, according to Kvale (1996: 167), “transcripts are decontextualized conversations. [...] The flow of conversation [...] is replaced by the fixated, stable written text.” That highlights the controversy between oral and written language. That is

¹²⁴ Not answering was treated as silent acceptance because everyone gave his consent after the interview.

why it was chosen to transcript (almost) the whole dialogue. It allowed at least a traceability of conversation for the reader.¹²⁵

A well-performed traceability is essential because there are many different formal existing standards for transcripts (Schmidt 1997: 546; Flick 2007: 379; Witzel/Reiter 2012: 99). As a result, an own transcript and notation system inspired by Reinders (2005: 256) was chosen (see appendix 5). Furthermore, this master thesis used basic orthography. This means that the spoken word was transcribed after the rules of written language. The disadvantage of losing specifics of spoken language was accepted (Reinders 2005: 254). Additionally, if the interview flow was not interrupted or influenced comments like “yeah” or a gesture like nodding were not written down in the transcript. It was listened to the voice recording data either by slowing down the speed of the conversation or by listening in normal speed with start and stop-technique. Eventually, the said words were rewound due to problems with pronunciation and word-spelling. Sometimes these challenges required repetitive listening to some parts after admitting that it is an incomprehensible part of the dialogue. The transcription of all interviews required almost four weeks.

¹²⁵ For instance, Nohl (2009: 46f.) only demands the transcription of the important parts which completely contradicts our theoretical and methodological background.

6. Data Analysis

The confirmation of the respondents led the pathway for the data analysis. The method of data analysis and the evaluation categories are presented in section 6.1 followed by the discussion of research data.

6.1 Method of Data Analysis and Evaluation Categories

Kvale¹²⁶ (1996: 181) and Rosenthal (2008) agree that the analysing method should not be too static. Fixed rules and criteria represent a disregard of knowledge production and expertise in a flexible qualitative research design.¹²⁷ Such a data analysing method is presented by Schmidt (1997: 545) who focuses towards an interchanging process between interview transcripts, postscript and the theoretical knowledge. In accordance with section 2.2 it is theory orientated and not completely theory driven.

As a result, the data evaluation process is inspired by Schmidt's method (1997: 547-555). It was decided to introduce five categories¹²⁸ connected to the questions in the interview guide, which displayed Lederach's framework (see figure 3). The whole interview was important to relate statements to the categories; not only the answers to one specific question (Schmidt 1997: 557). That circumstance helped to enforce the principles of a flexible evaluation process and theoretical openness. Schmidt (1997: 551) describes the technique of intensive reading to allocate the statements to the categories and discover new categories. This was done with the first two times of reading. For instance, after the first review it was decided to locate all statements which attempted to assign a value to one measure to the category "Contribution of OCOC-Project to Community Relations" and not to "Action and Measures to Deal with Sectarianism". The latter category only includes general ideas about projects aimed at improving community relations and at fostering conflict transformation.

To meet the criteria of intersubjectivity, traceability and a good documentation the interpretation of the interviews is always proofed with passages out of the text (Schmidt 1997: 563). Further, this procedure had the advantage to redefine former allocations, if

¹²⁶ Kvale (1996: 174) adds many valuable inputs. Anyway, his preference of computer analysis allows for some criticism because it leaves the important element of the researcher out of the transcription process.

¹²⁷ That is why the data analysing method of Mayring (2008) is of no interest for this master thesis.

¹²⁸ The five categories were named at the beginning: Sectarianism in Northern Irish Football, Sectarianism in Connection to Belfast's Past and Present, Actors and Measures to deal with Sectarianism, Contribution of OCOC-Project to Communities, and Chances for a desired Future for Belfast.

they were not suiting with other quotes. Considering the flexibility of evaluation categories new categories were introduced and the names of existing ones were changed throughout a third intensive reading (Schmidt 1997: 547f.).¹²⁹ Afterwards the related quotes were eventually relocated again. Through this phase a sixth category was introduced. The diverse potentials of football and other sports in addressing sectarianism was a topic named by many respondents. Moreover, the first category was changed from “Sectarianism in Northern Irish Football” to “Sectarianism in Irish Football” because as mentioned in section 2.1 and Chapter 3 the history of both sporting bodies is closely linked.¹³⁰

The evaluation process finally resulted in six categories. As Schmidt (1997: 556) suggests, these categories were refined¹³¹ by acknowledging the different codes included in them (see appendix 7). The relevant topics will be filled with content in the next chapter.

6.2 Glentoran’s Contribution to Conflict Transformation

In a social world and research field, which are constantly changing, it was essential to get actual insights about the various topics. The interviewees shared valuable field experiences concerning Lederach's (1997: 114f.) infrastructure of peacebuilding consisting of the reality, transformation and a desired future. It was decided to discuss the categories, which are relevant for the research question, more than others. Otherwise the data output would go beyond the scope of this master thesis.

6.2.1 Sectarianism in Irish Football

NJ (34-36) notes that “[...] football brings with it [...] a lot of baggage. So, football is [...] almost (.) a perfect example of how sectarianism and division has worked within Ireland [...]” NJ (42-44) confirms Bairner (1997: 108f.) in his perception that football, the conflict and the divisions between the communities were closely linked. For instance, there was sectarian abuse between players or mono-religious clubs (NJ: 194, 424-426). Nevertheless, SR (76-78) points out to the fact that “[...] football had always been inclusive in a sense that we had people from all colours, classes, grades, (.)

¹²⁹ This review allowed a constant exchange with the transcripts (Schmidt 1997: 565).

¹³⁰ For other name changes compare final categories with categories in footnote 128.

¹³¹ This allows other researchers finding statements to a specific topic easier. Furthermore, it brings more structure into the huge pool of research data. The transcripts cover other topics, which were beyond the scope of this master thesis, too.

religious backgrounds and political backgrounds playing against each other, playing with each other (.).”

This perception does not deny that sectarianism is still present in football today (SR: 17). NJ (580-585) summarises:

“[...] you know people will turn up specifically for sectarian events. It will bring people in and there are people out in society who are very sectarian and they will look for opportunities where they can be sectarian relatively safely and football provides that because it’s going just as parades provide that.”

Although, CG (142-145; 153-170) has never experienced sectarian violence in the Irish League, it is quite evident that for example sectarian chanting is still there (MB: 81-83; SR: 22).¹³² But there seems to be a culture of self-policing (CG: 201-204; MB: 81-83). Probably, the decrease of sectarian incidents goes hand in hand with the declining attendance figures in the Irish League (MB: 70-74). CG (319-328) and NJ (232f.) are both certain that a bigger audience would bring more sectarianism with it. NJ (67-73) names the case of the now successful Cliftonville as prime example.

Nowadays, NJ (206f.; 250-255) recognises an interesting feature which he noticed at a match on Christmas Day 2014 between Crusaders and Cliftonville. He classifies this experience as “football abuse” or “football rivalry” (ibid.). NJ highlights an interesting aspect which RMK (350-353) clarifies:

“So, it has been a lot of work done to break out there but [...] soccer can still have that flipside and you know if people wanting to that can become sectarianism and it can used as a sectarian tool as well and that’s unfortunate like I don’t even think the clubs want that [...]”

Football is used as a medium for hatred against the other community. It supports the argument made by Zick, Heitmeyer and Küpper (2010) that sectarianism is only a syndrome. KMC’s (59-68) description of a scene from the European Cup match in 1967 against Benfica of Lisbon underlines that assumption:

“[...] suddenly because of the atmosphere and the performance of Glentoran I suppose like they all converted [...] to Glentoran. My mates didn’t convert to Protestantism but they certainly converted to Glentoran because they did so well at the end of the day. It is very interesting because we didn’t have any problem with the black Eusebio of Benfica but with the Protestant Glentoran (laughing). Football - full of contradictions.”

¹³² At this point the already mentioned remarks in Chapter 3 for the international level are proven. The atmosphere at international matches is much better than it was about 15 years ago (MB: 52-54; NJ: 362). MB (59-62) and NJ (350-357) talk about creative initiatives to remove sectarian elements at internationals. Nowadays, even Roman Catholics attend the matches (NJ: 383f.). Nevertheless, NJ (373) confirms Hassan (2002) that there are still sectarian elements like the singing of the national anthem.

This example shows the complexity of the sectarian cleavage working together with psychodynamics and historical images of the other which are closely linked to the Irish conflict. They seem to get their expression throughout a football match but are just a learned way to deal with the other community without reflecting the whole situation. NJ (47-49) acknowledges the findings of Sugden and Bairner (1993: 130) that football targets at the most affected group: the working-class.

But in supporting Zick's, Heitmeyer's and Küppel's (2010) argument, NJ (588-594) also mentions another crucial aspect considering intra-Protestant rivalries:

“[...] the worst violence in football [...] is between Linfield and Glentoran rather than between Linfield and Cliftonville or Cliftonville and Glentoran (laughing) [...]. It's at football rivalry and [...] sometimes there are aspects where the sectarianism of Northern Ireland (.) is very similar to the kind of territorial rivalries you get in many cities which is associated with games or between different football groups. **They have a sectarian dimension to it because that's the way it works.** *[emphasis by the author].*”

Magee (2005: 176, 185) mentions that the main rivalry at Irish League level between Glentoran and Linfield is between two Protestant clubs, as admitted by CG (145-147) and NJ (269-271), too. NJ (269-271) states that a friend of him “would not go watch Northern Ireland play because he would not pay money to get in to Windsor Park (laughing) because that will give money to Linfield (laughing).” For example, the Protestant Crusaders allowed Roman Catholic Cliftonville to play the last match in 2013 at their home ground instead of celebrating their championship triumph at an away stadium (NJ: 90-92).

It is much about perception of the clubs and their connection to the past. MB (237-239) acknowledges that “there is still a negative perception of football you know people see it as sectarian, people see it as trouble and I don't think that's a fair perception [...].” CG (296-301) and JH (56-58) share his view. Additionally, CG (174-185) describes the perception of Glentoran:

“[...] I think if you ask a lot of fans they will see Glentoran as a Protestant club but I think the club themselves you know (.) we wouldn't necessarily be seen as a Protestant club by say a neutral fan. [...] The fact that we have a lot of Catholic players or managers, Catholic, our coaches, our first team staff they are Catholic. So, we've playing enough of good players that are Catholic. You know they get all well with Protestant players. So, I would say we are a Protestant club but we aren't (.) we aren't but I don't think that we are seen as a Protestant club from the outside as much as Linfield would be seen.”

SR (92-96) again highlights the fact that Glentoran never had a policy of exclusion. Nevertheless, according to NJ (51-53), all the Irish League clubs have a strong “identity as either Protestant or Catholic and therefore their support will be mainly from more Protestant or Catholic teams.” It is difficult to break through this image. Therefore, this can lead to grotesque situations, when NJ (250-255) describes:

“The trouble see with the clubs there is a mixture of sectarian rivalry in just football type rivalry at what’s going on and I suspect that the supporters and the clubs are more segregated, single identity than the players (laughing). So, you have this bizarre contradiction where you have a Protestant supporter, supporting and cheering for a team of Catholics because they play for a Protestant team (laughing).”

Here, the complexity of rivalries at Irish League level gets visible. Aspects of group solidarity and collective identity, which Sugden and Bairner (1993: 30) and Erhart (2006: 19) mentioned, definitely play an important part in that puzzle. But bearing in mind that all teams are identified with one side or the other, but not the individual players, supports Guttman’s (1986: 2) argument which calls for a differentiation between the passive role of the spectator and the active role of the footballer. The spectators identify a team like Glentoran as a Protestant team. At the same time, they do not care or respectively forget that Roman Catholic players are lining up for them. It takes a Roman Catholic player to move to Cliftonville to being noticed as Roman Catholic sportsman. The same was true for Neil Lennon. It was not important that he is Roman Catholic until he moved to Celtic Glasgow. So, the players are subordinated to the clubs’ identity, which draws from the past and the area that the clubs are based in.

6.2.2 Differences in Addressing Sectarianism between Football and other Sports

Acknowledging the sectarian past of football it seems that other sports are better in addressing sectarian issues. NJ (411-418) shares that opinion:

“The Giants [*Belfast ice-hockey team*] got big crowds and I think the fact was that it was no sectarian identity to ice hockey. It was like basketball a neutral sport, no history [...]. But also the venue is neutral it wasn’t in a residential area linked to one community or the other [...]. I think they didn’t have that baggage that football has.”

Furthermore, NJ (40-42) argues that middle-class sports like cricket, rugby or hockey have one national team for the whole island of Ireland. KMC (195f., 268-278) mentions the big efforts of the GAA in breaking down barriers, although it is still heavily connected to nationalism and the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

Nevertheless, KMC (190-193) and MB (249-260) argue that football is the best sport in addressing sectarianism due to their universal approach. SR (80-84) supports them. This is why MB (264-272) is keen in stating that he thinks that

“when you look at what we [*the IFA*] do for you know the community whether it’s disability groups, anti-sectarian work, anti-racism work, work with homeless, schools, sports anything to do social inclusion (.). When it comes to that as an organisation that’s something the IFA really is good at you know it’s something we are proud of. [...] when it comes to working with marginalised groups, dealing with the past and [...] peace and reconciliation. No sport goes to the place where we go you know, [...], work with the most at risk [...] the most marginalised groups, put ‘Football for All’ really for everybody (laughing).”

All three of them have a football background and maybe provide a too optimistic view on the advantages of football towards other sports. Of course, sport in general can play a positive role. According to JH (11-15), “one of the main strengths [...] is that it is one of the few opportunities (.) within segregated communities where we have the opportunity to meet people from different backgrounds.” It is not possible to draw final conclusions about the difference between the power of football and other sports. JH (168-182), with his cricket background, concludes with a more neutral point of view:

“[...] I suppose football would be more [...] a working-class sport and maybe hockey, cricket even GAA [*Gaelic sports*] and (2.5) rugby would be middle-class sports and (1.5) they [...] deal with [*sectarianism*] in a different way (.). [...] I’d just think that football is played in areas that have (.) experienced the conflict more than (.) like rugby for example. So, in such it [...] replicates those lines certainly in terms of supporters not necessarily in terms of [...] players. You could have a team that is supported by all loyalists and have a few Catholic players playing for it and they are left alone but [...] on the one hand it’s an issue within football but on the other hand **it provides football an opportunity because it is probably the one sport that’s working right at the hardest [...] to reach areas.** [*emphasis by the author*].”

Here, JH supports Guttman’s (1986: 4) viewpoint, too. The image, the spectators have towards a specific club, is essential to the club’s perception.

6.2.3 Sectarianism in Connection to Belfast’s Past and Present

The identity and perception of a club is closely related to location. All the teams are based in single identity areas (NJ 294f.). SR (88-92) puts this problem in words:

“There would be [*sectarianism*] and [...] that arises from location. The clubs are in the area they are in and these areas were all branded and therefore the assumption very often is that because a club is in (.) an area that its comprises those people, comprises the elements within that. For example Glentoran would be considered in a loyalist Protestant area.”

CG (174f.) and NJ (387f.) share this view and complement that the perception plays an enormous role in this construct. As described by NJ (77-80), this leads to incidents:

“The tensions are between people (.) who believe (.) on the route that the Cliftonville supporters walk to the ground who say they get abused or they get offended by the way that Cliftonville supporters are behaving.”

Additionally, CG (351-357) assumes that

“[...] maybe they [*Catholics*] were sort of intimidated to come near the Protestant area [...] and other Catholic areas that came to Glentoran are maybe sort of unconscious, unconsciously passing down to their kids ‘I don’t want you going to Glentoran’. I think there is a big, big barrier that will take a lot of work to get all Catholic you know [*to*] Glentoran area.”

NJ (301-306) would be surprised if many Short Strand residents go to watch Glentoran. He mentions that they have a special entrance for Roman Catholics at certain matches (ibid.). This goes down to massive divisions in Belfast. They lead to situations where people of one religion have never been to places being associated with the other faith (RMK: 583-586). This fear is (unconsciously) passed down from parents to their children (CG: 368-373). KMC (74-78) remarks:

“[...] a lot of the sectarianism is down to the ghettoisation of the city of Belfast because they avoided them and because there’s also a territorial division as well between the rest of the city you know for Linfield have the fans from the South and part of West Belfast and (.) Glentoran will be East Belfast and is only team in there with a population size of Cork and (.) I think there has always been, that’s a territorial thing.”

As SR (88-92) already revealed, perceptions are evident here. It is a sufficient reason for a Roman Catholic or Protestant to not go into another area if it is branded as Protestant or Roman Catholic. NJ (599-605) concurs with the concept of group-focused enmity and with Lederach’s idea (1997: 17) when he states that

“[...] with young people, teenagers where they are now using mobile phones and social media to organise coming together to fight between rival groups. [...] Kids maybe from this Protestant area coming to fight with that Catholic area. [...] So, it’s a sectarian dimension to it but it’s also youth gang rivalry over territory [...].”

The impression that sectarianism is merely used as a reason to legitimate anti-social or violent behaviour is again confirmed. This is not only true for football but for the entire society, too. And it will stay like this for a long time in the words of MB (31-34): “Sectarianism is an issue that you know [...] it’s not something just tackle you know in Northern Ireland [...]. It’s something you always have to be working against and be vigilant [...].” SR (19f.) assists him in saying that “[...] there’s still elements of

sectarianism and bigotry in Northern Ireland.” Although all respondents (CG: 330-338; JH: 66-83; KMC: 97-100; MB: 31-34; NJ: 479f., RMK: 63-68; SR: 27-31) recognise the improvement of the situation, NJ (479f.) acknowledges that “[...] for me there’s a contradiction. Has it [*sectarianism*] improved ‘Yes’. Is it still a major problem ‘Yes’.”

All interviewees blame politics and politicians for that (CG: 330-338; JH: 66-83; KMC: 101-107; MB: 311-314; NJ: 607-612; RMK: 562-564; SR: 150f.). SR (150f.) thinks that “[...] some of our politics is quite negative still [...]” This unrest in politics sometimes flours up at football matches as with the flag issues (NJ: 471f.). Although, CG (330-338) rejects this view out of his own experiences, it is obvious that politics and football are connected, as proclaimed by some other authors (Hoberman 1984: 20; Sugden/Bairner 1993: 136; Fulton 2005: 156).

RMK (63-68) assumes that a complete turn of the situation after the Belfast Agreement cannot be expected:

“I suppose being realistically you know Northern Ireland fifteen years ago was obviously a bit of a warzone you know until the ceasefires and the peace process [...]. I have to be realistically in a sense coming out of that it doesn’t make a leap switch (.) that turned it off one day and everything [...] turned normal. There’s even today deep rooted you know sectarianism and still the people are going through.”

KMC (183-188) shares this opinion, describing the awful killing of a friend and concludes that “it’s a very, very, quite a long time to rebuild that.” Nevertheless, SR (332f.) formulates an appeal towards politics: “Get the real things done, get on with the real things. Avoid, get away from that stuff [flag issues] because that’s all diversion on the things that are really, really important.”

KMC (101-104) supports this view and sums up the most urgent faults of politicians:

“Issues like sectarianism hasn’t been addressed properly. Ghettoisation still exists, people are still avoided you know geographically. They grow up in different parts of the city, born in different hospitals in many ways (.) go to different schools, separate schools, the segregation of teacher[s *in training*] [...]”

The community sector is still suffering the most out of insufficient measures, although years ago they did the groundwork for the politicians to be able settling the conflict (MB: 31-34). According to NJ (607-612), politics did not move forward because “the entire system of governance here is based around sectarian rivalry. You are a Unionist or a Nationalist and if you are not you are not very central to the key decision-making. And therefore, football has a role to play (laughing) but it can’t deliver the whole.”

Consequently, from the elaborated status quo it is interesting which actors and measures can contribute to conflict transformation and if a football project may be relevant.

6.2.4 Actors and Measures to Deal with Sectarianism

Politics deals with issues like sectarianism, location, segregation or division over Belfast. As a consequence, the respondents identified the responsibility of politicians to address sectarianism. NJ (623-629) agrees with that and suggests an initiative:

“[...] you also need the overarching framework from within the political dimension [...] and that is still lacking. What we need is something like Martin McGuinness¹³³ [...]. We want Martin McGuinness in the final match for Northern Ireland that would be you know the sort of thing that you want to see that extra bit on top.”

For SR (48-50), it is the liability of politics to create a tolerant society, to show leadership and understanding. SR (62-65) adds:

“I think when you are in areas where you have fences and segregation and (.) walls then the people are responding to that. By throwing insults over walls and over fencing and the removal of all those things creates a much more friendly and (.) welcoming environment.”

It is the task of politics to work for proper surroundings in which people's behaviour responds positively to them (SR: 56f.). JH (101-114) also points out to relationship-building which is an essential source of conflict transformation for Lederach. For JH (ibid.) the government needs to provide opportunities for encounters:

“[...] people are living in segregated communities [incomprehensible 2.0] through a government programme have the chance to meet and perhaps that makes [...] the potential for violence and future conflict less [...]. That means to take these into a wider civic sphere where people see outside of their own community and engage with different backgrounds. [...] it influences your cultural perception whereas if [...] I'd stayed, I got a job at a local business and if I hadn't stepped outside that I think my viewpoint would have been different. And, I think people definitely need to be able (.) be able to see more.”

Other ideas related to other measures are viewing relationships as a central resource for conflict transformation as RMK (146-151) states:

“I think in more especially with young people [...] both Catholics and Protestants coming together on a regular basis that relieves [...]. And there's actual if we come together on that then maybe you get to know the kids a lot better and that starts the adults get to know each other a bit better and realise maybe that isn't as much an issue. A lot maybe it's perception [...].”

¹³³ Martin McGuinness is the current deputy First Minister of NI. He is a Sinn Féin politician (Vice-President of the party) and a former IRA member. For more information about McGuinness' background see <http://www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/people/biography/mcpeople.htm>.

It is interesting that perception is again a critical issue to tackle. It is about taking Roman Catholics and Protestants to different venues by challenging their former opinions (JH: 154-157; RMK: 274-276; 300-311). Sport is one of the few opportunities to meet people from other backgrounds in divided societies and bring people together (JH: 12-14; KMC: 115-119). JH (196-226) describes this in an example:

“No, I think it’s up at a whole cultural education and I think [...] the more people come together the more they get used to it and like each other but it might be the opposite the more they come together the more they dislike each other (laughing) that can happen too and I am not saying that. But I think generally speaking (.) the more (.) people are spend time together the more or least they realise that there’s a common humanity within [...] and sport is one thing in [*common*] interest that unites them. But again I just think that football (1.5) works with so many young people and (.) I think there’s a definite opportunity [...]. [...] I think both sport and culture there needs to be a sense that these are something that everyone can access and they are not politicised [...] and [...] it’s [...] important.”

Before bringing people together they have to be certain to be in a safe space. That is why the police and the stewards at venues have an important part to play (NJ: 128-131; 210-212; 219-226). One main challenge in comparison to England is that all the stewards are volunteers and badly trained (NJ: 133-142, 151-154). Whereas in England, a season ticket holder would just lose his seat after an abuse, the task is much more difficult in the Irish League (*ibid.*). In the opinion of NJ (132) it is all about the question: “How can you intervene to stop the abuse?” One method practiced in NI is to intervene afterwards in order to prevent other people of joining in (NJ: 148f.). As already mentioned, nowadays there very often is a climate of self-policing at Irish League matches (CG: 201-204; MB: 81-83).

As other issues, in the opinion of JH (86-96) and RMK (204-208) this is going to be a generational thing and will take its time. As already described above, the respondents are positive about the contribution football is able to make to conflict transformation (*ibid.*). Only NJ (423) is more pessimistic about that: “[...] I’d like to think that it can.” For that reason, in the opinion of KMC (238-251) and MB (232f.) other actors like businesses, the European Union or community groups need to get more involved. In accordance with Lederach (1997: 17), KMC (238-251) asserts that funding is an important issue related to this to ensure sustainability.

Sustainability is essential. Otherwise, in the opinion of JH (247), “the chances to get together again are zero”. MB (230-232) supports this view. However, one-off projects like the one the community centre of RMK (77-81) conducted are important too:

“A lot of the events that we’ve done around sport were targeted at that time the year [*the marching season*] to encourage kids to maybe come away from the flashpoints in the interfaces that might exist in Belfast and (.) trying to get the kids into something positive with sport and football.”

But before football clubs or the IFA come in, it requires the right individuals and youth leaders to address sectarianism in a difficult setting. MB (38f.) admits out of a personal experience that it is a serious task for individuals: “[...] I experienced you know personally myself I had a death threat (.) sent into the association because we were doing anti-sectarian work.” Consequently, MB (319-321) tries to define a profile for “the right people who are really dynamic, committed and respected you know within the fans groups and that’s the field you know.” Some pioneers in the view of NJ (458), are Mark Langhammer (Crusaders), Gerard Lawlor (Cliftonville), Andy Conn (Linfield) or Stafford Reynolds (Glentoran), who became “the Champions for that kind of work [...]” Or as MB (146-148) argues: “These guys have weight and spoke to (.) different sort of gang members if you like in the community and said look we try and move on and they’ve taken stance with a great personal risk.” Complemented by forward and outward looking youth leaders, individuals at the grassroots level are essential to transform a conflict through football (JH: 137-146).

But these individuals could not have a bigger impact, without having the support base of a football club, which acts at a middle level. A person is only able to make an impact if others get on the road as well.¹³⁴ Besides, the clubs for example need the top level work the IFA is doing in establishing the “Football for All” campaign and in tackling sectarianism (KMC: 130, 285-296; 305-310; NJ: 453-455).

But it is the Irish League clubs who have to lead with their great potential. This concurs with Lederach’s view that middle-level leaders are the best ones to foster conflict transformation (MB: 307f.; NJ: 623). Of course, there are huge differences between the amounts of work clubs are doing (MB: 93-95; NJ: 167-169). Further, the community work is very often up to the big Belfast clubs, since the smaller clubs do not have the capacities (MB: 123-126; NJ: 178f.).

¹³⁴ For instance, the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi’s Salt March got more inspiring because others followed his example.

In the opinion of MB (216-223)

“[...] football clubs should be (.) centres of the community, people should be using the facilities, the clubs should be more than 90 minutes on Saturday you know. It should be (.) a space where learning and development happens and people get experience and young people are aspiring being part of it. That’s what a club, a vibrant healthy club engages in forms I like and I think, I think there’s a lots of potential to happen within Irish League clubs (.). I think you know it’s just about getting the right people in there and having the right structures and strategies.”

However, the lacking of capacity cannot not be an excuse for the “glorified amateur clubs” (MB: 124) especially because some clubs are paying a lot of money to players (MB: 123-126). SR (42-45) remarks:

“I think it’s responsibility of everybody and certainly the clubs as well. [...] in terms of control other peoples’ behaviour and crowd behaviour is not easy to control. You can do announcements, you can do messages and notices during the World Cup”

Loud speaker announcements are no expensive measure. Anyway, NJ (158f.) doubts that many people listen to it. Every club has his individual history and problems, but the initiatives should all be based about engaging with the community, integrating young people, adopting policies like the UEFA Ten Point Plan or education (KMC: 303-305; MB: 110-114; NJ: 200-203, 289-294, 433-436). Many clubs in NI (Cliftonville, Crusaders, Glentoran or Linfield), Scottish teams (Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers) or even ROI clubs (Derry City and Dundalk) are involved in community work in NI, always bearing in mind the flipside of sectarianism (KMC: 130-132; 187-189; 190-192; 325-329; NJ: RMK: 324-340, 359-366). In these terms a cross-border and anti-sectarian programme similar to SARI’s “Living Together Through Football” programme inspired by “Dunfield”, with Linfield (NI) and Dundalk (ROI) involved, was perceived easier to realise (NJ: 332f.). MB (329-343) summarises the responsibility Irish League clubs have and the kind of community relations work they should do:

“For me it’s about education [...] clubs can provide whether it’s a playing education or it’s a volunteering education or it’s work experience at some sort. [...] The club needs to know (.) it’s history you know. It needs to know what its links with the community, what its potential, what the community wants from it. The club needs to listen to its fans, needs to listen to its community. From that at least develop its plans, within that provide this education, this experience they need to partner up with business, with community groups, partner up with education authorities. There is so many you know football can be a great hook for great experience, for great education [...] The potential is in giving value to your community through experience and education [...].”

Glentoran try to fulfil these claims through their “Our Club, Our Community“-Programme. With the complex and various demands towards an Irish League club in mind, it is interesting to discuss the contribution in improving the relations between the communities and transform the conflict.

6.2.5 Contribution of OCOC-Project to Community Relations

According to NJ (242-244), the structured programme which was launched in 2011 is known by most of the people: “I think most people go fairly regularly would recognise that the club is doing work within their local community and their young people and are involved in cross-community activities.” CG (225-228) remembers that Glentoran’s community involvement in the last four, five years was higher than ever before. Stafford Reynolds is one of the individuals who had a weighty impact on the development of the community strategy plan. MB (281-283) acknowledges that “[...] Stafford is really forward thinking [...] some of the work he has been pioneered has been ground breaking.”

The protagonist himself is very reserved about his own work and questions if he did enough (SR: 338-349). However, other respondents praise his involvement without being asked (KMC: 175-183; JH: 229-235; RMK: 340-348). That shows that he is closely linked to Glentoran’s community work and that he was an important gatekeeper, as recalled by KMC (176-183):

“[...] people like Stafford you know like (.) a very high respected former chairman of Glentoran, well-known in the city, he would have made contact with the coaches, the managers [...] and (.) parents and kids [...] you know that’s really important. Because the parents have (.) have to know that the kids are going into safe [*space*] when they cross [*interfaces*], go into the likes of the Oval [*Glentoran stadium*] [...] Some of the kids go and cross the sectarian divide you know.”

For example, RMK (342f.) concurs with KMC: “[...] people like Stafford who’s been outreaching you know has done a great job of breaking down a lot of them barriers [...]” JH (58-60) remembers that “some of these football projects that Stafford would have been involved in would be the only opportunity for them to mix [...]” According to the respondents, it was SR going out and working on the grassroots level. He is one example of individuals, who try to transform a conflict, bring people together and show that there is more than hatred, division and segregation.

SR (126, 154-157) always talks about the project referring to “we”. In addition, this is a hint that the contribution would not been possible without the help of other people. Nevertheless, it was SR taking the personal risk that MB mentioned earlier. This was not purposely explained by SR (277-299):

“[...] we all made connections cross-border and cross-community in Belfast. [...] So, it’s kids going away on games and build those friendships and they know who I am I know who they are. You know sometimes at a personal level you get things done you know. You lift it forward, I can go to the Markets probably get tea in four, five houses at the door [...]. *[Ken intervening again remarking that wouldn’t have happened ten years ago. In contrast, Stafford would have got shoot in his opinion].*”

This example makes the importance of the practical work at the bases of Lederach’s pyramid by individuals evident. But many of Glentoran FC have got on this track and RMK (117-120) asserts that Shaftesbury Community Centre

“developed links with Stafford Reynolds and other you know Glentoran have run successful programmes here at the centre which ten, fifteen years ago wouldn’t have happened but through that trust and through that relationship building we’ve been able to use football to bring the likes of Glentoran in.”

This highlights the significance of relationship-building, which Glentoran provides. JH (58-60) tells that Belfast does not have many opportunities to meet the other community. Moreover, it is not possible to break down the daily hatred and animosities between the communities. So, getting people out of their location and meeting each other is of huge relevance in NI. For example, Glentoran had Community Fun Days together with the Shaftesbury Centre (RMK: 130f.). And again it is down to diminish perceptions in the words of RMK (378-381):

“I would say probably before Glentoran came here they might have been people have their perceptions but now they’ve seen them here, training here and people (.) sorts of Glentoran been known them.”

CG (304-307) highlights the same issue:

“So, that I think [...] the biggest step that the community outreach has to do is find a way to get people to the first game just to show them ‘Though look this isn’t as bad as what you thought it was. This isn’t sectarian, this isn’t Sunday League football. This is [...] a decent football game.”

In accordance with the wish of Lederach, many initiatives are based around relationship-building, reducing prejudices and bringing people from both sides of the community together. For instance, Glentoran have cooperation with Doyle YC in Short Strand or friends in the Markets and gave free tickets to these kids (CG: 257-260; SR:

280f.). Moreover, they brought the kids over to Scotland to attend a Celtic Glasgow match or down to Dublin to watch an international game between NI and the ROI (SR: 282-294). The latter initiative was sponsored by SARI through their “Living Together Through Sport” programme.

SR (121-125) points out to the problems with Glentoran’s Public Relations, but shows up the way Glentoran’s self-image should look like:

“We do it probably (.) not (.) in such a public way but at [...] in a less public way we we invite players to join the club from different areas, different clubs to see if we can bring them all to the next level for themselves and that works quite well. It’s simply that’s probably attracting the talented side of players but it shows that they can (.) be accommodated, they can join in, they can be a part of it.”

CG (230-235; 287-289) is sure that they improved their self-image and are no longer seen as a trouble-causing club. According to CG (287-289), they were not able to work on the image of football itself. That is maybe beyond their responsibility and more up to the IFA with their “Football for All” campaign. Nevertheless, SR (193-195) admits that “[...] of course [*we want to*] try and find the next good footballer but at the same time we want to help boys and girls reach their potential in other aspects of life as well.” This aspiration is shown by another example SR (126-140) tells:

“[...] when we had our group in Germany [*Football tournament in Berlin in 2014*] in the summer (.) we had 17 players. And if you look at the religious composition (.) simply on the backgrounds, the schools they are attending then it’s the (.) the analysis you make from that was of nine from one particular religion [*Roman Catholic*] and eight of the other [*Protestant*] [...]. On the other hand probably what would go unnoticed in that is that their parents [...] they build relationships that last. There was always a place in there then obviously players and the players’ parents get to know each other. **That’s an accommodation and a meeting that might never take place otherwise.** [*emphasis by the author*]. So, it is in a sense a vehicle to help (.) in that way through the common interest in the local football.”

It is an attempt of Glentoran to offer their participants a desired future. As outlined above, they aim in their programme at being an inclusive club. Consequently, they have no problems in making announcements, implementing the UEFA Ten Point Plan or being the first club on the island of Ireland to adopt the “Whole Club” approach to the UEFA “Respect” campaign (CG: 206-219; KMC: 131f.). SR (143-147) hopes to function as an ideal for other clubs to work on community relations, because there are still existing differences.

JH (229-235) sees a contribution of Glentoran to conflict transformation:

“Yeah, absolutely look they try, they do and that would be a concrete example of a club that would be associated with one side of the community has made a significant effort probably above (.) and beyond [...] but also of minority communities, black communities, they’ve tried in Polish communities and everything and certainly in my experience with Stafford in the Glentoran project there’s an absolute (.) there’s an absolute benefit in what they’ve been doing.”

KMC (152-154) supports JH’s perspective: “Yeah, I think they did, yeah. I think not so much in their own (.) daily week, in their own neighbourhoods but across you know the sectarian divide and the upcoming interfaces absolutely.” Furthermore, he mentions the effectiveness of the Glentoran academy (KMC: 261-264). But KMC (137-149) as well states that they are searching for footballers of different parts of NI, different cultures, different religious and social backgrounds. RMK (393-410) illustrates the positive contribution of Glentoran and does not want to blame them for looking for new players. He remarks that due to gatekeepers in communities, which do not want to move forward, not everything was perfect.

However, the rejection by some community leaders is definitely a problem. This could be because of different reasons like fear, ignorance, deep rooted hatred or simply no interest in getting involved. For instance, CG (239-243) says:

“I think that people, people at my age and above are set in their ways. I think that if someone my age, I am 24, if someone of my age doesn’t already go to Irish League football. I don’t think they will go because you know now people from the age of ten they have better things to do on a Saturday.”

The latter one goes in line with figures presented by Bruce and Galloway (2011: 21) who say that 73% of supporters in 2004 were over 30 years of age. Maybe that has changed because NJ (102f.) complements that supporters nowadays are typically fathers and kids. CG (376-381) thinks that change cannot happen immediately but will take generations. But RMK (306) does not want to give up that easily and keeps on challenging opinions. As JH and RMK already described above, time will take its course. Thus, RMK (580-583) admits the statement brought in by CG:

“There will be people that just won’t move on. That’s just unfortunate and you know (.) that’s (.) that’s their decision but hopefully things have start to move on as people start with you know seeing their children doing the programmes and realise maybe they are tending and that’s not so bad going here going in an area that I’ve never been to.”

However, CG (359f.) is a bit too pessimistic in arguing that there will never be a Short Strand Community at Glentoran. First, as observed by KMC (170-172) and SR (99-

105), there always was a Short Strand support and second there always will continue to be. Therefore, Glentoran always worked across the division, although the connection was shattered throughout the Troubles (SR: 99-105).

MB (201-203) introduces another problem considering financial difficulties at the club. These constraints are able to explain the decline of website posts in 2012 about the project. MB (163-170) explains his impression:

“It felt very frustrating. It felt like you just launched it and [...] it was just up and running and then there was some sort of financial mismanagement of funding and some sort and then he [Russell Lever, Community Relations Officer of Glentoran] left and he wasn’t replaced (.). [...] So, that’s that’s probably going back to two or three years you know.”

Moreover, MB (181-194) as a Glentoran fan from his early childhood on, offers more insights into the developments:

“[...] I was really interested in what Russell was doing and (.) I would meet with him regularly. And Russell struggled (.) he was obviously working with the board at Glentoran. There were different supporters groups, some very pro-active, good supporters (.) lots of supporters clubs isn’t [...]. It felt like a lot of people at Glentoran were pulling in different directions yeah and that was a tough job for Russell to try and keep them all together and focused on. But the [...] ‘Our Club, Our Community’ launch was (.) fantastic¹³⁵ and it felt like it was just making progress and then something happened with management of grant fund. I am not too sure with it. But they put up the funding and Russell I don’t know why he left and that sort of stuff but (.) it was frustrating because like Glentoran for me is like a sleeping giant [...].”

SR (246-250) sheds light on the dark considering the financial troubles:

“I think the concerns on the financial side was (.) they obviously made a decision that maybe funds us further than there [...]. I mean, I can’t disagree with them because all the things looked quite untidy in that particular time. [...] I mean it can be revisited and it will be revisited.”

So, the expectations were too high and they spent more money than they had. Furthermore, SR (256-262) tells that the funding organisations had different opinions about what was to be done and that there were diverse stances at Glentoran’s board:

“And I think we would be able to demonstrate that and we had a chance to get back into the marketplace, attract funding and do the programmes that we want to do. I think maybe the last times because we were in a learning status we had a margin opposed on us (.). There might have always been what we thought the best ways of doing things. We have our own connections within the community [...].”

¹³⁵ The Minister for Culture, Arts and Leisure Carál Ní Chuilín shares this perception (Glentoran 2011e): “It is a great honour for me to be invited here today [...] to support Glentoran in launching its exciting new ‘Our Club, Our Community’ Programme’. [...] The fact that this Programme has the backing of so many major partners is a huge testimony to the power and significance of sport in our community.”

It was quite uneasy to deal with volunteers who have different (conflicting) opinions and therefore do not form a common attitude shared by the club. This was another huge barrier in the view of SR (156-162; 204-209; 269f.). SR (267-272) explains:

“And I think anybody hasn’t made a mistake isn’t been truth you know we’ve all made mistakes and revert we’ve done our best not to. That’s happens when you are dealing essentially with volunteers. Sometimes it’s not always easy getting them on the same way. They made a common threat and we all like football but the wariness of different views, different opinions is away the best way forward.”

SR (202-215) admits that Glentoran have done faults:

“[...] And it’s almost we’ve fallen back a little bit [...] we disappointed in what we achieved thus far so it would have been further on. But I guess like a lot of other things have overtaking it [...]. But [...] we should be lot further on than we are (.) I am a little bit disappointed where we are in terms of that. But the thing (.) the point in getting the things started demonstrating that we are making the effort and hopefully people will see that. That it is worthy of more support.”

So, there were high hopes connected to the programme, which could not be fulfilled because of financial mismanagement. SR (163-166) offers a solution considering the volunteer problem:

“It would be great to have people that were full-time financed to do that kind of work and being engaged with elements of that work during the organisation side of it and to maximise what we have done so far. In fact bring that all to the next level and again see if you can expand further because [...] the chance for expansion are there.”

As a semi-professional club with an amateur academy, they rely heavily on funding and they do not have enough money (ibid.). For example, the academy has a turnover of 80,000 pounds a year (SR: 171). As a result, Glentoran make an application for charitable status which will allow them to do the things in a different way and more as they prefer (SR: 250-253). That they faced some financial constraints connected to specific goals gets clear in the following statement by SR (253-256):

“So, it [...] it might have seen negative in that sense but at the same time we learned a lot from it. We made a lot more progress than we thought we would in the initials phases but I think we could have carried that through if we would have been allowed to.”

SR points out to learning effects which will help them to do it with a different approach the next time. For example, searching for more quality sponsors with a good solid image, who work together with Glentoran (SR: 173-186). However, the current funding climate is worse at the moment (RMK: 550). For that reason, RMK (553-558) puts forward to adopt a social-economy model. Such an approach would help Glentoran to

have an own ground on which they could spend more money on the community development side. Hence, it was easier for Shaftesbury Community Centre to develop such a plan, because their funding is secured for 25 years in comparison to the three years as in the OCOC-Project (RMK: 503-508).

Although, not everything went perfectly right, there have to be changes. According to SR (116-118), at least having a programme in place, shows that

“[...] you are actively trying to do something and I think that sends a message as well because would be very easy to sit in your hands and don't bother (.) maybe like many others. But actually try and do something and show that you are actually doing it.”

KMC (220-225) admits Glentoran's message and figures out that

“in terms of practice they were limited in terms of funds. They've setting up the academy for example that has taken a lot time and I think that's where the success is [...] that [...] could mind funds again develop that whole [...] 'Living Together Through Football' concept through [...] the club's academy. I think [...] that's the future.”

Anyway, according to KMC (207-215), it is time to scrutinise the whole OCOC strategic plan and find a better approach for the future. This is because the community work has to continue bringing people together, building relationships and showing them up a shared future. Glentoran have the opportunities, the connections in the communities to do this kind of work but they need to find funding and the support of full-time workers, too. This is summed up by JH (256-261):

“Look they are doing what they [...] can do and that's as much as you can ask anyone to do [...] you know Glentoran running some coaching sessions is a positive thing is never going to change the world [...] problems are centuries old but [...] if there's enough Glentoran's [...] they would be making a change.”

Glentoran have an impact on the football communities and community relations but of course they cannot deliver the whole deal for conflict transformation.

6.2.6 Potentials for a Desired Future for Belfast/NI

There are many challenges towards conflict transformation and a shared society in NI. For example, Belfast is one of the European cities with the lowest crime rates (NJ: 532-534). According to NJ (ibid.), the media sometimes promotes a different view as they brand riots too fast as sectarian conflict. However, the presence of sectarianism is obvious and it is reconstructed daily, even at top level.

This is presented by NJ (504-512):

“I think one of the challenges at times is that a lack of leadership to sanction it, to authorise it, to say that it’s effectively ok. [...] the leadership is still weak in that sense and you don’t see Pete Robinson going and supporting Ulster GAA teams when they do very well, you don’t see Gerry Adams¹³⁶ or Martin McGuinness supporting local football teams.”

CG (406) thinks that “not with a single person in the current government that there will ever be [*change*].” Again, politics are blamed as one of the main barriers for conflict transformation to work. In the opinion of RMK (552-564), this leadership would be needed to break down perceptions, offer education and show the core humanity existing in everybody. Otherwise, CG’s (417-424) future perspective about the Northern Irish society will stay true:

“**Not pessimistic. I just thinks it’s realistic** [*emphasis by the author*]. I think (.) it will be silly for anyone to hope for otherwise because I don’t think there is [...] any hope for (.) a shared society because I know that in my opinion Sinn Féin don’t want a shared society. [...]. But again that’s my opinion and I think that a lot of Protestant people will feel the same way about that.”

Despite this pessimistic (or realistic) view there is some hope for betterment existing, too. In the opinion of NJ (503f.), there are “people willing to do the work that needs to be done at the ground.” According to SR (356f.), these are many good nature people who are “the silent majority”. MB (356-374) assumes that using this potential would help to create a new NI where everyone can celebrate his citizenship and children feeling comfortable saying “I’m Northern Irish”.

NJ (525-530) is certain that it requires a society with many safe spaces, where children feel secure to go outside and cross the interfaces without being harmed because of their club jersey or their school uniform. Tolerance is very important in the eyes of SR (304-318). The transformation will happen over generations and therefore KMC (255-260) says that the younger ones need to be addressed:

“Being educated together, [...], to desegregate the (.) teacher training [*colleges*], to introduce Human and Peace Studies (.) at a very young age (.) and get rid of religion in the schools altogether. [...] So, kids here don’t need, they had enough of religion [...]. Replace that (.) the religious class by a sports class again have a programme (.) a proper programme for them.”

RMK (520-522) supports KMC’s argument that religion should not play a role in school or in other programmes.

¹³⁶ Gerard „Gerry“ Adams is the President of Sinn Féin. It is believed that he was heavily involved with the IRA. For more information see <http://www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/people/biography/apeople.htm>.

JH (265-280) describes that it is about leaving the past behind and moving into a desired future:

“I have a young son and I want him to grow up in a place where he can make friends with people from no matter what background they are from. Recognising there different cultures and riches in world and that (.) you know learn about those different things enriches him as well. And I want a place where he can walk in any area free from harm (.) and certainly harm that would be motivated by sectarian or racist type of hatred. [...] where people do disagree with [...] someone or dislike something or [...] they just realise that (.) that’s not [...] a reason to get into conflict. It just means the worlds’ different and that some people think some things and that some people think other things (laughing) and that there’s no point falling out with it. So, that’s what (sheepish grin) that’s my sort of view of this city anyway. How I would like it to be.”

Football is able to contribute to that desired future and be an important vehicle for conflict transformation.

7. Conclusion and Future Research

The data evaluation revealed that Glentoran implemented a well-recognised football project which had a positive contribution to conflict transformation in Belfast and beyond. Nevertheless, such a programme did have its limitations.

In summary, as promoted by Lederach, Glentoran provided an innovative approach outside of static diplomacy. Furthermore, the East Belfast club acted as a middle range leader. They comprised actors from the bottom (participants) and top (IFA) of Lederach's pyramid. Possessing this important position Glentoran FC hold the key to include various views on the issue, subsystem and system. As a result, they did many efforts in addressing sectarianism and developed links in Belfast and beyond (Scotland or ROI). The East Belfast club was able to provide spaces where Roman Catholics and Protestants could meet without being harmed by each other. For instance, the club took children to the Aviva Stadium in Dublin or over to Glasgow for a field trip. Such a safe environment was the basis for building up relationships and including people from both sides of the community.

Through various other topics (suicide awareness, drug abuse, food poverty), Glentoran made clear that they care for their community. This helped them to foster their image as "people's club" which got visible throughout the project. In their history they always had a policy of inclusion – no matter what religion, skin colour or gender someone has – and they showed that they are keen on developing that further. This enhanced Glentoran to establish and maintain relationships with the Roman Catholic community especially within the Short Strand and Markets area. The trip to the football tournament in Berlin serves as a prime example. It created an encounter for nine Roman Catholic and eight Protestant youth players and allowed them to build up friendships. The journey even changed the subjective realities of their parents. The relationship-building during the trip to Berlin rejects the argument brought forward by some interviewees that adults are set in their ways of thinking.

Furthermore, Glentoran's football project reached out to various people, for example with its links to the Shaftesbury Community Centre. This helped participants to get into areas where they would normally never go. However, the OCOC-Project only involved a small amount of people considering the whole Northern Irish population. Definitely, a clear limitation was the lacking capability to unite people in an entire country.

Another strength was that Glentoran had many people from the working-class involved, who are the most affected ones in the conflict. By providing them encounters to help breaking down perceptions and start thinking about the ruling subjective realities they had an impact on the base of society. Glentoran created opportunities for them to meet people from the other community in using football as a medium. Such occasions would otherwise not happen. Another restriction was that it was not possible to get every community gatekeeper involved due to factors like ignorance, fear or a lacking interest.

Nevertheless, the initiatives helped to shape the club's identity away from a pure "Protestant" club to a more inclusive one. This development had direct influence on the fan base. The OCOC-Project tried to tackle the sectarianism brought into the game by adopting the UEFA Ten Point Plan, "Respect" campaign and making announcements. Glentoran were successful in fostering a strategy of self-policing within fans and pointed out to the fact that they employ Roman Catholic players, staff and supporters. With the Family Fun Days the club worked against perceptions about sectarianism at their home ground and invited people in a Protestant area to meet the Roman Catholic Glentoran players. The research data showed that Irish League clubs are strongly identified with one community or the other. Therefore, an inclusive self-image is a vital contribution to conflict transformation.

However, such a transformation of self-image requires not only one-off projects like Family Fun Days. Sustainability as provided by Glentoran for example through their academy, which includes players from both religions and all around the island of Ireland, is important, too. In implementing the structured community programme in 2011, they encouraged other clubs to care about a long-term perspective in community relations. It is evident that there are still massive differences between the involvements of clubs towards conflict transformation. Others have to participate in order to make a bigger contribution, reach out to all areas of Belfast and influence the entire society.

These differences are no surprise because the clubs are dealing on shoestring level. However, the respondents identified that there is a great potential within the Irish League clubs. This has to be utilised better. This goes in line with Lederach's argument that middle range leaders hold the key to transform a conflict. Therefore, the IFA's initiative to enhance the clubs to do community relations audits was absolutely right. Through this phase Glentoran showed that they are able to move forward. They

attracted many volunteers, although it was difficult to bring them on the same pathway. For the future, it requires a navigation of interests to not decelerate the efforts.

Besides the difficult dealing with volunteers, it was examined that financial constraints and different standpoints in the club's board posed other major burdens for the OCOC-Programme to increase its contribution to conflict transformation. So, Glentoran faced problems in funding and time, which Lederach already recognised for peacebuilding accords. Glentoran are only a semi-professional club and are not able to pay full-time workers without funding. Ronan McKenna suggested that they could adopt a social-economy model and generate more income. Other respondents remarked that Glentoran do as much as anyone can ask them to do.

Stafford Reynolds admits that Glentoran could have done more with their OCOC-Programme. This underachievement was related to the already mentioned barriers, but can be ascribed to a missing support of politics as well. It was made evident that a football project cannot deliver the whole solution for conflict transformation. Issues like the problem with location, perceptions or the funding climate were not completely within their scope. In consequence, the interviewees mentioned that politicians cannot forget their reliabilities in being more forward thinking, desegregate and enable meetings in proper surroundings. The recent government programmes formally include sport as a tool, but politicians themselves need to function as ideals for the basis. The respondents suggested fostering programmes against division at schools, hospitals, teacher education and foremost removing the peace walls that physically divide communities.

Otherwise, a required neutral setting for the football clubs to work inside Belfast will hardly develop. The interviewees remarked that the influence of location is immense. Here, football can definitely learn from other sports like ice-hockey, which use the Odyssey Arena in a neutral area. However, without the top-level leadership by politicians this will be difficult to reach. The respondents stated that individuals, football clubs, politics and the IFA are all important pieces in Lederach's conflict transformation puzzle. It requires all of them to help a football project to be more than a completion of peacemaking and peacekeeping. Gerry Adams or Martin McGuinness do not have to be the next Nelson Mandela who illustrated with his unique example that sport can transform a society. Nevertheless, they could contribute to an overall setting which moves away from sectarianism towards a desired future.

They could support a football project established by a progressive but struggling club in Northern Ireland, which did reduce perceptions and increase mutual understanding considering Lederach's relational dimension. This would go in agreement with the objective of community relations in NI. According to the definition of Eyben et al. (1997: 1), the aim is to "live and work with one another with mutual respect."

Glentoran provided a safe space and a place to encounter for their participants and therefore touched Lederach's personal dimension. Concerning the cultural dimension of individuals the OCOC-Programme did work in providing cultural education and bringing people to different settings around Belfast. Again, it needs desegregation for teacher training, in schools or in housing to foster a different culture in society. Only politicians are able to release bills to diminish these signs of a violent history. Without doubt, politics and not a small football project have to work on the structural dimension of conflict transformation.

All in all, it can be concluded that a football project is able to make a contribution to conflict transformation in a divided society. For Glentoran's project this contribution was down to reaching out to the conflict fatigued working-class, facing reality, create encounters and promote a desired future. Glentoran could not deliver the whole range of measures to transform the conflict in the entire divided society but they gave an important impulse to change subjective realities within their scope. As a middle range leader, they need to connect more to the grassroots and top level. If all actors join together, they may create a setting which allows leaving the conflict behind and moving towards a shared future.

The researched data revealed that this is not going to be an easy task. Sectarianism is still present and will continue to be. However, the impression of Lederach and the fruitful concept of group-focused enmity of Zick, Heitmeyer and Küpper seem to be confirmed throughout the research process. This study exposed that sectarianism is very much down to perceptions and used as a tool to legitimate riots and anti-social behaviour. Both ideas seem to be right in their assumption that every conflict may have different roots but is always about one syndrome (e.g. religion, ethnicity, skin colour) or a mix of them.

However, such cleavage is down to individual perspectives and is reconstructed through the daily practices of humans. The interviewees stated that the situation is definitely

better since the peace agreement of 17 years ago. In football, this is for example shown by the self-policing in the Irish League and the step forward at international level. Nevertheless, these perceptions have a negative impact on people building relationships and are passed down from parents to their children. Social-psychological dynamics do a massive contribution to these (negative) images and are closely related to identity-building which needs to be scrutinised in future research. The growing scientific area of psychology in Peace and Conflict Research provides a valuable input. Here, especially heuristics which try to simplify a complex world or the inquiry of emotions are of interest. Besides, Social Identity Theory or Intergroup Emotions Theory could contribute to Lederach's objective of understanding subjective realities.

In addition, the government made too little efforts in addressing perceptions. The Leadership Trait Assessment approach could help to reveal attitudes and motivations of politicians. Maybe this could provide an explanation why they are perceived by the interviewees as not being interested in providing encounters, which would allow drawing a more complex image of the other community.

Such encounters are provided by football. All respondents except of Neil Jarman were convinced that it is one of the best sports to address sectarianism in Northern Ireland against the opinion of authors like Sugden or Bairner. Taking into consideration that Lederach thinks that reconciliation can be progressed through a place where past and future can meet, football delivers that. It did more harm than good in the past. Nowadays, it is one of the few sports played by both sides and addressing the conflict fatigued working-class. The weakness of its sectarian past can be changed into strength proclaiming that it is not only about forgetting history but about having a critical debate over what happened even if it might be difficult. Here, more community relations audits are an appropriate means. Existing research about truth commissions could make a good contribution how to execute the audits, prevent a resumption of hostilities and foster a desired future.

Some authors may criticise that it is too imprecise how such a future should look like. The respondents gave valuable answers to that question considering a Northern Ireland where children can grow up without being harmed because of simply being a member of one of the two big communities.

The future of Lederach's conflict transformation concept is very promising. It was brought into the community of science as a young approach in the late 1990s, which was developed in distinction to existing strategies of peacebuilding like conflict resolution or conflict management. Some criticisms exist, which do not see the new element in it or regard the whole concept as too imprecise. But Lederach's approach shaped the academic discourse. Lederach takes various steps into consideration and therefore provides an overwhelming concept of conflict transformation. This framework looks at the past, present and future of a conflict. Therefore, it is able to function for all phases of a conflict. Most important, it rightly concentrates on the people. So, Lederach is one of the main promoters of a new research branch. Further, he questions established concepts like the traditional peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding theories introduced by the UN. Lederach provides an idea of peacebuilding which is more than postaccord reconstruction. He tries to take every conflict dimension and actor into consideration.

Definitely, the conflict management or conflict resolution approaches have a longer tradition. One may argue that for example Lederach's "relationship" term is indefinite. This is a weakness within his framework, although he clearly defines other terms like "peacebuilding". However, Lederach is a practitioner who provides stimuli for actors in divided society to turn the theory into practice. The compliance of the measures Glentoran took with the theoretical framework of Lederach was repeatedly shown. That locates the findings of this master thesis within the wider scope of peacebuilding research and as a practical input to Lederach's conflict transformation concept. A secondary analysis with Grounded Theory could help to close the gap between theory and practice. Furthermore, it could allow developing new theoretical arguments.

On the one hand, other football projects and societies are able to learn from the strengths and weaknesses of the OCOC-Programme. As it was conducted within the background of a deep-rooted conflict, it is able to serve as a model for other projects. It therefore could add to the growing literature towards the potentials of football in divided societies. This master thesis shows that football is relevant in Peace and Conflict Research but has to be further investigated. Certainly, this master thesis provides an input to the studies existing about Glentoran.

On the other hand, the research results could be reflected by taking other football projects with a different setting into consideration. For example countries like Belgium,

Lebanon or Rwanda comprise other individual roots of conflict. Indeed, relationships can be built everywhere, but it needs the right actors and a neutral setting to address divisions in other societies. The argument of the group-focused enmity concept in combination with Lederach's notion allows deducing cautious suggestions for other societies.

However, it is obvious that a qualitative study has some limitations. For example, further studies could include more respondents. Definitely, a government representative should be interviewed the next time. Besides, only males were asked as interviewees. But females are affected by conflict transformation, too. Furthermore, the research field was restricted to Belfast. Another interesting aspect would be to widen the range to respondents, who do not have a football background and are opposed to use sport as a tool. This would even more testify the opinions of the seven interviewees.

Additionally, just words and not acts were analysed. A quantitative study taking the effective outreach into consideration would be valuable. The British author, poet and novelist Rudyard Kipling (1928: 1) recognised already in 1923 that "[...] words are, of course, the most powerful drug used by mankind." So, further research demands to examine the implementation of powerful words into effective practice. Here, speech act theory could be used for further investigations.

The respondents provided many different expert perspectives on the issue: From grassroots up to top level and from a spectators' to a scientific point of view. As a result, there were critical and more positive perceptions which complemented each other. Sometimes they even contradicted and it was necessary to wage the arguments. Here, the existing secondary literature provided support.

The variation in age and background enhanced the output of the interviews. In combination with the comfortable atmosphere throughout all dialogues and the fruitful remarks of the interviewees this led to an average interviewing time of almost 38 minutes. The original calculation was about 20 minutes per interview.

Despite the limited scope of a master thesis, it was no intention to miss the opportunity to get valuable inside perspectives. These views endorsed a better understanding of the research field than a mere literature review. It was possible to meet the objectives of a well-conducted interview and understand the unobservable processes within the research field. The flexibility of the qualitative research design and the PCI method

provided the frame to widen the agenda during the research process. Method and theory formed a productive alliance and helped to describe the experiences of people. Moreover, the PCI facilitated an understanding how the social world and the research field are working in reality. This insight is a good starting point to extend the range of the research results and widening data collection in interviewing more people. Another valuable adjustment would be having a second interview to clarify unclear statements.

For this purpose, the interview guide has to be reviewed. It was possible to introduce Lederach's theoretical framework with the help of the PCI's interview guide. It slightly changed from interview to interview. This helped not to overemphasise the questions asked in the interview guide. It was possible for the interviewees to introduce new topics, which was required due to the various viewpoints towards the research question. These subjects raised the knowledge of the interviewer and went (unconsciously) into the next interview. That is why the initial five categories, which were very common in their design, changed into six categories with different codes included in them.

Another concern that the interview might get too structured did not occur. The long-term experiences of the respondents in the research field allowed them to utter more than answering the questions being asked. This facilitated an interview atmosphere which did not develop into typical question and answer style. Again, the flexibility of the research design provided a benefit. However, this master thesis was contributed to guarantee the criteria of communicative validity, triangulation, a good documentation, intersubjective transparency and an adherence to a systematic analytical procedure.

The data analysing method provided by Schmidt (1997) allows for criticism from an objectivistic point of view. The concept of intensive reading is vague. There was no colleague to confirm the decisions about the allocation of statements to categories or the building of new categories. Of course, a second scientist would reduce a possible bias in data evaluation based on a too close connection to the whole research process by the first researcher. It was tried to confront these concerns in being conscious about subjective assumptions brought into the data analysis. The accessibility of the transcripts, the recording or the category systems permit other researchers to prove that. Objective Hermeneutics would add a valuable methodological input in identifying an (objective) semantic structure within the transcripts.

Furthermore, this master thesis carefully waded the responses and related them to the research question. This method contributed to identify new variables and disregard topics which go beyond the scope of this master thesis. However, these additional topics are not useless. The transcripts would be a useful source to deepen some topics. They allow building up future research and widening the dimension a football project or football takes in society. For example, the influence of politics towards change has to be examined further. The political system is perceived as a main barrier for conflict transformation. Substantive talks in the academic discourse about a modification of the governmental system on the island of Ireland could contribute.

Some research considering the role of football in comparison to other sports would be desirable, too. The difference between sports (not) intermingled with sectarianism and how people from different social classes react towards them is a strong benchmark. It was shown that people from diverse backgrounds are more likely to stick to one sport or another. For that reason, it requires a practical approach to foster community relations which work across sports traditionally played by Roman Catholic or Protestant communities. At this point, the question has to be raised if it needs sport as a vehicle. Although sport provides a platform for building up relationships, it is not the sole medium for that. Exchanges at schools or universities, business relations and other measures have that capacity, too. However, they miss out the potential of reaching out to billions of people.

More research has to go into the topic of spectators in sports. It is interesting to discuss how spectators perceive their club and how they think it should be. Such a study could add to the growing literature about fan behaviour. For many supporters football is something similar to a replacement for religion and they are likely to exploit the sport. It can be quite hard for them to see their club losing, which leads to overestimating that football is only a game. Guttman's inside/outside differentiation gives a substantive input to that. The environment and location plays an important role.

A perspective, which is neutral towards football, is lacking in studies. It is easier to find supporters or opponents towards the power of sport in the academic literature. It needs careful consideration what sport should be used for what gender, social class, religious background or ethnicity. However, football in reaching out to 1.4 billion people is universal in its approach and is able to contribute to conflict transformation. But it has to be used in the right context with the right people enhancing it. Such people should be

open-minded, outward looking and sympathetic. Further, they should have done social work with people with different religions, sexual orientations or social and ethnic backgrounds. Michael Boyd, Stafford Reynolds or Ken McCue can serve as prime examples for that. Throughout their work in a conflict-afflicted society they promote that all people have one thing in common: humanity. It is about character and not characteristics.

This is the most difficult task for the future. The same is true for the use of football as a vehicle for that. It asks to be aware of the influence towards individuals, their beliefs and their experiences. It is about connecting a football project with long-term sustainability and education.

Further, it requires an understanding for the other, breaking down individual simplifications and building up relationships as core objectives in this agenda. Unfortunately, the intolerance of people, their negative experiences with or passed down perceptions of others pose huge burdens to this aim. Stafford Reynolds (304-318) narrates an impressive example:

“Tolerance I think is the word. [...] We’ve got to be tolerant and (.) non-violent because it’s not the answer. I know that I lived through that most of my life and not now. [...] A number I knew were killed and murdered through the Troubles on all sides (.) because of people’s attitudes and perceptions and believes (.). So, [...] we won’t be able to change people’s minds other than they really change [...] their minds themselves. But to move away from battles try to be tolerant, to have an understanding that people have their own views that tears of that particular widow one over there in that part of Belfast is no different to the tears of this widow over this side you know. I’ve seen it all like a lot of people were shot to death.”

Again, it is up to the government to play its part in that. Politicians should implement laws to provide proper surroundings and enhance desegregation to allow daily meetings between the communities. It is beyond tolerance. It is about acknowledging and respecting the other. Otherwise, negative perceptions can grow up to murder which was not only observable on the island of Ireland but in many other cases throughout history. A football project in Belfast may not deliver the whole answer but within its scope it can be a great tool to bring people together and show them the Homo sapiens within everyone like Mandela did. All is in the hands of people to let football become a catalyst for peace and not for conflict. And it is up to people to change and create a desired future: In Northern Ireland and all around the world.

8. Bibliography

- ALBERT, CORNELIA (2009): The peacebuilding elements of the Belfast agreement and the transformation of the Northern Ireland conflict. Frankfurt/Main: Lang
- ARMSTRONG, GARY / GIULIANOTTI, RICHARD (1997): *Entering the Field: New Perspectives on World Football*. London: Berg.
- BAIRNER, ALAN (1997): Up to their Knees? Football, Sectarianism, Masculinity and Protestant Working-Class Identity. In: SHIRLOW, P. / MCGOVERN, M. (Eds.): *Who are 'The People'? Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Northern Ireland*: 95-113. London: Pluto Press.
- BAIRNER, ALAN (2000a): After the War? Soccer, Masculinity, and Violence in Northern Ireland. In: MCKAY, J. / MESSNER, M. / SABO, D. (Eds.): *Masculinities, Gender Relations and Sport*: 176-194. California: SAGE.
- BAIRNER, ALAN (2000b): Sport and peace - an uneasy dialogue. In: PEILLON, M. / SLATER, E. (Eds.): *Irish Sociological Chronicles 2: Memories of the Present. Ireland 1997-1998*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration: 65-77.
- BAIRNER, ALAN (2003): On Thin Ice? The Odyssey, the Giants and the Sporting Transformation of Belfast. *American Behavioural Scientist* 46 (11): 1519-1532.
- BAIRNER, ALAN (2004): Creating a soccer Strategy for Northern Ireland: Reflections on football governance in small European countries. *Soccer and Society* 5 (1): 27-42.
- BAIRNER, ALAN (2005): Sport, Irishness and Ulster Unionism. In: BAIRNER, A. (Ed.): *Sport and the Irish. Histories, Identities, Issues*: 158-171. Dublin: University College Dublin Press)
- BAIRNER, ALAN / SHIRLOW, PETER (1998): Loyalism, Linfield and the Territorial Politics of Soccer Fandom in Northern Ireland. *Space and Polity* 2 (2): 163-177.
- BAIRNER, ALAN / SHIRLOW, PETER (2000): Territory, Politics and Soccer Fandom in Northern Ireland and Sweden. *Football Studies* 3 (1): 5-26.
- BAIRNER, ALAN / SHIRLOW, PETER (2001): Real and Imagined: Reflections on Football Rivalry in Northern Ireland. In: ARMSTRONG, G. / GIULIANOTTI, R. (Eds.): *Fear and Loathing in World Football*: 43-59. Oxford: Berg.
- BERCOVITCH, JACOB (2009): *The SAGE Handbook of conflict resolution*. Los Angeles et al.: SAGE.
- BEGGAN, DOMINIC / INDURTHY, RATHNAM (1999): The Conflict in Northern Ireland and the Clinton Administration's Role. *International Journal on World Peace* 16 (4): 3-25.
- BLATTER, JOACHIM / JANNING, FRANK / WAGEMANN, CLAUDIUS (2007): *Qualitative Politikanalyse. Eine Einführung in Forschungsansätze und Methoden (= Grundwissen Politik 44)*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

- BLUMER, HERBERT (1938): *Social Psychology*. In: SCHMIDT, E. (Ed.): *Man and Society*: 144-198. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- BLUMER, HERBERT (1986): *Symbolic Interactionism. Perspective and Method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- BOUTROS-GHALI, BOUTROS (1992): *An Agenda for Peace*. New York: UN.
- BOYLE, KEVIN / HADDEN, TOM (1995): *The Peace Process in Northern Ireland*. *International Affairs* 71 (2): 269-283.
- BRADBURN, NORMAN M. / SUDMAN, SEYMOUR (1979): *Improving Interview Method and Questionnaire Design*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- BRADY, HENRY / COLLIER, DAVID (2004): *Rethinking Social Inquiry. Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- BREWER, JOHN D. (1991): *The parallels between sectarianism and racism: the Northern Ireland experience*. In: CCETSW (Ed.): *Improving Social Work Education and Training Paper No. 8*: 85-108. London: CCETSW.
- BREWER, JOHN D. / BISHOP, KEN / HIGGINS, GARETH (2001): *Peacemaking among Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: Centre for the Social Study of Religion, Queen's University of Belfast.
- BRYMAN, ALAN (2012⁴): *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BRUCE, ALAN / GALLOWAY, ANDY (2011): *Glentoran Football Club Community Relations Audit*. Belfast: Universal Learning Systems.
- BYRNE, JONNY / GORMLEY-HEENAN, CATHY (2012): *Attitudes to Peace Walls*. Belfast: University of Ulster.
- BYRNE, SEAN (2001): *Consociational and Civic Society Approaches to Peacebuilding in Northern Ireland*. *Journal of Peace Research* 38 (3): 327-352.
- CHECKEL, JEFFREY T. (1997): *Ideas and international political change. Soviet/Russian behavior and the end of the Cold War*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- COALTER, FRED (2007): *A wider social role for sport: who's keeping the score?* London: Routledge.
- COALTER, FRED (2010): *The Politics of sport for development: Limited focus programmes and broad gauge problems?* *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 45 (3): 295-314.
- COOPER, JEAN (2013): *Dictionary of Christianity*. London: Routledge.
- CRONIN, MIKE (1999): *Sport and nationalism in Ireland. Gaelic Games, Soccer and Irish Identity since 1884*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- CURLE, ADAM (1990): *Tools for Transformation*. United Kingdom: Hawthorn Press.
- DARBY, JOHN (2006): *Violence and Reconstruction*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press.

- DARBY, JOHN / KNOX, COLIN (2004): "A Shared Future": A consultation paper on improving relations in Northern Ireland. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame.
- DEUTSCH, KARL W. (1953): Nationalism and Social Communication: An inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality. New York: MIT Press.
- DUKE, VIC / CROLLEY, LIZ (1996): Football, Nationality and the State. London: Routledge.
- DUFFY, SÉAN (2000²): Atlas of Irish History. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.
- EDENSOR, TIM / AUGUSTIN, F. (2001): Football, ethnicity and identity in Mauritius: soccer in a rainbow nation. In: ARMSTRONG, G. / GIULIANOTTI, R. (Eds.): Fear and Loathing in World Football: 91-104. Oxford: Berg.
- ELIAS, NORBERT / DUNNING, ERIC (1986): Quest for excitement: Sport and leisure in the civilizing process. Oxford: Blackwell.
- ERHART, HANS-GEORG. (2006): Fußball und Völkerverständigung. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 19: 18-25.
- EYBEN, KARIN / MORROW, DUNCAN / WILSON, DERRICK (1997): A Worthwhile Venture? Practically Investigating in Equity, Diversity and Independence in Northern Ireland. Coleraine: University of Ulster.
- FLICK, UWE (2007): Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung. Hamburg: Rowohlt.
- FRIDBERG, MATS (1992): The Need for Unofficial Diplomacy in Identity Conflicts. In: KUZMANIC, T. / TRUGER, A. (Eds.): Yugoslavia Wars: np. Ljubljana: Peace Institute.
- FULTON, GARETH (2005): Northern Catholic fans of the Republic of Ireland soccer team. In: BAIRNER, A. (Ed.): Sport and the Irish. Histories, Identities, Issues: 140-156. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
- GALTUNG, JOHAN (1995): Conflict Resolution as Conflict Transformation: The First Law of Thermodynamics Revisited. In: RUPESINGHE, K. (Ed.): Conflict Transformation: 51-64. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- GARFINKEL, HAROLD (1967): Studies in Ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- GARNHAM, NEAL (2004): Association Football and Society in Pre-Partition Ireland. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.
- GIERSCH, CARSTEN (2009): Risikoeinstellungen in internationalen Konflikten. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- GILLHAM, BILL (2000): The research interview. London/New York: Continuum.

- GIULIANOTTI, RICHARD / ROBERTSON, ROLAND (2002): Die Globalisierung des Fußballs. ‚Globalisierung‘, transnationale Konzerne und demokratische Regulierung. In: LÖSCHE, P. (Ed.): Fußballwelten. Zum Verhältnis von Sport, Politik, Ökonomie und Gesellschaft. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- GEORGE, ALEXANDER L. / BENNETT, ANDREW (2005): Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences. Cambridge/London: MIT Press.
- GROTE, RAINER (1998): Die Friedensvereinbarung von Belfast. Ein Wendepunkt in der Geschichte des Nordirland-Konfliktes. *Zentrum für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht* 58: 647-685.
- GUELKE, ADRIAN (2003): Civil Society and the Northern Irish Peace Process. *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 14 (1): 61-78.
- GUTTMANN, ALLEN (1986): Sports Spectators. New York: Columbia University Press.
- HANCOCK, LANDON E. (2008): The Northern Irish Peace Process. From Top to Bottom. *International Studies Review* 10 (2): 203-238.
- HASSAN, DAVID (2002): A People Apart: Soccer, Identity and Irish Nationalists in Northern Ireland. *Soccer and Society* 3 (3): 65-83.
- HASSAN, DAVID (2005): Sport, Identity and Irish Nationalism in Northern Ireland. In: BAIRNER, A. (Ed.): Sport and the Irish. Histories, Identities, Issues: 124-139. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
- HOBERMAN, JOHN (1984): Sport and Political Ideology. Austin: The University of Texas Press.
- HÖGLUND, KRISTINE / SUNDBERG, RALPH (2008): Reconciliation through Sports? The case of South Africa. *Third World Quarterly* 29 (4): 805-818.
- HOPF, TED (1998): The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory. *International Security* 23 (1): 171-200.
- HOWARD, J.L. / FERRIS, G.R. (1996): The Employment Interview Context: Social and Situational Influences on Interviewer Decisions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 26 (2): 112-136.
- JACKSON, ROBERT H. / SØRENSEN, GEORG (2010): Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- JÄGER, ULI (2008): Fußball für Entwicklung. Wie durch Sport Globales Lernen, Fair Play und friedliches Zusammenleben gefördert werden kann. Tübingen: Institut für Friedenspädagogik.
- JÄGER, ULI / HEPTNER, NADINE (2009): Fußball für Frieden und Entwicklung. Essentials für die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Tübingen: Institut für Friedenspädagogik.
- JARMAN, NEIL (2005): No Longer A Problem? Sectarian Violence in Northern Ireland. Belfast: OFMDFM.

- JARMAN, NEIL (2007): Responding to the UEFA Ten Point Plan: Sectarianism, Racism and football in Northern Ireland. Belfast: ICR.
- JÜRGS, MICHAEL (2003): Der kleine Frieden im großen Spiel. München: Goldmann.
- KAPUŚCIŃSKI, RYSZARD (1992): Der Fußballkrieg: Berichte aus der dritten Welt. Frankfurt: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag.
- KELMAN, HERBERT C. (1965): International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- KELMAN, HERBERT C. (1999): Transforming the Relationship Between Former Enemies: A Social-Psychological Analysis. In: ROTHSTEIN, R.L. (Ed.): After the Peace: 193-206. London: Lynne Rienner.
- KELMAN, HERBERT C. (2001): The Role of National Identity in Conflict Resolution. In: ASHMORE, R.D. ET AL. (Eds.): Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Resolution: 187-212. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- KEMPIN, TANJA (2003): Ready for peace? The Implementation of the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland 1998-2002.
- KIDD, BRUCE (2008): A new social movement: Sport for development and peace. *Sport in Society* 11 (4): 370-380.
- KING, GARY / KEOHANE, ROBERT O. / VERBA, SIDNEY (1994): Designing Social Inquiry. Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research. Princeton, New York: Princeton University Press.
- KNOX, COLIN / QUIRK, PÁDRAIC (2010): Peace building in Northern Ireland, Israel and South Africa. London: MacMillan Press.
- KRATOCHWIL, FRIEDRICH V. (1991): Rules, norms, and decisions. On the conditions of practical and legal reasoning in international relations and domestic affairs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- KRIESBERG, LOUIS (1989): Transforming Conflicts in the Middle East and Central Europe. In: KRIESBERG, L. / NORTHRUP, T. / THORSON, S. (Eds.): Intractable Conflicts and Their Transformation: 109-131. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- KVALE, STEINAR (1996): InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing. London: SAGE.
- LAMNEK, SIEGFRIED (2005⁴): Qualitative Sozialforschung. Weinheim/Basel: Beltz.
- LEDERACH, JOHN PAUL (1996): Preparing for peace: conflict transformation across cultures. Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press.
- LEDERACH, JOHN PAUL (1997): Building Peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies. Washington: United States Institute for Peace.
- LINDLOF, THOMAS R. (1994): Qualitative communication research methods (= Current Communication: An Advanced Text Series, Vol. 3). London: SAGE.

- LLOYD, JOHN (1998): Ireland's uncertain peace. *Foreign Affairs* 77 (5): 109-122.
- MAGEE, JONATHAN (2005): Football supporters, rivalry and protestant fragmentation in Northern Ireland. In: BAIRNER, ALAN (Ed.): *Sport and the Irish. Histories, Identities, Issues*: 172-190. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
- MAYNARD, DOUGLAS W. / CLAYMAN, STEVEN E. (1991): The Diversity of Ethnomethodology. *Annual Review of Sociology* 17: 385-418.
- MAYNARD, DOUGLAS W. / CLAYMAN, STEVEN E. (2003): Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis. In: REYNOLDS, L. T. / HERMAN-KINNEY N. J. (Eds.): *The Handbook of Symbolic Interactionism*: 173-202. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press.
- MAYRING, PHILIPP (2008¹⁰): *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken*. Weinheim: Beltz.
- MEUSER, MICHAEL / NAGEL, ULRIKE (2002): Experteninterviews – vielfach erprobt, wenig bedacht. Ein Beitrag zur qualitativen Methodendiskussion. In: BOGNER, A. / LITTIG, B. / MENZ, W. (Eds.): *Das Experteninterview*: 71-95. Opladen: Leske & Budrich.
- MEY, GÜNTER (1999): *Adoleszenz, Identität, Erzählung. Theoretische, methodische und empirische Erkundungen*. Berlin: Köster.
- MITCHELL, CHRISTOPHER (2002): Beyond Resolution: What does Conflict Transformation actually Transform? *Peace and Conflict Studies* 9 (1): 1-23.
- MITCHELL, THOMAS G. (2010): *When peace fails. Lessons from Belfast for the Middle East*. London et al.: McFarland.
- MITTAG, JÜRGEN / NIELAND, JÖRG-UWE (2007): Der Volkssport als Spielball. Die Vereinnahmung des Fußballs durch Politik, Medien, Kultur und Wirtschaft. In: MITTAG, J. / NIELAND, J. (Eds.): *Das Spiel mit dem Fußball. Interessen, Projektionen und Vereinnahmungen*: 9-30. Essen: Klartext Verlag.
- MURDOCK, ANDREW (2012): *Football and Community Relations. A Case Study of Glentoran FC*. Coleraine: University of Ulster.
- NOHL, ARND-MICHAEL (2009): *Interview und dokumentarische Methode. Anleitungen für die Forschungspraxis (= Qualitative Sozialforschung, Vol. 16)*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- NOLAN ET AL. (2014): *The Flag Dispute: Anatomy of a Protest*. Belfast: Queen's University.
- NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY (2001): *Sectarianism and Sport in Northern Ireland. Research Paper 26*. Belfast: Northern Ireland Assembly.
- OFMDFM (2005): *A Shared Future: Improving Relations in Northern Ireland: Consultation Document*. Belfast: Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister.

- OFMDFM (2010): Programme for cohesion, sharing and integration. Belfast: Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister.
- OFMDFM (2013): Together: Building a United Community. Belfast: Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister.
- ORWELL, GEORGE (1968): The collected essays, journalism and letters of George Orwell. New York: Harcourt.
- PILZ, GUNTER A. (1982): Sport und körperliche Gewalt. Reinbeck: Rowohlt.
- PILZ, GUNTER A. (2013): Sport, Fairplay und Gewalt. Beiträge zu Jugendarbeit und Prävention im Sport. Heidelberg: Arete.
- PILZ, GUNTER A. / TREBELS, ANDREAS H. (1976): Aggression und Konflikt im Sport. Standortbestimmung der Aggressions- und Konfliktforschung im Sport und Diskussion aus erziehungswissenschaftlicher Sicht. Ahrensburg: Czwalina.
- REGEHR, ERNIE (1993): War after the Cold War: Shaping a Canadian Response. *Canadian Foreign Policy* 1 (2): n.p.
- REICHE, DANYEL (2011): War minus the shooting? The politics of sport in Lebanon as a unique case in comparative politics. *Third World Quarterly* 32 (2): 261-277.
- REINDERS, H. (2005): Qualitative Interviews mit Jugendlichen führen. Ein Leitfaden. München: Oldenbourg.
- REPPLINGER, ROGER (2005): Die Söhne Sachnins. München: Bombus.
- ROONEY, PAUL (2012): Sport for Development and Peace: the case of Northern Ireland. NUI Galway: School of Geography and Archaeology.
- ROSENTHAL, GABRIELE (2008²): Interpretative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung. Weinheim/München: Juventa.
- RUANE, JOSEPH / TODD, JENNIFER (1996): The dynamics of conflict in Northern Ireland. Cambridge: University Press.
- RUGGIE, JOHN G. (1998): Constructing the world polity. Essays on international institutionalization. London: Routledge.
- RUPESINGHE, KUMAR (1995): Conflict Transformation. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- SCHAAR, THORSTEN (2003): Flanke Tutsi – Kopfball Hutu. Interview mit Rudi Gutendorf. *11Freunde* 3 (22): 22-25.
- SCHATZMANN, LEONARD / STRAUSS ANSELM L. (1973): Field research. Strategies for a natural sociology. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- SCHMIDT, CHRISTIANE (1997): „Am Material“: Auswertungstechniken für Leitfadeninterviews. In: FRIEBERTSHÄUSER, B. / PRENGEL, A. (Eds.): Handbuch Qualitative Forschungsmethoden in der Erziehungswissenschaft: 544-569-. Weinheim/München: Juventa.

- SHIRLOW, PETER (2005): Sport, leisure and territory in Belfast. In: BAIRNER, A. (Ed.): Sport and the Irish: Histories, Identities, Issues: 224-237. Dublin: UCD Press.
- SHIRLOW, PETER /MURTAGH, BRENDAN (2006): Belfast: Segregation, violence and the city. London: Pluto Press.
- STEVENSON, THOMAS B. / ALAUG, KARIM A. (2000): Football in Newly United Yemen: Rituals of Equity, Identity and State Formation. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 56 (4): 453-475.
- SUGDEN, JOHN (2005): Sport and Community Relations in Northern Ireland and Israel. In: BAIRNER, A. (Ed.): Sport and the Irish. Histories, Identities, Issues: 238-251. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
- SUGDEN, JOHN (2010): Critical left-realism and sport interventions in divided societies. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 45 (3): 258-272.
- SUGDEN, JOHN / BAIRNER, ALAN (1993): Sport, Sectarianism and Society in a Divided Ireland. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- SUGDEN, JOHN / BAIRNER, ALAN (1998): Sport in Divided Societies. Brighton: Meyer and Meyer Sport.
- SUGDEN, JOHN / HARVIE, SCOTT (1995): Sport and Community Relations in Northern Ireland. Coleraine: University of Ulster.
- SUGDEN, JOHN / TOMLINSON, ALAN (2002): Power Games. A Critical Sociology of Sport. London: Routledge.
- TAJFEL, HENRI (1978): Social categorization, social identity and social comparison. In: TAJFEL, H. (Ed.): Differentiation between social groups. Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations: 61-76. London: Academic Press.
- TAJFEL, HENRI (1982): Social identity and intergroup relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- TAJFEL, HENRI / TURNER, JOHN C. (1986): The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In: WORCHEL, S. (Ed.): Psychology of intergroup relations: 3-24. Chicago: Nelson Hall.
- THIEL, ANSGAR (2002): Konflikte in Sportspielmannschaften des Spitzensports: Entstehung und Management. Schorndorf: Hoffmann.
- UEFA (2003): Unite Against Racism. Nyon: UEFA.
- UN (2005): Sport as a tool for development and peace: Towards achieving the United Nations millennium goals. New York: UN Interagency taskforce on sport for development and peace.
- VÄYRYNEN, RAIMO (1991): To Settle or to Transform? Perspectives on the Resolution of National and International Conflicts. In: Ibid. (Ed.): New Directions in Conflict Theory: Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation: 2-7. London: SAGE.

- VANREUSEL, BART / RENSON, ROLAND / TOLLENNEER, JAN (2000²): Divided Sports in a Divided Belgium. In: SUGDEN, J. / BAIRNER, A. (Eds.): Sport in Divided Societies (= Chelsea School Research Centre Edition, Vol. 4): 97-112. Oxford: Meyer & Meyer Sport.
- VOLKAN, VAMIK / DEMETRIOS, JULIUS / MONTVILLE, JOSEPH (1990): The Psychodynamics of International Relations. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington.
- WALTON, JOHN (2005): Football and the Basques: the Local and the Global. In: BAIRNER, A. / MAGEE, J. / TOMLINSON, A. (Eds.): The Beautiful Game? Football Identities and Finances: 135-154. Oxford: Meyer & Meyer Sport.
- WEISS, ROBERT S. (1995): Learning from Strangers: the art and method of qualitative interview studies. New York: Free Press.
- WIENER, ANTJE (2007): Constructivist Approaches in International Relations Theory: Puzzles and Promises. *Review of Italian Political Science* 37 (1): 25-54.
- WILLIAMS, KRISTEN P. / JESSE, NEAL G. (2001): Resolving Nationalist Conflicts. Promoting Overlapping Identities and Pooling Sovereignty. The 1998 Northern Irish Peace Agreement. *Political Psychology* 22 (3): 571-599.
- WILLS, WOLFRAM (1982): The science of translation: problems and methods (= Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik, Vol. 180). Tübingen: Narr.
- WITZEL, ANDREAS (1982): Verfahren der qualitativen Sozialforschung. Überblick und Alternativen. Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag.
- WITZEL, ANDREAS / REITER, HERWIG (2012): The problem-centred interview: Principles and practice. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- WOLFF, STEFAN (2011): Conflict management in divided societies: Theories and practice. London et al.: Routledge.
- WRONA, THOMAS (2005): Die Fallstudienanalyse als wissenschaftliche Forschungsmethode. Berlin: Europäische Wirtschaftshochschule.
- YAKINTHOU, CHRISTALLA / WOLFF, STEFAN (2011): Introduction. In: WOLFF, S. (Ed.): Conflict management in divided societies: Theories and practice: 1-22. London et al.: Routledge.
- ZICK, ANDREAS / HEITMEYER, WILHELM / BEATE, KÜPPER (2010): Prejudices and Group-focused Enmity – a sociofunctional perspective. In: PELINKA, A. / BISCHOF, K. / STÖGNER, K. (Eds.): Handbook of prejudice: 273-302. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.

9. Internet sources

- CAIN (2002a): Index list annual killings by Military and Paramilitary groups. Available: <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/book/index.html> (01/12/2014).
- CAIN (2002b): McGuinness, Martin James. Available: <http://www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/people/biography/mcpeople.htm> (20/03/2015).
- CAIN (2004): Adams, ('Gerry') Gerard. Available: <http://www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/people/biography/apeople.htm#adams> (20/03/2015).
- GLENTORAN (2011a): Glentoran FC donates toys to local community organisations. Available: <http://glentoran.com/community-news/glentoran-fc-donates-toys-local-community-organisations> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2011b): Glentoran FC hosts 'One Club, One Community' Workshop. Available: <http://glentoran.com/community-news/glentoran-fc-hosts-one-club-one-community-workshop> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2011c): Glentoran hosts family fun day at the Oval. Available: <http://glentoran.com/community-news/glentoran-hosts-family-fun-day-oval> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2011d): Glentoran hosts inaugural 'Our Club, Our Community' Cup. Available: <http://glentoran.com/community-news/glentoran-hosts-inaugural-our-club-our-community-cup> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2011e): Glentoran launches 'Our Club, Our Community' programme. Available: <http://glentoran.com/community-news/glentoran-fc-hosts-one-club-one-community-workshop> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2011f): Research and Publications. Available: <http://glentoran.com/research-publications> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2011g): The Prince's Trust helps young people 'get started with football'. Available: <http://glentoran.com/community-news/princes-trust-helps-young-people-get-started-football> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2012a): Glentoran continues price promotions for upcoming Match Day Family Festival. Available: <http://glentoran.com/community-news/glentoran-continues-price-promotions-upcoming-match-day-family-festival> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2012b): Glentoran hosts East Soccer Camp 2012. Available: <http://glentoran.com/community-news/glentoran-hosts-easter-soccer-camp-2012> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2012c): Glentoran supports Cregagh YC and St. Comgalls VS with CRED Programme. Available: <http://glentoran.com/community-news/glentoran-supports-cregagh-yc-and-st-comgalls-yc-cred-programme> (30/12/2014).

- GLENTORAN (2014a): Our Club, Our Community. Available:
<http://glentoran.com/our-club-our-community> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2014b): Programme News. Available:
<http://glentoran.com/programme-news> (30/12/2014).
- GLENTORAN (2014c): UEFA 10-Point-Plan. Available:
<http://glentoran.com/uefa-10-point-plan> (30/12/2014).
- HEIKE, FRANK (2006): Frieden in Israel dank Fußball? Bei Bnei Sachnin funktioniert's. Available:
<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/buecher/rezensionen/sachbuch/frieden-in-israel-dank-fussball-bei-bnei-sachnin-funktioniert-s-1307353.html> (23/02/2015).
- IFA (2005): About the Irish FA. Belfast: IFA. Available:
<http://www.irishfa.com/the-ifa/about-the-ifa/>
- IKG (2006): What is group-focused enmity? Bielefeld: IKG. Available:
<http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/%28en%29/ikg/projekte/GMF/WasIstGMF.html>
 (18/12/2012)
- KIPLING, RUDYARD (1928): A Book of Words. Surgeons and the Soul. Speech at the Annual Dinner of the Royal College of Surgeons in February 1923. London: Macmillan. Available:
http://www.telelib.com/authors/K/KiplingRudyard/prose/BookOfWords/surgeon_ssoul.html (02/12/2014).
- KILPATRICK, CHRIS (2015): Parents 'dropped off their children for sectarian riot'. Available: <http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/parents-dropped-off-their-children-for-sectarian-riot-31064702.html> (17/03/2015).
- KLEFFMANN, GERALD (2012): Wahrhaftige unter Ignoranten. Available:
<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/medien/arte-dokumentation-rebellen-am-ball-wahrhaftige-unter-ignoranten-1.1412379> (23/02/2015).
- MANDELA, NELSON (2000): Speech Laureus Sports Awards. Available:
<http://www.laureus.ch/news/statement-nelson-mandela/> (13/07/2014).
- STREETFOOTBALLWORLD (2014): Homepage. Available:
<http://www.streetfootballworld.org/>
- UEFA (2014): Lahm, Bale, Rooney in Christmas truce video. Available:
<http://www.uefa.com/memberassociations/news/newsid=2196290.html>
 (17/03/2015)
- WITZEL, ANDREAS (2000): The Problem-Centered Interview. Forum Qualitative Social Research 1 (1). Available: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1132/2521> (11/12/2014)

10. Appendix

Appendix 1: *Interview Guide*

IQ:

Can you tell me since how long you are dealing with football and could you describe what your best and worst experience ever was?

M-P I: GE

Topic I: Football and conflict transformation

1.) Did you ever experience sectarian violence in football by yourself?

YES: Please, describe this experience in as much detail as possible.

NO: Did friends of you ever have to face sectarian violence?

2.) In which way do you think that violence in football is connected to your perception of Belfast's past and present?

3.) Can you tell who you consider the most important actors to manage the violence you described?

4.) Could you give examples what the most important measures to deal with the violence you described are?

If not mentioning football projects: Could you imagine that football projects like Glentorans are an appropriate mean to improve community relations?

Topic II: Glentoran and its contribution

1.) Can you tell in as much detail as possible how long you know about Glentoran's involvement "Our Club, Our Community"-Project and what you think about its impact?

If impact "YES": Do you think that it had an impact on the individuals living in East Belfast? Did the project create an understanding for the other? Did it reduce violence between communities? With which measures did the project reach its impact?

If impact "NO": Why do you think that? What were the barriers of it?

2.) In your opinion, does Glentoran follow the right approach to improve community relations?

M-P II: Ad-Hoc Questions → Topics not mentioned so far

End: **What do you wish for children growing up in a future Belfast?**

Appendix 2: Short Questionnaire

Any information provided in this form will be treated with confidentiality. I will not disclose entrusted information without your consent.

Therefore, I want to ask you if I may use your following information in my master thesis. This would be very important in case of a scientific reliability and validity.

Yes

No

If you choose the option 'No', I report your data in an anonymous form.

Name:

Gender:

Age:

Religion:

Citizenship:

Profession:

Favourite Club:

Favourite Sport:

Part of Belfast living in:

Born and raised in:

I agree to be contacted by Christian Wölfelschneider for a second time via mail to verify the transcript of my interview.

Date _____

Signature _____

Appendix 3: *Postscript*

Respondent:

Date:

Time space:

Place of interview:

The first impression:

The appearance of the respondent:

Behaviour of the respondent:

The flow of the interview:

Other Characteristics:

Appendix 4: Standardised Mail

Dear Ms/Mr XYZ,

my name is Christian Woelfelschneider (25) and I am currently studying Peace and Conflict Research at Goethe-University in Frankfurt, Germany. Within the scope of my master thesis I am doing scientific research concerning “The contribution of a football project to conflict transformation in a divided society”. My focus is on the Glentoran FC project “Our Club, Our Community”. Throughout my constant exchange with Stafford Reynolds (former club president and current chairman of the Glentoran Academy) I am glad to be able to contact you. Stafford Reynolds guides me as a mentor throughout the research process.

For the success of my master thesis it is very important to talk to various actors involved in the programme or with knowledge about the communal work. As you meet these standards I would be very thankful to do an interview with you between 4th and 8th of January 2015. During this time space I am flying over to Belfast. They will take only about 20-30 minutes and will be carried out at your home or at any quiet place you prefer. Of course, your data will be treated with absolute confidentiality in compliance with common scientific standards.

Some information about myself:

I am playing football since I was seven years old and love almost every kind of sports. Besides, I am coaching goalkeepers since three years. Right now, I am coaching some goalplayer talents of the German FA. Furthermore, I did an internship with Sport Against Racism Ireland (SARI) during this year and organised a workshop covering the topic “Integration through Sport”. Because of these two and many other reasons, I am very pleased to be able to work in this area throughout my master thesis.

It would be a great pleasure for me if you would be able to offer me some of your valuable time to carry out the interview. If you have further inquiries please feel free to contact me.

Kind regards
Christian Woelfelschneider

Aspeltstr. 7
55118 Mainz (Germany)
+49 (0) 176 627 69 616
christian.woe@gmx.de

Appendix 5: Transcript System

Notation

Use

Underlining

Illustration of a stressed word, part of a sentence or sentence.

E.g.: Yes, that is absolutely true.

(.)

Short Pause or filler like ahem.

E.g.: I (.) I wanted to mention.

(1.0)

Pause in seconds if at least pause of one second.

E.g.: Let me think about that (1.5); no I cannot say anything about it.

(laughing)

Illustration of paralinguage.

E.g.: Yes (laughing), that was incredible.

[*Comment*]

Interpreting comment of the interviewer.

E.g.: Yes (laughing) [*ironic*], that was incredible.

[incomprehensible 2.5]

Illustration of an incomprehensible part of the interview in seconds.

E.g.: I try to remember the coincidence [incomprehensible 3.5] after I ran away.

Appendix 6: *Content of attached CD*

The attached CD contains:

- Pdf-Versions appendices 1-5 and 7
- Category Systems
- Questionnaires and Postscripts of every respondent
- Overview Questionnaire Answers
- All Transcripts plus reviews and a summary
- Voice Recording Data

Appendix 7: Categories with included Codes

- 1) Sectarianism in Irish Football
 - a. History at Club Level
 - b. Present at Club Level
 - c. Perception of Clubs
 - d. Club Identities
 - e. Crowd Size
 - f. Past and Present at International Level
 - g. Measures at International Level
- 2) Differences in Addressing Sectarianism between Football and other Sports
 - a. Other Sports better
 - b. Football better
 - c. Neutral Perspective
- 3) Sectarianism in Connection to Belfast's Past and Present
 - a. Location
 - b. Politics
- 4) Actors and Measures to Deal with Sectarianism
 - a. Football Clubs
 - b. IFA
 - c. Individuals/Youth Leaders
 - d. Other Sports
 - e. Police/Stewarding
 - f. Politics
 - g. Other Ideas
- 5) Contribution of OCOC-Project to Community Relations
 - a. Glentoran's Football Project
 - b. Other Football Projects
- 6) Potential for a Desired Future for Belfast/NI
 - a. Chances
 - b. Challenges
 - c. Wishes

