Arts and Sports in South Africa: Alternative Post-conflict Peacebuilding Tools for Positive Peace

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Abstract

This paper explores the effectiveness of arts and sports programs in the construction of positive peace in South Africa after Apartheid. It does so by collecting information on different arts and sports programs carried out by government and non-government organizations which take place in different cities and townships located in three of the main provinces of the country: Gauteng, Western Cape and KwaZulu Natal. I documented the impact of arts and sports programs in the construction of positive peace. To measure the contribution of these programs I used social cohesion as an indicator of peacebuilding. I argue that although arts and sports programs are effective in promoting social cohesion within communities of the same race, they fail to encourage social cohesion among communities of different races. The existing economic divide of social classes in South Africa contributes to the lack of social integration between black and white South Africans. Hence, in order to promote social cohesion at a national level, it is imperative to breach the economic inequality gap which is entrenched in the existent racial divide from the Apartheid era.

Keywords: South Africa; arts and sports; peacebuilding; sustainable peace; Apartheid; post-conflict.
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1. Introduction

There are different categories of peace that guide different objectives when constructing peace. There is negative peace which refers to “the absence/ reduction of violence of all kinds” (Galtung, 1999, p.9). On the other hand, there is positive peace which refers to “non-violent conflict transformation” (Ibid) which aims for “the integration of human society” (Galtung, 1964, p.2).

In the effort to understand the effect of introducing arts and sports as alternative peacebuilding strategies, this study intends to give an answer to the research question: *can arts and sports peacebuilding programs contribute to the maintenance of positive peace after conflict.* To demonstrate the practical application of arts and sports in peacebuilding I investigated the case of South Africa after Apartheid in order to understand the contribution of arts and sports programs in the reconstruction of the South African Republic.

The significance of this study is that it examines shortcomings and success of arts and sports peacebuilding programs in South Africa in order to have a better understanding of the effect of these programs in the country and how they can be improved. In addition, this research contributes to further academic examination of alternative peacebuilding initiatives that can be applied in the creation of national unity in post-conflict transitions. The South African model is a useful case study since it is an interesting post-conflict and post-violence scenario and, second, because these types of peacebuilding programs were implemented throughout the country in an effort to foster reconciliation and positive peace within and among the different ethnic communities.
The post-Apartheid constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 specifies the importance of social cohesion and tolerance for the maintenance of social order in South Africa. In this way, governmental authorities created the Department of Arts and Culture as well as the Department of Sports and Recreation in order to promote social cohesion among South Africans through various arts and sports programs respectively. In addition, the main aim of mentioned institutions is to transform social relationships in order to foster unity among South Africans. This study looks at the types of governmental and non-governmental institutions that have implemented arts and sports programs in order to increase social cohesion among and within communities at a national and grassroots level. The aim of this study is to evaluate arts and sports peacebuilding efforts based on the promotion of social cohesion as an indicator of peace.

In order to evaluate peacebuilding efforts, I use Lederach’s (1997) analytical framework of the three levels of society: Top leadership, middle-level leadership and grassroots leadership. This analytical framework is useful to carry out a comparative analysis that can highlight the distinct approaches that all these different societal levels have taken to generate social cohesion within and among communities in their efforts to promote positive peace. For this study, I carried out key informant interviews and a group interview in order to gather data on the different art and sport programs hosted by government and non-governmental organizations in the cities of Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and two townships, Tembisa and Soweto. Lastly, I measured the success of the arts and sports programs based on their contribution in promoting social cohesion, a useful indicator used to measure the promotion of positive peace.
In this paper, I argue that arts and sports peacebuilding programs in South Africa are effective in generating social cohesion among beneficiaries of the different programs. However, the lack of social cohesion at a national level influences the impact of these programs. Thus, I conclude that in order for these programs to be effective, the South African government has to provide the necessary economic conditions that can breach the existent economic inequality gap which is embedded in racial vestiges of Apartheid.
2. Literature Review

2.1 Definition of Peace

The discipline of peace studies has classified three different meanings of peace more broadly. Galtung argues that the first meaning of peace is “the idea of peace as synonym of stability or equilibrium” (Galtung, 1967, p.12). This concept encompasses the idea of “law and order” where social order is the primary focus. However, this concept disregards the means by which social order is accomplished. Furthermore, this idea of stability and equilibrium can also apply to the internal state of human being even if violence is present (Galtung, 1967). Other concepts of peace that have been widely explored by different academics are the concepts of positive and negative peace. Positive peace refers to the “cooperation and integration between human groups” (Galtung, 1967, p.12). Hence, it is concerned with the social capital dimension of social cohesion in which social relations are strengthened and thus, social ties are created (Berger-Schmitt 2002; Cox and Sisk 2012). On the other hand, negative peace is widely understood as the absence of organized collective violence or hostilities between nations or individuals (Galtung, 1967; Sandole, 2010). More specifically, as Galtung points out, the concept of collective violence included in negative peace refers to the violence that breaches peace in a great context. Hence, it does not include random individual violence.

2.2 Definition of Peacebuilding

In the struggle to end intrastate conflict in the twentieth century, peace operations have been enforced by international, governmental, and non-governmental organizations with the aim of maintaining peace in the international community and to avoid the costs of
war. Johan Galtung was the first person who alluded to the concept of peacebuilding in 1975. His theoretical framework is developed in *Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding*. This publication has been the basis for the understanding of new ways to pursue peace (Paffenholz, 2010). The three approaches of Peace that Galtung (1980) explores can be explained by a triad that has the ultimate goal of conflict resolution and quest for peace. Departing from the premise that peace is the absence of violence, Galtung distinguishes two types of violence, direct and structural, which are not exclusive in conflict situations; “the absence of direct violence (war, destructive interaction) and absence of structural violence (domination, exploitative interaction)” (p.103). These two types of violence determine two different ways of approaching conflict resolution: peacekeeping and peacebuilding. “In general terms, peace can be built in two ways: dissociatively, by keeping the parties apart in zero or minimum interaction (Peace-keeping); and associatively, by keeping them together in positive interaction (Peacebuilding)” (Galtung, 1980, p.103).

The concept of peacebuilding was popularized by former UN Secretary General Boutrous Boutros Ghali in 1992 through UN’s *Agenda for Peace*. In this document peacebuilding is defined as “the construction of a new environment that should be viewed as the counterpart of preventive diplomacy, which seeks to avoid the breakdown of peaceful conditions (…) preventive diplomacy is to avoid a crisis; post-conflict peacebuilding is to prevent a reoccurrence” (Ghali, 1992, Para.57). According to this definition, peacebuilding is seen as a phase that takes place after conflict has ended and it intends to avert conflict from happening again. Conversely, Matthews and Ali (2004) argue that peacebuilding is
process that can exist before the war even starts and while the war is still going on. More
specifically, they argue that the structures created before and during the war intend to
demarcate how peace will be constructed after conflict. In their view, peacebuilding is a long-
term process that encompasses a set of challenges that are to be addressed if the country is to
establish stability. As an aim to conceptually understand the aims of peacebuilding, Matthews
and Ali (2004) suggest four main tasks that are crucial for the attainment of peace after post-
conflict situations. These tasks are considered to establish the main pillars or challenges of
peacebuilding: “creating a secure environment, building political institutions, promoting
economic development and coping with injustice as a way to foster reconciliation”

In order to address the challenges of peacebuilding proposed by Matthews and Ali
(2004), the international community has emphasized the necessity to build democratic
institutions. According to Boutrous Ghali (1992), “peace, development and democracy are
inextricably linked” (Ghali, Para. 118). Referring to the international community, he adds
that “democratization is being encouraged at all levels in the task of maintaining international
peace and security” (Ghali, 1992, Para. 65). The promotion of democracy as an effective way
of achieving peace is the most dominant approach of peacebuilding (Paffenholz, 2001;
Richmond, 2009; King and Matthews, 2012). According to Leonardsson and Rudd (2015),
the end of the cold war came with new security challenges to be addressed by the international
community. Internal violence and failed states gave rise to a “global culture in which liberal
democracy came to be generally perceived as the most legitimate form of state” (Paris,
2004, p.35). Hence, the dominance of the democratic peacebuilding approach has
influenced academic literature and has produced an interesting dialogue among academics and practitioners in regards to the effectiveness of democratic peacebuilding. For this reason, great part of academic literature in peacebuilding deals with either successes, pitfalls or drawbacks of democratic peacebuilding (Paffenholz, 2010; King and Matthews, 2012; Jarstad and Sicks, 2008; Mansfield and Snyder, 1995).

In order to understand democratic peacebuilding, one has to first understand the concept of democratization. According to Jarstad and Sicks (2008), “Democratization refers to the process of opening up political space, including improvements regarding contestation, participation, and human rights” (p.17). Thus, when one refers to peacebuilding through democratization, the focus of peacebuilding is given to security and the establishment of self-sustainable institutions (Jarstad and Sicks, 2008). Indeed, the main premise that democratic peace theory holds is that “democracies rarely fight one another because they share common norms of live-and-let live and domestic institutions constrain the recourse to war” (Rosato, 2003, p. 585). Although this theory has been greatly accepted and disproved at the same time, some academics have argued that the transition to democracy is crucial for the promotion of peace if conflict is to be avoided (Mansfield and Snyder, 1995). Mansfield et al. suggest that transition democracies are prone to war if the transition is not carried out adequately. Henceforth, they argue that the role of the International community when promoting democratization should not be only focused on the promotion of democratization but, on smoothing the transition to democracy to decrease the risks of war.
2.3 Specific Tools of Peacebuilding: Sports and Arts

As an aim to understand specific activities that generate reconciliation among society, and thus, transform conflict, I suggest to analyze arts and sports as tools that can generate positive peace within and among society and thus, address the forth pillar of peacebuilding suggested by Matthews and Ali (2004); which explores justice and reconciliation.

Sports

The literature of sports in relation to the promotion of peace indicates that sports can be seen as an activity that unites people together and therefore, generates social cohesion (Grant, 2003). Back in ancient Greece sports became a symbol of reconciliation and peace with the invention of the Olympic games. These games were the product of an Olympic Truce (Eikecheiria) that intended to “stop war between the Peloponnesian city-states. When a formal agreement was signed declaring that all wars should cease, arms should be laid down, and competitors and spectators allowed to travel safety to and from the games.” (Miall et al., 2011, 352) Likewise, the modern Olympic movement, founded by Pierre de Coubertin, was officially inaugurated in 1896 in Athens. This Olympic truce is, according to the International Olympic Truce Center, “A peace accord which lasted more than 1,200 years of ancient history. A truce which has now been revived to offer hope and an opportunity for dialogue. Encouraging and inspiring all humanity to... imagine peace.” (International Olympic Truce Center, 2016)

Hoglund and Sunderbe (2008) argue that in the context of peacebuilding, sports promote reconciliation through: “1. The utilization of symbols and symbolic acts of reconciliation; 2. The application of sport policies to create fair representation, 3. The
breaking down of stereotypes and negative attitudes through inter-communal sports initiatives, 4. Individual development” (p.806). In addition, it has been argued that sports have a universal language and therefore, “it is possible to eliminate linguistic barriers and other obstacles to interaction (…) sport, with its primarily non-verbal and immediately comprehensible interactions, is therefore particularly suited as a medium for overcoming feelings of socio-cultural unfamiliarity and ‘otherness’” (Stüwe, 1984, p.303)

These positive benefits of sports are endorsed by different international organizations that are not only related to peace promotion. The importance of sports’ participation is highlighted in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the UN Millennium Goals, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), and other UN agencies such as UNICEF, UNESCO, UNDP, UNHCR (Miall et al., 2011).

When explaining sports’ potential, UN Sport for Development and Peace argues that:

*Sport is inherently about drawing on, developing and showcasing people’s strengths and capacities. By shining a light on what people can do, rather than what they cannot do, sport consistently empowers, motivates and inspires individuals and their communities in a way that promotes hope and a positive outlook for the future ingredients that are essential to the success of all development and peace endeavors. For this reason, sport is also an extremely powerful means of promoting physical and mental health* (UN Sport for Development and Peace, 2016, p.6)

Arguments against the use of sports in peacebuilding have suggested that sports have the potential of enhancing negative stereotypes and prejudices by players and spectators (Broskamps, 1990, p.220) and therefore, they constitute a “potential for conflict”
(Houghlund and Sundberg, 2008, p.806). Although Donnelly (2011) recognizes the destructive potential that results from competition including the attitudes of ‘us’ against ‘them’, he argues that using sports for international development and peace is possible “under carefully controlled circumstances” (p.65).

**Arts**

According to Tovar (2015), “the power of art to promote peace resides in its character capable of strong emotional outbursts.” (p.349) It is important to have into account that in this particular case, art refers to the arts in general i.e. music, theater, poetry, literature, dance, and the visual arts as well such as panting, sculpture, photography and others. All these kinds of art allow to imagine a different future and by doing so, art becomes a medium to create, to express emotions, to transcend the circle of violence, to heal the wounds of war, to transform, to reconcile, to establish new relationships, and to dream (Tovar, 2015). In addition, Shank suggests that art has the capacity to transcend and generate art activism that can eventually transform the social justice movement by proposing alternative advocacy models (Shank and Schirch, 2008).

According to Wood (2015) and Tovar (2015), art has been an invaluable tool since the prehistoric times and it is embedded in the social context from which it emerges. Hence, art is able to reflect the social, political, economical, historical and religious setting in which it is created. Likewise, as Tovar (2015) argues, art is more than either entertainment or a cathartic tool. Art is an opportunity for a society to define itself, represent its collective history, to present alternatives and different ways of seeing the world. As it can be observed, art is a powerful tool. However, it has to be combined with a permanent pedagogy of
peacebuilding when constructing peace. The symbolic significance of art is very useful during peace processes for different reasons: 1. It allows to express in an abstract way, 2. Apologies and speeches might sound empty when not accompanied by symbolic acts, 3. Symbolic acts directly affect our emotional intelligence (Ibid).

According to Wood (2015), “Contemporary scholars are confirming what artists have known intuitively for centuries: that humans are not entirely rational beings.” (p.2) Hence, human beings are not only influenced by their rational choices when making decision but also by their more deeply values (Ibid). These values “are deeply embedded in the lives of individuals, groups, and nations with roots in differing views of the world. The arts can open and enlarge someone’s worldview and enhance understanding of other’s, leading to empathy and inclusion. Alternatively, artistic media can intensify worldview disparities and dehumanize others” (Ibid, p.3). If it is true that art has the potential to be a tool of transformation after conflict, it is necessary to utilize that tool according to the context. It is for this reason that arts activities have to develop different approaches that are culturally sensitive. In addition, arts projects have to develop different methodologies and evaluation practices that accommodate to the different needs of peacebuilding projects (Ibid).
3. Historical Context:

As it was previously mentioned, in order to use arts and sports as peacebuilding tools, it is necessary to understand the context in which peacebuilding takes place. In the case of South Africa the conflict was not so much an armed conflict but rather a racial conflict that became the rule of law. Racial segregation imposed in South Africa can be better described as a phenomenon of systemic violence that generated hatred between different races, especially black and white. Since 1994 the country has abolished Apartheid and South Africa has become a ‘multicolor’ nation. The transition from segregation to non-segregation has to occur in all the levels of society in order to construct peace. Tolerance among citizens of different racial colors is imperative in the construction of a new South Africa. Although the rule of law has change in the country, South Africans need to reconcile with the horrors of the past and look forward to the future. Most importantly, South Africans ought to transform the way in which they relate to one another and bridge the differences that have disunited the country since its existence as such.

As it has been stated, arts and sports programs contribute to the transformation of social relations in societies affected by violence. In the case of South Africa, one has to understand its history to fully comprehend the main role of arts and sports programs in the process of peacebuilding. The lack of social cohesion always promoted by Apartheid had to be reversed when the New Republic of South Africa emerged. As follows, this paper will introduce the history of South Africa in order to later focus on social cohesion as the main restorative element of the peacebuilding process.
3.1 Before the Consolidation of Apartheid

The Union of South Africa was officially established in 1910 when four self-governing British colonies united into a constitutional monarchy dominated by the British Empire. The creation of this new political order aimed to create a dominating white hegemony with the help of the long-established Afrikaners who were defeated in the South African War in 1902. Although white dominance was a common objective for the British and the Afrikaners, the Afrikaner national sentiment intensified by the low economic conditions of the Dutch farmers who at that time constantly challenged the British hegemony in the Union Act (Ross et al. 2011).

By 1948, an Afrikaner political party, the National Party, was elected. Its election was a milestone in the creation of the Republic of South Africa in 1961 (Ross et al. 2011). Although the authoritarian rule of the National Party institutionalized a segregation policy in 1948 known as Apartheid (“separateness” in Afrikaans), racial policies that separated black people were consolidated in the Act of Union in 1910 (Wood, 2000). The aim of segregation policies was to provide the “upliftment of poor whites and the subjugation of Africans” (Ross et al, 2011, p.254). There are two acts that specifically contributed to the subjugation of blacks: The Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 and the Native’s Land Act of 1913. As follows, the Native Labour Regulation Act accounted for the institutionalisation of labor policies that ultimately stagnated the wages of black labor to remaining constant in real terms from 1911 to 1969 (Wilson, 1972 in Wood, 2000). On the other hand, the Natives Land Act of 1913, “prohibited Africans from purchasing or renting land from non-Africans outside of
the ‘reserves’-black homelands” (Wood, 2000, p.116). Theses reserve areas represented only a 7.7 percent of the land of the surface of the Union (Ross et al., 2011). Hence, black Africans were limited to carry their agricultural practices only in their homelands.

3.2 The Project of Apartheid

The victory of the National Party in 1948 made possible the legal consolidation of a regime based on racial segregation. White supremacy was praised by the regime and hence, the policies of Apartheid were based on the maintenance of white dominance in all the possible spheres of society. Different from other authoritarian, supremacist racialized regimes such as the Nazi state, Apartheid aimed to “keep (most) people alive, albeit under conditions of perpetual servitude and submission, so as to keep the structures of white supremacy intact” (Ross et al., 2011, p. 322). Nevertheless, white supremacy was not just an aim of the political regime. The Afrikaner nationalism of the white Afrikaner volk was built on “the Christian theology of power (…) a formal proof of God’s election of the Afrikaner people and His special destiny for them” (Moodie, 1975 cited in Ross et al., 2011). Hence, the Christian Nationalism argument was based on the fact that “blacks and whites were different in accordance with God’s plan, racial integration was a sacrilege” (Ross et al., 2011, p.322).

According to Wood (2000), the policies of Apartheid were effective in “increasing Afrikaner ownership of the private sector and in promoting the upward mobility of Afrikaner workers” (p.121). The mining sector, the manufacturing sector and the financial sector were the main sectors that saw an increase of Afrikaner ownership. In addition, as
mentioned before, blue-collar occupations for Afrikaners decreased while white-collar jobs increased in the 1970s (O’Meara, 1996).

In order to maintain the regime of Apartheid, the National party’s government created legislations that would legally empower the state to exercise control over the population. Different Acts were implemented throughout the 1950s with the aim of enforcing an authoritarian rule implemented by the Apartheid oligarchic state. Each Act was meant to address a specific aspect that made part of the greater engineered project of the regime. According to Ross et al. (2011), the first two laws of the Apartheid that targeted the relations between blacks and whites was the Immorality Act of 1949 and the 1950 Mixed Marriage Act, both of these acts claimed that whites and blacks were not allowed to marry or have sexual intercourse with somebody belonging to a different race. On the other hand, the Group Areas Act of 1950 aimed to implement residential segregation with the purpose of controlling the space (Wood, 2000). The Group Areas Act was reinforced by the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the 1952 Abolition of Pass and Documents Act both dealing with the systematic racial categorization of South Africans. Different from the rest of the population, Africans had to constantly carry a reference book with “their employment history and residence rights” (Ross, 1999, p. 119). In regards to education, the Apartheid regime implemented the 1953 Bantu Education Act which promoted racial segregation in all educational institutions. Apart from controlling the educational curriculum of schools, this Act intended to teach specific knowledge that would impede the upward mobilization of blacks in the job market (Ross, 1999).
3.3 Responses to Apartheid Policies

The repression and authoritarianism of Apartheid allowed the consolidation of revolutionary groups which instigated different public demonstrations that intensified in the 1960s. Some of the forms of collective action included “petitions and meetings to civil disobedience and mass demonstrations, illegal and legal strikes and political ‘stayaways,’ military attacks and sabotage and, finally, campaigns of ‘governability and insurrection’” (Wood, 2000, p. 124). By the 1980s, the South African Defence Force organized to carry out a program known as ‘Total Strategy’ which aimed to prevent any attack from the different insurgent movements that were threatening the Apartheid order (Ross, 1999).

The main threat for the Apartheid government in the 1960s was the organization of a political resistant movement in 1912, the ANC (African National Congress). Following its liberal political ideology which claimed equal rights and a representative democracy, the ANC created an insurgent organization -Umkonto we Sizwe (“Spear of the Nation”) - in order to fight back Apartheid (Wood, 2000). Although this insurgent organization was unsuccessful in fighting back the militarized South African government at the time, it was the catalyst to the formation of the ‘Making Soldiers Campaign’ (Ross, 1999) which promoted the participation of young people, “A generation of children spent their youths challenging the political system under the slogan ‘Liberation Now! Education Later!’” (Ibid, p.162). Likewise, the Soweto uprising in 1976 was the result of youth political activism through their mobilization against the policies of Apartheid.
3.4 From Apartheid to Democracy

When President F.W de Klerk took office in 1989, he promised from the beginning he was going to find a political solution to the increasing subversive behaviour of the black opponents. In accordance with his promise, De Klerk liberated the freedom fighter, Nelson Mandela in 1990 and in addition, he lifted the ban to the ANC, The Communist Party, the Pan-African Congress and other organizations that partook in the struggle against Apartheid (Ross, 1999). Among the most prominent factors that influenced De Klerk’s decisions was the stagnation of the South African economy due the increasing economic sanctions imposed by the international community.

In light of this, in 1991 CODESA (The Convention for a Democratic South Africa) was formed in order to find a “national conflict resolution” (Deegan, 2001,p.78). In this way, the multi-party participation of nine members in the convention aimed to discuss and establish a new body of government in which everyone would partake. The nature of the existent tricameral party was to be modified and a new constitution adopted (Ross, 1999). The conference took place in 1991 and the interim constitution was adopted in 1993. Later on in 1994 the first democratic election in South African history was carried out from the 26th to 29th of April. During the elections “19,726,610 South Africans voted” (Ross, 1999, p.194) and the ANC “won 62.65 per cent of the vote and captured seven of the nine provinces” (Ibid, p.195). These results led to the victory of former President Nelson Mandela who was appointed head of the state and in doing so, committed to redress the effects of Apartheid.
3.5 Peacebuilding Efforts in the new Republic of South Africa

For decades South African history was dominated by a deep conflict between a minority which reserved for itself all control over the political instruments of the state and the majority who sought to resist that dominion. Fundamental human rights became a major causality of this conflict. (Chief Justice D.P Mohammed. Final Report, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, vol.1, Chapter 2.)

The structural violence that was imposed by Apartheid in South Africa could be argued to have caused a structural inter-racial conflict in which violence and oppression were exercised in the name of Apartheid. Having conflict as a framework of reference explains the reason why the efforts to reconstruct South Africa could be seen as peacebuilding efforts concurrently. In this vein, the most prominent peacebuilding efforts that have been implemented in South Africa are: the TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission), the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) and, the Affirmative Action policy.

- The TRC had three main committees, the Human Rights violation committee, the Amnesty Committee and the Reparation and Reconciliation Committee. The TRC aimed to heal and acknowledge the abuses committed between 1960 and 1994. Different hearings and investigations took place in order to “establish the causes, nature and violations of human rights” (Deegan, 2001, p.125).

- The RDP was a plan that sought to promote a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist community integrated within a socio-economic framework. One of the main goals
of the plan was to help in the process of nation-building and economic development through liberal economic practices (Deegan, 2001).

- The Affirmative Action policy is still carried out in labor and educational institutions with the aim of preventing any type of discrimination based on “race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, family responsibility, ethnic or social origin, color, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, HIV status, conscience, belief, political opinion, culture, language or birth” (Deegan, 2001, p. 126).

3.6 Role of Arts and Sports in the Struggle against Apartheid

3.6.1 Arts

The arts have been an important feature for Africans throughout the continuous struggle of oppression and segregation. During the Union Act of South Africa, music played an important role in the reinvention of a black identity. The Zulu and Jazz styles conquered the cultural scene of black South African music around the time of Apartheid. Furthermore, other forms of arts such as dancing became symbolic tools in black social activism during Apartheid. During the 1980s the toyi-toyi dance of the black youth became an emblematic sign of civil disobedience that dated back to the dances of pre-colonial war (Ross, 1999). Furthermore, drama organizations such as the Market Theater, which still performs today, and dancing academies such as Dance for All opened their doors before the end of Apartheid to promote non-racial policies for audiences and performing artists. In order to continue with this legacy, the post-Apartheid Republic of South Africa saw the necessity of establishing the Department of Arts and Culture, in conjunction with other institutions such as the
National Arts Council of South Africa as a way of promoting development and social cohesion.

3.6.2 Sports

Along with the arts, sports played an important role in South Africa. For white South Africans, sports, specifically Rugby, played an important role in the affirmation of the white South African identity. On the other hand, for black South Africans, sports such as soccer specifically, was a socializing activity that allowed the integration of other racial and ethnic communities (Ross, 2011). According to Keim (2003), SACOS (South African Council of Sports), an important sports association founded in 1970, strived for the racial integration through sports under Apartheid. In addition, the National Sport Congress founded in 1989 aimed to bring together different sports disciplines for the benefit of South Africans. According to Ross (1999), soccer and specially Rugby, helped break Apartheid divisions. In the 1995 the Rugby World Cup for example, the victory of the new South African Republic fostered national unity. With the aim of breaching the racial gap in the New South African Republic, the government created the Department of Sports and Recreation in order to promote social cohesion among different races.
4. Theoretical Framework

4.1 Lederach’s Analytical Model

According to Lederach (1997), the process of peacebuilding has to involve community participation. As Lederach argues, community participation is essential for the maintenance of peace and security. Hence, in order to achieve transformative and sustainable peace, one has to look at “structural issues, social dynamics of relationship building, and the development of a supportive infrastructure of peace” (Lederach, 1997, p. 21). This suggests that when analyzing peacebuilding in South Africa, it is required to examine social cohesion within (bonding) and among (bridging) communities in order to evaluate the effectiveness of arts and sports peacebuilding programs. Having into account that communities in South Africa were racially divided during Apartheid, this study intends to assess racial discrimination in South Africa in order to better understand the role of arts and sports programs in breaching discriminatory differences between blacks, coloured and whites. As Lederach’s theory demonstrates, reconciliation and the need to build relationships is a way to foster social cohesion and hence, contribute to the process of peacebuilding. Although the process of peacebuilding is guided by three different levels of society (top-down, middle-level and grassroots actors), their interactions are meant to support the process of peacebuilding within and among communities.

The different hierarchical approaches to build peace according to Lederach, require the participation of diverse community actors who can mobilize the support of the state, NGOs and community members. In my research, Top leadership is represented by government organizations as well as organizations that are founded by the government and
thus, follow the government’s mandate in regards to sports and arts programs. The Middle-range leadership is represented by international and local independent NGOs working in small communities and townships in South Africa. Finally, the Grassroots category is represented by past beneficiaries of arts and sports programs. Their participation in the study was indispensable in order to have a first-hand account of the effectiveness of arts and sports peacebuilding programs.

4.2 Social Cohesion as Indicator for Peace Promotion

According to Chan et al. (2006), in recent years social cohesion has become an important tool in the aim to understand the complexity of peacebuilding. Furthermore, social cohesion helps to the comprehension of post-conflict reconstruction of societies. It delineates a framework of understanding in relation to the social changes after conflict. In doing so, it puts in evidence the efforts of top-down and bottom-up approaches to peacebuilding (Lederach, 1997). Social cohesion analyses social ties with the aim of looking at post-conflict societies and see if the efforts of top-level, middle level and grassroots level of society have had any impact in the social dynamics of communities.

In order to narrow the scope to measure social cohesion, I focused on social capital. My aim was to evaluate social ties within (bonding) and among (bridging) communities in South Africa (Putnam et al. 1994). According to Berger-Smith (2007), “Social cohesion is based on social capital (…) which is also created by social relations and ties established, maintained and experienced by individuals.” In the aim to measure social cohesion at a national level, I used racial segregation in South Africa as an indicator of the existence of social ties among communities from different racial backgrounds. In order to account for
the existent social ties within communities, I looked at social closure among beneficiaries of arts and sports community programs. Social closure is an important aspect that can measure social cohesion within community members who partake from arts and sports programs. Finally, I took into consideration if the beneficiaries of arts and sports programs were from different racial groups in order to determine if arts and sports programs were being effective in creating social ties among members of diverse racial groups. These three specific variables chosen to measure social cohesion were important in revealing the effectiveness of arts and sports programs in facing the vestiges of racial division from Apartheid, which poses a problem for the construction of positive peace.
5. Methodology

5.1 Procedure: Participant Sampling and Overview

Data collection and field work in South Africa took place from June 5th to June 25th, 2015. Prior to the fieldwork, I made contact with the participants of the study. My departing point was contacting top-level participants who were the representatives of the main governmental organizations dedicated to the promotion of arts and sports in South Africa. Therefore, I contacted via e-mail the Director General Alec Moemi from the Sports and Recreation Department of South Africa in Pretoria (Gauteng Province) and the Arts Development Manager, Julie Diphofa, from the National Arts Council of South Africa in Johannesburg (Gauteng Province). Once I had the information of these governmental institutions, I searched their government websites for other institutions that were funded by the South African government and carried out promotion of arts and sports programs. In this way, I contacted the representatives of a community center facility that provide sport activities for the community in the township of Soweto (Gauteng Province), the representative of a governmental theatre in Johannesburg, the representative of Business and Arts South Africa in Johannesburg, the representative of African Arts Center in Durban (KwaZulu Natal Province) and the representative of Field Band in Johannesburg.

From these governmental founded organizations, I moved unto finding participants from the second level, middle-range leadership, represented by independent NGOs, local and international, working in specific areas of the country. The NGOs contacted for this study operate in the township of Tembisa (Gauteng Province), Cape Town (Western Cape Province) and Durban (KwaZulu Natal Province). In total, there were 6 different
representatives from independent NGOs who accepted an interview. Three of them held sports programs and were located in Durban, Tembisa (Gauteng province) and in Johannesburg. The other three NGOs that promoted arts related programs were located in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The third level of grassroots leadership, was represented in this study by past beneficiaries of these projects who were 20 years old or older. Hence, the participants were contacted once I was on the field. One participant from Tembisa, a township and another from the township of Soweto. In addition, a group interview was carried out in Cape Town with 6 past participants from the same dancing program.

The fieldwork was conducted in three main locations: Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town. Seeing the time constrains and the location of the majority of the organizations I was able to contact, I decided to stay 12 days in Johannesburg, which is located in the Gauteng province. From there I traveled to Pretoria and two townships, Tembisa and Soweto. The last 8 days were spent in Cape Town which is located in the province of Western Cape. From there I carried out a Skype interview with a research participant from Durban, KwaZulu Natal. Figure 1 shows the locations of the participants for this study.

*Figure 1 Location of the study participants in South Africa.*

The following table, Table 1, contains background information of the participants involved in this study. The three levels of society are demarcated in order to differentiate the different actors involved in arts and sports programs in South Africa.

**Table 1: List of Participants involved in the Study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location (Province)</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Sports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td><strong>-BASA (Business and Arts SA)</strong> it promotes arts projects sustainability through research and seminars in order to enhance the arts-business relationship. Its main objective is to finance the sustainability of arts projects in the country. <strong>-Field Band</strong> Aims to provide opportunities for the disadvantage and it intends to provide children with life skills through music. <strong>-National Arts Council of South Africa</strong> It is an agency founded by the Department of Arts and Culture. Its responsibility is to grant founding to agencies for arts programs.</td>
<td><strong>- Department of Sports and Recreation in South Africa</strong> The national government department responsible for sport in South Africa. Its main focus is to provide opportunities for sports’ participation in South Africa and to provide funds for sports activates. <strong>- Soweto Community Center Facilities</strong> It is a community center located in the township of Soweto that holds football training for kids and young people from the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu Natal</td>
<td><strong>-The African Art Center</strong> Provides professional platform and support for crafters of the province and nurtures the skilled artist and crafters through education and training.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Second Level Middle-Level Leadership (Independent NGOs)

| Western Cape | **Center for Cultural and African Studies**  
It is an institute that sponsors arts projects and its primary role is to develop arts as a way to understand human rights and democracy. In addition, it reaffirms African aesthetics and promotes personal development through the arts.  
**Dance for All**  
Empowers children and youth with life skills, fosters participant’s personal development and opens career possibilities. |  |
| Gauteng | **Market Theater**  
It is an organization in charge of promoting South African cultural background through arts performance. Diversity is promoted through educational programs that aim to engage communities. | **Play for Fun, Learn for Life**  
It is an organization that works in undeserved communities by promoting peaceful competition through soccer. Furthermore, it aims to promote healthy human development.  
**Qhubeka**  
It is an organization that helps to foster sustainable development in rural communities. This organization provides children with bicycles in exchange for their work in their communities. By doing so, it empowers children’s personal and community’s development. |
| KwaZulu Natal |  | **Childhood Now**  
It is an international organization that promotes sports and recreation programs for children in rural communities. Its aim is to enhance children’s development |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Level Grassroots Leadership (Past Beneficiaries of the arts and sports programs older than 20 years old)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| - A past beneficiary from Soweto Sports Community Center  
  40 year old black male who is a past beneficiary of soccer programs. He is currently a soccer trainer and works with youth and children in sport promotion at the community center. |
| - A past beneficiary from Play for Fun, Learn from Life  
  25 year old black female who is now a soccer trainer in Tembisa and who works with children after school and carries out soccer activities for youth and children. |
| Western Cape                                   |
| - 6 past beneficiaries who participated from the focus group research.  
  3 females and 3 males coloured and black. They were all in their early twenties. They are current dancers who chose to become professional dancers with the training they got at Dance for All. |

### 5.2 Instruments of Data Collection and Analysis

The research model used was inductive research which allowed me to analyze some patterns after the data was collected. In this study I was especially interested in examining social cohesion as an indicator of effective peace promotion. In order to evaluate the success of arts and sports peacebuilding programs, I explored the way in which these programs generated social cohesion among participants.

In order to measure the promotion of social cohesion through arts and sports programs among beneficiaries, I took into account **social closure among beneficiaries**. This indicator was selected in order to investigate if there was social cohesion within communities (bonding). Social closure indicated if participants were closer to each other after
partaking from arts or sports programs. Then, I accounted for racial diversity of the beneficiaries of arts and sports programs in order to see if social cohesion was inter-racially promoted. Lastly, I took into account the existence of racial segregation in South Africa in order to see if there was social cohesion among communities (bridging) of different racial background. By doing so, I expected to investigate if these programs were being effective at a national scale.

5.3 Methods of Data Collection:

A qualitative research method was chosen and key informant interviews were carried out for the Top level and the Middle level approaches. A group interview and two other independent interviews were carried out with some beneficiaries of different sports programs.

Key informant interviews were in-depth face-to-face and Skype interviews. Key informant interviews allowed surveying key participants and actors from the different levels of society (Mountain States Group, Inc, 1999). These interviews were semi-structured, meaning that they were organized “around predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between the interviewer and interviewee/ s” (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006, p.40). Semi-structure interviews allow consistency among participants in the information collected. Two different set of questions were given; one to past beneficiaries of arts and sports programs and another one was given to national and international government and non-governmental organizations which are currently devoted in working in these community programs.¹ Prior to the interviews, a letter of

¹ Both of the interview formats used in the study are attached in the Appendix.
consent was sent to NGOs and government organizations and an oral consent was obtained before interviews were carried out. Interviews took maximum thirty minutes. The group interview for this study took place in Cape Town with six past beneficiaries from a program that promoted dancing activities for young people. I moderated the discussion of all the past beneficiaries and posed the same questions that past beneficiaries answered independently. Past beneficiaries commented on their experiences and shared their views around the different aspects that helped to evaluate the promotion of social cohesion.

5.4 Description of the Questionnaires

Two sets of questionnaires were used for this study. One for the members of top level and middle level of society and a different one for past beneficiaries.

5.4.1 Sample Questions Top level and Middle level.

In total there were 16 questions asked to governmental organizations, the National Council of Arts and the Department of Sports and Recreation. On the other hand, NGOs were asked 14 questions in total. The first 10 questions were the same for government and non-governmental organizations. These questions were meant to give an insight of social cohesion generated within communities (bonding) and among communities (bridging). In addition, specific questions about the racial background of the participants of these projects were asked in order to see if these activities were accomplishing inter-racial participation of whites, blacks and coloured. Questions that aimed to provide background information about the specific arts and sports programs were useful in order to infer if social closure was promoted by arts and sports programs. It is important to notice that social cohesion among communities in this study is solely based on the participants’ perception of racial segregation.
in South Africa. If participants accepted that there was racial segregation, they recognized the existence of a social barrier that currently impedes social cohesion among fellow citizens in South Africa.

5.4.2 Sample Questions for Past Beneficiaries (20 years or older)

These 11 questions were used for Key informant interviews and for the group interview. The different questions aimed to have participants’ opinions on the programs in which they participated. These questions asked participants if they were closer to their mates after the participation of the program in order to measure if social cohesion within the community was achieved (bonding). In addition, questions in relation to racial discrimination in South Africa were asked in order to test for social cohesion among different racial communities in South Africa (bridging). Furthermore, questions related to the racial background of the past beneficiaries mates’ were asked in order to see if inter-racial interaction was promoted through the different arts and sports programs. Although the questions were similar to the questions asked to the top and middle levels of society, it was necessary to see if the answers in relation to the indicators of social cohesion were consistent with the answers of the top and middle level of society.

5.5 Limitations and Strengths

5.5.1 Limitations

Some of the limitations in this study were the time constrains. Twenty days is a short period of time to collect data and carry out interviews in distinct parts of a large country. Although the research succeeded at covering the main South African cities and townships, further information on peacebuilding arts and sports programs in rural communities would
have allowed a more in-depth analysis of the success and failures of art and sport programs in reaching out disadvantaged communities within the country. Throughout the study, members from government and non-governmental organizations, might have over-claimed the success of peacebuilding programs in communities. Another limitation closely related to an ethical concern was the omission of younger participants of the arts and sports programs who were below 20 years old whom could not be interviewed because of the sensibility of the topic. Children were restrained from being interviewed from fear of awakening animosity and psychological distress related to the episodes of Apartheid. Lastly, the narrative of the community where these programs operate is missing. The participation of community members who indirectly benefit from arts and sports activities was dismissed since it was difficult to connect with community members. Thus, I do not have concrete evidence on how these activities impact community lives.

5.5.2 Strengths

This study counted with the participation of two of the main institutions that provide arts and sports programs promotion throughout the country which is relevant for the narrative of arts and sports programs at the national level. In addition, this study was able to explore the different levels of society that fit in Lederach’s theoretical stratification which allows for the exploration of the distinct roles at different levels of society in post-conflict peacebuilding processes. Finally, this study was geographically relevant to the historical context of the events that happened during Apartheid. For example, I had the opportunity to go to Soweto and interview the community center of this township which was the home for Nelson Mandela. Moreover, this center was a strategic point during the Soweto uprising in
1976, where young people opposed to be taught in the Afrikaans language in their schools.

In addition, Cape Town was an important place that was affected by Apartheid policies. District 6 was the most relevant example of the physical divide of Apartheid policies in Cape Town. This district was home to immigrant communities and was demolished by Apartheid.
6. Results

The following results presented in tables 2, 3 and 4 represent the data collection among the different levels of society. Further discussion on the specific nuances will be key for interpretation of the results.

Table 2 Data collection of Level 1-Top Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Organizations</th>
<th>Arts/Sports</th>
<th>Racial Diversity of Beneficiaries</th>
<th>Social Closure among Beneficiaries within the same community</th>
<th>Racial Segregation in South Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BASA</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Mixed*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NACSA</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Mixed*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Sports</td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>Mixed*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soweto Community Center</td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Arts Center</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Band</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Data collection of Level 2: Middle-Range Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent NGOs</th>
<th>Arts/Sports</th>
<th>Racial Diversity of Beneficiaries</th>
<th>Social Closure among Beneficiaries within the same community</th>
<th>Racial Segregation in South Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Center for Cultural and African Studies</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance for All</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Theater</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Mixed*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play for Fun, Learn for Life.</td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qhubeka</td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood Now</td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 Data collection of Level 3: Grassroots Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past Beneficiaries</th>
<th>Arts/Sports</th>
<th>Racial Diversity of Beneficiaries</th>
<th>Social closure among Beneficiaries within the same community</th>
<th>Racial Segregation in South Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soweto community center</td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play for fun learn for Life</td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance for all 1</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance for all 2</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance for all 3</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance for all 4</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance for all 5</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance for all 6</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Blacks and Coloured</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Mixed refers to white, black, coloured and Indian/Asian*

From the twenty participants of the research, either past beneficiaries or representatives of government and non-governmental organizations, it can be observed that arts and sports programs foster integration among beneficiaries. However, according to the responses of the participants, most of them agreed on the fact that sports programs are widely promoted in South Africa compared to arts programs. Both the Department of Sports and Recreation and NACSA agreed that the government of South Africa provides more funding to sports than arts programs. They also mentioned that one of the factors was that sports activities are less costly.
6.1 Racial Diversity of Beneficiaries

Racial diversity of beneficiaries aimed to collect information on the different racial groups that participate from arts and sports programs. The only level of society in which arts and sports programs promote mixed participation is in the Top Leadership (level 1). This means that only top level organizations such as the Department of Sports and Recreation, BASA (Business and Arts South Africa) and NACSA (National Arts Council of South Africa) hold programs in which beneficiaries of the arts and sports programs are racially inter-mixed (black, coloured and white people participate). However, independent NGOs and the interviewed past beneficiaries declared that black and coloured people as the main beneficiaries of arts and sports programs; except for the Market Theater. Throughout the interviews, NGOs’ representatives and beneficiaries were aware that arts and sports peacebuilding programs are mostly carried out in disadvantaged communities and townships. In South Africa, townships and disadvantaged communities around Johannesburg and Cape Town are mostly inhabited by Black and coloured people (Rarry and Van Eeden, 2015). As the representative of Field Band mentioned: “If you are white in South Africa, you are considered to be privileged.” Furthermore, representatives of independent NGOs seemed to recognize that their work strives to “provide access and opportunities that they do not usually have,” as the representative of Qhubeka mentioned when referring to the disadvantaged communities the organization works in. Moreover, throughout the interviews participants referred to the big inequality economic gap that there is in the country and how it was racially interrelated.
6.2. Social closure among Beneficiaries

When referring to social closure among beneficiaries, I aimed to measure social ties within the communities where these community programs take place. Social ties intended to show if arts and sports programs are currently promoting integration among participants who are part of the same community. Although all the participants in the study agreed on the high integration that arts and sports programs promote in South Africa, it is important to notice that integration is not inter-racial. Hence, although social cohesion is promoted through arts and sports programs, it is only limited to homogenous integration of black and coloured members of the disadvantaged communities. The only entities that allow inter-racial integration of members of different communities is the national institutions such as BASA, NACSA and the Department of Sports and Recreation. These institutions however, are governmental institutions that have the responsibility to promote social cohesion at a national level and henceforth, carry out events where inter-racial interaction takes place. In addition, as sports activities receive more funding from the South African government, they tend to be more effective in promoting social cohesion within the communities. Several interviewees mentioned that sports programs made beneficiaries feel they were part of a team and they all had a common goal. In addition, it was pointed out that sports activities usually tend to extend to more members of the community than arts programs which allowed for a more extensive participation in these programs.

6.3. Racial Segregation in South Africa

Racial segregation in South Africa was an indicator of the existent lack of social cohesion among communities from different racial backgrounds in South Africa. This
indicator intended to measure social cohesion at a national level in order to see if arts and sports programs were promoting social cohesion and therefore, peace. The data shows however, that there is still racial segregation in South Africa and the arts and sports programs are not able to bridge the differences between black and white South Africans.

In addition, the fact that arts and sports programs are continuously taking place only in disadvantaged places where the majority of the participants are black might even reinforce the differences between black and white South Africans. As the representative of Market Theater argued, “Although the constitution prohibits racial segregation, it still exists, it is there and you cannot hide it.” To combat racial segregation, the Director General of the Department of Arts and Recreation, Alec Moemi, argued that “the government has implemented the Affirmative Action Program in which priority is given to blacks to open up opportunities for them.” Although actions such as the affirmative action program help to integrate black South Africans into the work force, it still demonstrates that South Africa is a white-dominated economy. Moreover, it demonstrates that in South Africa black South Africans are at the bottom of the economic pyramid. The different opportunities available for white and black South Africans is intrinsically dependent on the social status that white and black South Africans currently occupy in their society. The different opportunities available for white vs black citizens are unequal and so are the economic positions they occupy in society. These factors greatly hinder social cohesion. As the representative of Childhood Now argues:

This is an issue that has to do with the lack of opportunity that is available to black South African citizens (...). It is hard to do sports with a hungry child; it is hard to
do arts with a child who has been abused or a child who does not have a place where
to sleep at night (...) Our work focuses on developing children in the present tense,
what happen to those children in the future is greatly determined by the opportunities
available to them.

The economic inequality gap was an issue that greatly influenced the responses of all
the research participants when they were required to talk about the episodes of xenophobia
that happened May, 2015 and which made international news. Participants were aware that
the competition for resources due the lack of opportunities in South Africa was the main
source of attacks against black immigrants coming from different African countries looking
for a better life in South Africa. As the representative of BASA argued, “that lack of equality
is what is driving the force for xenophobic attacks.” In this vein, Richmond (2014) argues
that “the last 20 years of peacebuilding and state-building have not worked well- they have
led to frozen, authoritarian and ineffective states and resentful societies in which divisions
persist” (p.463) According to his study, Richmond suggests that economic inequality
“weakens the links between civil society, solidarity, social justice, human rights and
democracy. These positions have different implications for peace and order” (p.449). In the
same vein, in 2012 the World Economic Forum confirmed that inequality was a global risk
for the attainment of peace (Ibid).
7. Discussion

In 2011, South Africa had a Gini coefficient of 63.4 according to the World Bank reports. The Gini coefficient measures economic unequal income distribution designating 0 to perfect equality and 100 to perfect inequality (World Bank). According to this index, one could argue that South Africa is a highly unequal country. However, economic inequalities in South Africa remain closely related to the racial segregation implemented by Apartheid. The lack of opportunities available to blacks and coloured remain low since these populations share a lower household income compared to whites. Figure 2 shows the differences of annual household income based on the different racial population groups in South Africa:

*Figure 2 Average Annual Household income by Population Group of Household Head.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population group of household head</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black African</td>
<td>22,522</td>
<td>60,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>51,440</td>
<td>112,172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian/Asian</td>
<td>102,606</td>
<td>251,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>193,820</td>
<td>365,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48,385</td>
<td>103,204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: South African Census, 2011*

Taking into account that blacks make up the majority of the South African population, 79.2% to be precise, they do not have a significant household annual income
as whites do. While Black African-headed households have an average annual income of R60, 613 in 2011 and Coloured-headed households had an average of R112, 172 in 2011, White-headed households presented the highest average household income with R365, 134 per annum (South African Census, 2011, p.42). These income disparities have followed the same trend during and after Apartheid, and translate into the different life conditions as well as life opportunities for the different racial groups. In addition, these income disparities have a great effect on peacebuilding efforts. Although arts and sports programs fostered social cohesion among participants within the same community, who were mostly black and coloured South Africans, they did not promote inter-racial social cohesion among different racial communities. In addition, it was found that racial segregation still inhibits social cohesion at a national level in South Africa. The economic inequality gap promotes the continuation of racial segregation since whites are seen as ‘privileged’ contrary to blacks and coloured. These commonly ingrained ideas are reminiscent of Apartheid and they perpetuate racial segregation and further constrain the construction of positive peace in South Africa.

Government and community efforts to promote social cohesion and reconciliation at a national level will not take place until the economic inequality gap is reduced. Hence, I argue that addressing economic inequalities is necessary for the success of peacebuilding programs in South Africa. Arts and sports peacebuilding programs will fail to enhance social cohesion among different racial communities and thus, promote peace without government efforts that can reduce income inequalities in South Africa. Social cohesion and peace promotion do not coexist with social inequalities. “Inequality undermines social
cohesion (Marx) and state intervention is required in order to redistribute” (Richmond, 2004, p. 453). In the same vein, Stewart (2002) suggests that a government that addresses inequalities is successful at winning the trust and confidence of people and by doing so, it diminishes the attempts of rebellion within the country. This finding might suggest that building capacities should be the first step that a county should follow when intending to construct positive peace. Hence, socio-economic conditions that can guarantee the well-being of all citizens have to be established together with a welfare-state capable of providing tangible change, peace and, most importantly, reconciliation among South Africans.
8. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have drawn on the data collected to make two important points about the effectiveness of arts and sports programs aiming to promote peacebuilding in South Africa. The first is that arts and sports programs that promote peacebuilding in South Africa are successful in promoting social cohesion within the same communities. However, these programs only promote social cohesion among the beneficiaries who are part of the same community. The communities where these programs are implemented are usually disadvantaged communities which are in their majority inhabited by blacks and coloured people. The second key point is that racial segregation still exists in South Africa at a national level. Racial segregation on the other hand, demonstrates the lack of social cohesion that exists in the country. Additionally, racial segregation is greatly defined by inter-racial socio-economic inequalities that further separate blacks and coloured from whites. Taken together, these findings suggest that for arts and sports programs to be successful, it is necessary to first breach the economic inequality gap in order to enhance social cohesion at a national level and thus, satisfy the basic needs of vulnerable communities.

These findings are in accordance with the peacebuilding pillars suggested by Matthews and Ali (2004): Creating a secure environment, building political institutions, promoting economic development and coping with injustice as a way to foster reconciliation. However, this study suggests that some pillars might be necessary for the existence of others. In this case, promoting economic development might be necessary for reconciliation. Thus, these findings may imply that in the case of South Africa, reconciliation among
blacks, coloured and whites is only possible under an economic system that addresses economic inequalities. This finding also suggests that reconciliation in South Africa is beyond the social domain and it rather implies a structural economic reconciliation by which blacks, coloured and whites are not conditioned on the basis of the racial and economic vestiges of Apartheid.

Although the data collected discussed in this paper provided convincing arguments in regards to the existent economic inequalities and how they inhibit the effectiveness of arts and sports programs in South Africa, neither conclusion is particularly new. What is interesting is that arts and sports programs do foster social cohesion among the members of the same communities. However, economic conditions have a direct effect in how people relate with each other at a national scale. A country with unequal living conditions, produces a divided society with unequal opportunities. Further research should focus on possible ways to foster social cohesion through economic policies that can favor peacebuilding processes not only in South Africa but, in other post-conflict countries too.
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### Appendix

**Sample Questions for Top and Middle level**

1. In which way do you think arts and sports projects have contributed to the construction of the post-Apartheid South African Republic?

2. Do you consider there is still racial segregation in South Africa?

3. Do you consider arts and sports are greatly promoted in South Africa? How so?

4. In regards to the new episode of xenophobia, what do you think has fail in the peacebuilding process in South Africa?

5. What kinds of people participate from these activities?

6. Do you think that the implementation of arts and sports has helped South Africa after the Apartheid? How so?

7. Who are the main participants of the art/sports activities you sponsor?

8. How successful has your program been?

9. Are people who participate in these programs from different ethnic and economic backgrounds?

10. Do you think there is still a legacy of racial animosity after Apartheid?

11. When did your program start?

12. What was the vision of the ministry of Sports and recreation when it was founded? (For the minister of sports and recreation only)

13. What was the vision of the ministry of Arts and culture when it was founded? (For the National Council of Arts only)

14. What does your arts/sport program focus on?

15. What other alternative peacebuilding initiatives has the country applied other than arts and sports?

16. Have arts/sports programs been regarded as peace building tools in South Africa?
Sample Questions for Past Beneficiaries (20 years or older)

1. Were you closer to your community after your participation in this program?
2. Do you think there is still a legacy of segregation after Apartheid in South Africa?
3. Do you think that the implementation of arts and sports has helped South Africa after Apartheid? How so?
4. Do you think that the program you are part of has allowed you to be closer to your peers?
5. Are people who participate in these programs from different ethnic and economic backgrounds?
6. Do you consider there is still racial animosity in South Africa?
7. When did you first participate from this program?
8. In which way do you think arts and sports projects have contributed to the construction of the post-Apartheid South African Republic?
9. Tell me more about the program (arts/sports) you were part of in the past and what age you had when you started to participate from this program.
10. Are arts and sports programs popular activities the majority of people have access to?
11. How did you first become involved in these activities?