

Playing for Change: Football and Community Building in East Africa

Lauren Bader

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Abstract: Football exists everywhere in Africa. It is played formally by professionals and members of football leagues, and it is played on the Eastern beaches by barefoot children who made their own ball out of plastic bags. Given the popularity of the sport, there is potential to use it to meet the needs of African communities in need of development. There is much literature available on the use of sports to meet development goals, but the process, means, and results of the use of football to do so is missing.. This paper analyzes how football has become a tool for meeting community building goals in East Africa. The community-building goals examined include health (especially in regard to HIV/AIDS), environmental preservation, girls' empowerment, crime prevention, orphan aid, youth psychological development, community mobilization, education, poverty, and the like.

In order for an organization to be effective in regards to meeting community-building goals, it must meet five criteria. First, initiatives taken by the organization should benefit the broader context of the community. Second, the organizations should be controlled largely by local people. Third, specific needs of the community must be targeted. Fourth, research must gauge whether project selection is driven by mission instead of opportunity, and the fifth criteria is that there is ongoing project and program evaluation. In this paper, three organizations are evaluated based on these criteria—Mathare Youth Sports Association, Elimu, Michezo na Mazoezi, and Grassroot Soccer.

The first chapter provides background information about the use of sports as a tool to meet community development goals, defines community building, outlines the theoretical framework for effective community building, provides a literature review, and explains the author's research methods. Chapter two provides details on the processes and programs of each of the cases. Chapter three connects theoretical frameworks defining the criteria for effective community building with the programs and implementation techniques of the case studies. This chapter uses the case studies as examples of how community building can be effectively addressed through the use of football, and examines how specific needs of communities are met by each of these organizations. Research revealed that football-based organizations can effectively meet community-building goals in East Africa.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study asks whether football (soccer) can be an effective tool for community building in communities in East Africa? The methodology will include testing theoretical frameworks regarding effective community-building strategies of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Three NGOs that use soccer as a means of promoting development and addressing issues of poverty, health, women's rights, environmental degradation, and the like will be examined to provide a solid foundation under particularly approaches to community building. Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA), Elimu, Michezo na Mazoezi (EMIMA), and Grassroot Soccer (GRS) were the organizations studied for this paper. Research both explains the roles of the three NGOs and endeavors to assess their effectiveness in development.

East Africa – specifically Kenya and Tanzania – is the area investigated because these countries are very diverse ethnically and economically and have much to gain from community-building efforts. For example, Nairobi, Kenya is one of the most well developed cities in East Africa and houses headquarters for many international NGOs and IGOs. Conversely, Nairobi also contains Kibera, one of the largest slums in the world (Amnesty International). Similarly, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania is another well-developed cosmopolitan city, yet, in rural areas, thirty-eight percent of the population is classified as poor (IFAD). These examples show that East Africa is an area full of diversity and development challenges which can be affected by community-building programs. Similarly, access to sports varies dramatically among social groups and is another reason why this research is so important. The current discrepancy in economic development in

these countries is likely to contribute to variation in the opportunity to engage in physical activity, and the types of physical activity available to different social groups make the region particularly useful for the study.

The primary objective of this paper is to evaluate the ‘effectiveness’ of football-based NGOs in relation to community building. Given the lack of internationally-agreed upon criteria to evaluate community-building efforts, for the purposes of this paper, effective community building will be evaluated based on five criteria (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn).

The first of these criteria considers whether initiatives are beneficial to the broader context of the community. This means that projects and organization goals focus on the community at large rather than an isolated population (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn). For example, supplying housing for the poor or health education only to children who cannot attend school benefits isolated groups in the community but not the community at large. Instead, organizations should focus on community-wide needs and use techniques that will have the farthest-reaching effect for the largest number of community members over an extended period of time (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn).

The second criteria for effective community building is autonomy and control by the target population; in other words, the organizations are not run by outside professionals who consult locals only to get approval for their initiatives. Instead, community members establish the goals and priorities, create the vision for community revitalization, take on leadership roles, and provide continued support and oversight as projects are implemented (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn).

The third criteria targets specific needs of the community. This means that the organizations do not have objectives in and of themselves that are to be met in all environments. For example, an organization specializing in HIV/AIDS education will not be as effective in a well-educated community as they would be if they identified the most pressing needs of that community (i.e. women's empowerment) and sought to serve those needs. The most effective approach for community-building organizations is to take the community's needs, resources, and priorities as the basis for project selection and implementation (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn).

Fourth, effective community building relies on project selection driven by mission, not opportunity. This means that once an organization settles on a mission for the community, it takes a proactive approach rather than waiting for the ideal opportunity to meet its goals (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn). This can be one of the more difficult criteria for community-building NGOs to meet because much of their work is dependant on available funding and other resources. It follows that to be effective in this way, organizations have to be creative and willing to modify project outlines given the circumstances at hand.

The fifth criteria is ongoing project evaluation. These evaluations consider the organization's overall mission as well as individual projects with regard to the community's needs (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn). Assessments may lead to program modification and, in some cases cessation if the program is doing more harm than good.

It is important to note that the five evaluation criteria of effective community building are not based on principles that have been proven, through scientific methods, to

produce specific outcomes (Bamber, Owens, Schonfeld, Ghate, 5). Instead, evaluation of effectiveness is based largely on practices which have been inspected by authoritative commentators (Bamber, Owens, Schonfeld, Ghate, 5). It is rare that this type of evaluation involves testing and comparison of various programs to determine which are superior (Bamber, Owens, Schonfeld, Ghate, 5). Conversely, effectiveness is largely dependent on whether the outcomes achieved by the organization could have been achieved in its absence (Bamber, Owens, Schonfeld, Ghate, 5). Moreover, what has emerged in the past as constituting effective or ineffective methods in community building is closely tied to the principles of practices in other areas of community provision including health, education, equal opportunity, environmental reparation, crime reduction, job creation, networking, and conflict resolution (Bamber, Owens, Schonfeld, Ghate, 5).

Sports and Society

There are various issues that hinder youth participation in sports throughout the world. Those that are most relevant in East Africa include a shortage of trained volunteers, a lack of programming, a lack of facilities, and inadequate equipment (IAYS). Groups with lower socio-economic status have less accessibility to sports because these groups often have a high rate of employment in sectors with long hours and low pay, limiting the time they have available to participate in sports and recreation (Larkin, 13). Poor groups also have a higher incidence of certain diseases which can affect a person's willingness and ability to engage in physical activity (Larkin, 13). These conditions apply to youth as well. In many instances, children are forced to start work at an early

age, or spend a large amount of their time outside of school assisting working family members with household upkeep.

Cultural barriers affect groups with a wide range of economic standing, but often limit sports participation for women more than men. These barriers include prioritizing modesty and limitations based on the requirements of religious observance or traditions. Parental concerns are another limiting factor to youth sports participation. Parents are often hasty to emphasize the importance of academic involvement or household duties over athletic involvement, especially for girls. Similarly, parents and guardians often fear that sports participation detracts from time that could be spent on academics which leads to parental unwillingness to support involvement in sports programs.

Community Building

For the purpose of his paper, community will be defined as a group of people living in a local area that interact with one another directly or indirectly on a daily basis to achieve common interests (WorldNetWeb). Community building can be defined as the creation or enhancement of a structure of belonging within a region and the transformation of collective interests within communities into interrelations and action for the greater good (Block, 1-2). The topics of health, education, equal opportunity, environmental reparation, crime reduction, job creation, networking, and conflict resolution are key issues in community building and will be addressed in this paper (Block, 2). Often, community building is hindered by the lack of willingness of people with difference to work together and the marginalization of certain groups. These marginalized groups include women, people of low socio-economic status, the elderly,

the disabled, the unhealthy, and many more (Block, 2). Division and ostracization of these and any other people stunt a society's ability to grow and prosper to the fullest extent possible. When this happens, a large portion of the population becomes disengaged, but when isolation and self-interest are reduced and connectedness is embraced by all members of a community, it becomes much more realistic for societies to combine input and skills from diverse perspectives and use this diversity to set and achieve collective goals (Block,3).

The benefits of community building range from the interpersonal to the structural level. Fostering a sense of community can create interpersonal relationship development through guided group conversations, and one-to-one conversation, and it can lead to improved grassroots infrastructure and increased sense of people capacity to engage in civic life (Christen, 886). If a sense of community can be fostered, people will be mobilized and will be more likely to engage in activities that promote community-wide change. Again, these changes are focused on any issue affecting the society including promoting health education and care, economic stability, environmental maintenance, education opportunities, alternatives to risky behavior, and conflict transformation.

There are many reasons why it is beneficial to focus on youth when studying sports programs for community building. Youth are unique members of society in terms of their ability to create social change in the areas of health education, environmental awareness, stigma reduction, and crime reduction (Landsdown). Likewise, their eagerness to learn and to share what they know makes it easy to develop youth as students and educators. As influential members of upcoming generations, youth are necessary contributors to community building (Landsdown).

Furthermore, youth are better able to overcome ethnic divisions and work towards community harmony than people of older generations. According to Africa United author, Steve Bloomfield, tribe is still a major problem in rural areas of Africa and in some slums, but tribal affiliation means very little to younger generations of Africans (105). These generations are willing to engage with and be teammates with members of other tribes and, thereby set a precedent for future generations.

Literature Review

Critical Reports. Most of the literature on the use of sports for community building looks at the use of sports as a tool for development as a whole. The United Nations Task Force Organization of Sport for Development and Peace produced a report in 2003 that defines sports and explains how sports of all kinds can be used and are being used to meet the UN Development Goals. Many of the development goals identified in this report are parallel to community-building goals in East Africa including improving health, creating equal opportunities for girls, promoting economic sustainability, and addressing environmental concerns. In July 2002, during the first meeting of the UN Inter-agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace, the Task Force was asked by the UN Secretary-General to “establish an inventory of existing sport-for-development programs, identify instructive examples, and encourage the United Nations system to incorporate sports into its activities and work towards achieving Millennium Development Goals (MDSs)” (United Nations, b). The report of the UN Inter-Agency Task Force “Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals” was produced in 2003 as the product of these efforts. In compiling

its report, the Task Force collaborated with ILO, UNESCO, WHO, UNDP, UNB, UNEP, UNHCR, UNODC, and UNAIDS.¹

This report was the primary source used in this paper to obtain background information about the use of sports for development and community building and as a reference for professional opinions on the effectiveness of select program initiatives. The report concludes that “well designed sports-based initiatives are practical and cost-effective tools to achieve development and peace objectives and that sports are a powerful vehicle that should be increasingly considered by the UN as complementary to existing activities” (United Nations, a). The purpose of this paper is to determine if this conclusion is applicable when working for community-building goals in East Africa.

Another report important to this paper was one published on the effectiveness of the Mathare Youth Sports Association’s girls’ program titled “Letting Girls Play: the Mathare Youth Sports Association’s Football Program for Girls.” The report was written by Population Council program associate and officer Martha Brandy and Arjmand Banu Khan and published by The Population Council—an international nonprofit NGO that conducts biomedical, social science, and public health research through out the world and seeks to help improve research capabilities in developing countries (Brandy, Banu Khan, ii).

¹ ILO: International Labor Organization <http://www.ilo.org/global/lang--en/index.htm>
 UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/>
 WHO: World Health Organization <http://www.who.int/en/>
 UNDP: United Nations Development Program <http://www.undp.org/>
 UNV: United Nations Volunteers <http://www.unv.org/>
 UNEP: United Nations Environment Program <http://www.unep.org/>
 UNHCR: The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees www.unhcr.org/
 UNICEF: United Nations Children’s Fund <http://www.unicef.org/whatwedo/index.html>
 UNODC: United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime <http://www.unodc.org/>
 UNAIDS: Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS <http://www.unaids.org/en/>

There are also several books on the subject of football in Africa. The most prominent ones upon which this paper draws include *Africa United* by Monocle editor Steve Bloomfield, *How Soccer Explain the World* by editor and journalist Franklin Foer, and *Football in Africa* by Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti. The first two books look at football in Africa from a political and global perspective. They address the politics of football, associated alliances, divisions in communities, economic aspects and impacts of the sports, the role of professional football in Africa, etc. Steve Bloomfield, author of *Africa United*, also kindly agreed to do an interview and shared his perspective on the impact that football has on community building.

Football in Africa looks at the sport from a grassroots level and is more relevant to the research in this paper. *Football in Africa* takes a social perspective of football in Africa. This book includes results from detailed fieldwork, and several case studies including an analysis of Mathare Youth Sports Association—one of the organizations studied in this paper. Armstrong and Giulianotti have each studied football in Africa extensively and have written several other books about the social aspects of football and other sports not only in Africa, but in other parts of the world.²

Much of the current literature on football as a tool for community building comes from news articles available on the organizations studied. Major sources include *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, and *AllAfrica.com*. Additionally, some of the major funders of the organizations studied in this paper such as Federation International Football Association (FIFA), and the Laureus Foundation have posted reports on their websites explaining why they support the organizations that they do. Most of the

² These works include *Football*, and *Sport: a Critical Sociology* by Richard Giulianotti, and *Fear and Loathing in World Football* and *Entering the Field* by Gary Armstrong.

literature available in this format pertains to MYSA which is why MYSA will be used as the primary example in Chapter 3 for analyzing effectiveness of football-based programs.

Organization Websites. Much of the literature on the organizations themselves, (Mathare Youth Sports Association, EMIMA, and Grassroot Soccer) is only available on the organization websites. These sites provide information on the types of programs being implemented, the methods of implementation, challenges faced in implementation, research and development projects being carried out by the organization, and the results of the programs. The biggest problem with these sources of information is that they may contain bias in favor of the organization. Having been written by people working in or working closely with the organizations, much of the writing is swayed towards promoting the good of the organization, and, with the exception of MYSA's webpage, these sources lack information about organizational challenges. However, some of the missing information can be inferred given the structure of the organization, the literature available on non-football based NGOs, and criteria for effective community building.

Other scholarly works relevant to the topic of this paper include various published and peer reviewed papers and articles on the goals of community building, child psychological development, and analyses of global efforts to use sports as tools for community building. By drawing connections between the literature on NGO effectiveness, effective community-building strategies, and the strategies being implemented by football-based organizations, effectiveness of these organizations can, on some level, be inferred.

The Opposition. Those who question the effectiveness of football in community building base their arguments on the competitive nature of sports. Alfie Kohn presents this

argument in his book *No Contest: The Case Against Competition*. In *No Contest*, Kohn purports that competitive sports have a devastating effect on young children by causing them to view success as something achieved only at the expense of another's failure (Publishers Weekly). However, Kohn's argument is centered on the American idea of competition, and he makes no comparison of the similarities and differences of the effects of competition in other parts of the world—including East Africa.

What is Missing? What is largely absent from the literature is an analysis of football-based organizations in particular contexts. Specifically, there is no analysis of their effectiveness in meeting community goals in East Africa. None of the current literature explicitly identifies which initiatives are being implemented by current organizations in East Africa or which of these initiatives are effective or ineffective. There is no criteria for evaluation of the pros and cons of these programs nor agreed upon measures of effectiveness. This being the case, five criteria for effective community building have been provided and will, for the purpose of this paper, be the determining elements of the effectiveness of the organizations studied. Some of the questions this paper seeks to answer regarding East Africa include: Are the three organizations studied (Mathare Youth Sports Association, EMIMA, and Grassroot Soccer) effective? Is one of these organizations more effective than others and why? Do these organizations effectively meet community-building goals in the areas where they are working? Could the results of the programs have been achieved in their absence? What are the benefits of using football as a tool for community building in comparison with other community-building non-governmental efforts? What are the major challenges of these types of programs? Are certain issues (i.e. health, environment, poverty, etc) better addressed through

football programs than others? All of these questions will be directed towards the ultimate goals of determining if football based programs are effective tools for community building in East Africa.

Background Information

General Benefits of Sports. For the purpose of this paper, “sports” will refer to organized sports involving coaches, teams, referees, and volunteer athletes. Youth involvement in sports has many broadly recognized positive benefits due to values and skills that are part of the inherent nature in sports. These include, but are not limited to cooperation, communication, respect for rules, problem solving, understanding, connection with others, leadership, respect for others, value of effort, how to win, how to lose, how to manage competition, fair play, sharing, self-esteem, trust, honesty, self-respect, tolerance, resilience, teamwork, discipline, and confidence (UN, 8). The above-mentioned individual benefits can be applied to community-development goals in the realms of economics, health, social interaction, education, sustainable environmental development, etc.

Sports and Health. Sports can be used to meet health-care goals of communities. Health benefits relevant to East Africa which are commonly associated with participation in sports include improving diet, avoiding drugs, and maintaining overall “good health” in order to reach peak physical ability (UN, 5). Sports participation is also linked to mental health benefits such as reduced stress, anxiety, and depression (UN, 6). Finally, sporting events can be used as platforms for immunization and health issue awareness campaigns (UNICEF b).

Sports and Education. In terms of education, research has shown a positive correlation between sports participation and academic performance. According to the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace, “children between the ages of six to twelve who do at least five hours per week of physical activity achieve better marks than those who are active for less than one hour” (10). Despite common misconceptions, this report shows that increased time spent on physical activity does not reduce marks in school. In contrast, physical education enhances some student’s ability to learn and retain information (UN, 10).

Sports, Peace, and Conflict Resolution. Largely due to the values and life skills that are intertwined with sports teams in interaction, sports participation has broad implications for peace and conflict resolution due to sport’s promotion of inclusion and acceptance (UNICEF, 1). The success of community building relies heavily on community members’ willingness to engage with one another, listen to ideas that are different from their own, and include members of the community with different experiences and perspectives. Participation in sports programs teaches cooperation, emphasizes the importance of diversity, and builds an understanding of the importance of common bonds (UN, 8). Sports participation also promotes and improves communication between people of difference, which can lead to conflict avoidance and conflict resolution, and sports can be helpful in teaching participants about co-existence and how to graciously manage both victory and defeat (UN, 15). When transferred to everyday interaction within a community, these lessons are vitally important to conflict prevention and resolution, and peacebuilding.

Moreover, harmonious interactions can be achieved through management practices of football leagues and organizations. Currently, all sixteen football clubs in Kenya are joint owners and managers of the Kenyan Premier League. This joint project and management “has not only prevented corruption, but has also ‘detribalized’ top-flight soccer (Bloomfield, 111).”³ Although tribalization has an exaggerated negative connotation in Western world, it cannot be negated that ethnic differences like those driving the Rwandan genocide and conflicts in refugee camps are negatively impactful in East Africa (Allimadi, 1). If joint projects similar to the one implemented by the Kenya Premiere League could be scaled-down to smaller communities as a way to foster community cohesion.

Sports, Partnerships, and Empowerment. The establishment of local and global partnerships can be beneficial to community building and can be broadened through the use of sports programs (NCDO). In addition to the creation of new partnerships, there are often partnerships already in place that can be expanded upon with the implementation of sports programs (Allison, 715). This includes collaboration among sports organizations, government authorities, government sponsored groups, volunteers, and NGOs (UN, 18). Connections on these many levels can expand beyond the sports arena and these partnerships can be very useful in obtaining funding and other forms of support for community-building programs (Allison, 724).

Similarly, as one expert has written, “sports participation gives young people at risk or already involved in crime an alternative, rewarding and pro-social experience”

³ It should be noted that attempts to fight corruption are not always positively received in East Africa. In 2006, Kenyan journalist John Githongo was confronted with raids and death threats due to his attempts to expose corruption in Kenyan politics (Wrong, 255). However, fighting corruption and promoting peace on a community level (as is addressed in this paper) does not pose an equivalent national threat and is far less likely to be subject to retaliation.

(Larkin, 19). Sports have also been found to encourage positive participation in society through the promotion of certain skills and self esteem (Larkin 19). Examples of this will be present in following chapters.

Sports and Minority Empowerment. Given the networking possibilities that are connected to sports programs and events, sports have a unique capacity “to activate people who could not be activated in any other way” (Allison, 714). Outside of development goals presented by the United Nations, sports programs can be effective in empowering minority groups. Article One of the Charter of Physical Education and Sport adopted by UNESCO states that “the practice of physical education and sport is a fundamental human right for all,” yet sports involvement does not benefit all groups equally (UN, 4). The groups that are most likely to be physically inactive are women, the elderly, disabled persons, and people of low socio-economic status (UN, 5).

Most current research focuses on discrepancies between boys and girls in relation to opportunities to benefit from sports programs. Girls are commonly denied education opportunities that are available to boys, so reaching those who are denied such opportunities means expanding the way education is provided, and sports offer an arena to achieve this (UN, 9). What’s more, participation in sports gives girls a chance to be leaders and provides them with access to new opportunities to become more engaged in school and community life (UN, 9).

The final issue related to this project is the connection between community building and football. Although there is little literature connecting these two variables, the work available recognizes the importance of football to foster community cohesiveness and progression.

“Soccer is an integral part of local cultures across the world. It is something so positive that it brings smiles to children’s faces even in the worst of circumstances. In most places simply arriving at a field with a soccer ball will win you instant friendships and immediate access into a local community. Soccer teams and leagues are ubiquitous structures in even the most impoverished areas (GRS).”

Controversies. Although sports participation has many positive aspects and presents opportunities for effective community building, critics of the use of sports for community building argue that they can have a negative effect on individuals and communities.

In his book *No Contest: The Case against Competition: Why we lose in our race to win*, Alfie Kohn presents a strong argument against implementing sports programs because of their competitive nature. It is important to note that Kohn’s definition of sports is different than that proposed by the UN Inter-agency Task on Sport for Development and Peace and makes a distinction between “play” and “sport.” Kohn claims that play is voluntary, intrinsically gratifying, and is an end in itself while sport is product oriented and is focused on achieving some higher goal (Kohn, 81).

Kohn’s definition of sports as inherently competitive provides support for the notion that sports have negative effects on individuals and communities. This may be true, although my research counters his argument to some extent. Kohn claims that sports reflect and perpetuate deleterious prevailing morals in contemporary society including hierarchical power arrangements, and acceptance of the status quo (Kohn, 84). He believes sports also teach players to regard one another as rivals, thereby increasing divisions within communities because “athletes are quite deliberately led to accept the value and naturalness of an adversarial relationship in place of solidarity and collective effort” (Kohn, 85). According to Kohn, even among his own teammates, the athlete sees

hostility and aggression as legitimate means to achieve victory and learns to accept conformity and authoritarianism (85).

Kohn's argument aligns closely with the main psychological argument against youth participation in sports. The psychological perspective against sports as a tool for community building is that, although sports do foster many of the positive values listed above, they have also been known to instill negative values and life skills including competitiveness, distrust, feelings of inadequacy, and anxiety (Kohn, 79/96).

Based on child psychological research, there tend to be two dominating attitudes towards personal performance in sports known as "ego goal-orientation" and "task goal-orientation." An "ego goal-oriented" child measures their personal success by comparing their performance with others (Roberts, 338). When such persons do not perceive themselves as being high in ability when compared to their peers, they are likely to feel inadequate, discouraged, and competitive. Similarly, when a "task goal-oriented" person – one who measures her personal success solely through individual mastery – feels that she has not mastered a certain sport or skill, she will experience similar discouragement (Roberts, 338). If the feelings fostered by these self perceptions lead to habitualization of connected behaviors, these children are likely to display competitiveness in their communities and may be inclined not to strive to achieve personal or collective goals. Chapter 3 shows that these arguments against sports, although they do have some validity in the American context, do not necessarily apply to children growing up in East Africa. This is largely due to cultural differences that produce more positive responses to competition and living conditions that make the notion of sports in East Africa seem like a release from daily challenges.

Methods.

The research performed for this paper relies largely on qualitative data, but incorporates quantitative measures when possible. This paper will look at three youth-focused organizations based in Africa that use football as a way to inspire community building. These organizations are Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA), Elimu, Michezo na Mazoezi (EMIMA), and Grassroot Soccer (GRS). The first two organizations are located in Kenya and Tanzania, and the third is based in South Africa. Investigation the role of youth, football, and community building was undertaken in the analysis of these three organizations in order to obtain all available information on the topics they address, where they work, what programs they offer, how programs are implemented, what areas (if any) they address outside of football and community building, their successes and challenges, and what quantitative data are available to measure the influence of these organizations.

Once important concepts have been introduced in Chapter 1 and the case studies relevant to this research are presented in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 brings together the different elements of the research. It analyzes how each organization functions as an NGO, works with youth, and uses football as a medium to address community-building issues in areas of health, education, equal opportunity, environmental reparation, and conflict resolution.

Most of the information gathered was from scholarly articles, professional reports, books, and organization web pages. The information from these sources was minutely

supplemented with information from communication with professional working in the field of community building through football.

Research Difficulties.

I had hoped to be able to conduct interviews over the phone, in person, or via e-mail with practitioners who are involved in the implementation and monitoring of sports programs in East Africa. This turned out to be a very limited possibility. Initially, e-mails to roughly twenty-five practitioners and organizations requesting information on the work they were doing yielded responses that directed me to publications, and websites that I had already explored. In addition, responses were very slow and sometimes in broken English. For these reasons, there are few first hand accounts of the work being done for the three case studies. Furthermore, after exploring the literature, it appears that these interviews seemed to be the main way to obtain concrete quantitative data relating to the impact these organizations have in the communities where they work. Due to unresponsiveness, the desired amount of quantitative data is absent from this paper.

Given the areas where many of these practitioners are living and working, there are possible explanations for the lack of and delayed responses. First of all, these organizations are working in isolated and impoverished areas. For example, Mathare, Kenya is one of the poorest slums in the country and it is rare for residents of Mathare to have electricity let alone have internet or phone access (Mwelu). Similarly, EMIMA is located in two of Dar es Salaam's poorest communities and likely faces comparable communication constraints for that reason (EMIMA). Although Grassroot Soccer is

located in more developed areas, it is likely that internet access is still unreliable and not always easily accessible.

In terms of the funding organizations, many, including FIFA and UNAIDS provided a single e-mail address or online messaging system with no way to filter information to the appropriate person. Given the popularity of these organizations, a high volume of e-mails leads to selective responsiveness and a significant delay in getting e-mails to the person who is best able to respond. Furthermore, apart from the information provided by the organizations themselves, there is little external analysis of the case studies researched in this paper. Additionally, not all of the information provided on webpages was current and some was not dated at all.

Many of these barriers could have been overcome if I had the opportunity to visit these organizations in person. Site visits would have allowed for interviews to be conducted, data to be gathered, and first-hand observation and evaluation to be carried out. However, due to constraints on time, money, and other resources, site visits were not possible for the purpose of this paper. Nonetheless, given these barriers to research, the following chapters are the most complete compilation and analysis of information that is accessible on the use of football to develop communities in East Africa.

Chapter 2

MYSA⁴

The first case study analyzed is the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA). MYSA is a football-based NGO working in Mathare, Kenya. Mathare is one of the poorest slums in Nairobi where eighty percent of families are single mothers with little to no education and menial jobs who struggle to make enough money simply to feed their families. Most families in Mathare cannot afford fees for uniforms and textbooks to send their children to school. Children who are unable to attend school are left unsupervised by working parents and spend their days in the streets searching for food and income.

The Mathare Youth Sports Association was started in 1987 and currently has about 14,000 youth participants made up of boys and girls ages nine to eighteen. MYSA programs run annually from March through December and during this time over 800 boys teams and 200 girls teams play in over 8,000 matches. The organization also hosts more than seventy teams annually.

The community-building goals pursued by the MYSA include peace keeping, girl's empowerment, environmental cleanup, HIV/AIDS education and prevention, leadership training, community service initiatives, and poverty alleviation. All MYSA programs are self-help programs meaning one of the primary goals of the association is to empower the community to take action into their own hands and build and continue programs on their own. This self-help format falls under the second criteria for effective

⁴ Unless cited otherwise, all of the following information is from the MYSA website: www.mysakenya.org

community building—the organization is controlled largely by local people. In the case of MYSA, young people are peer coaches and teachers who can most easily relate to and connect with people receiving information. As a result, community-building goals are more efficiently reached and community members help create the vision for community revitalization ((Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn).

Peace Keeping. The first of the MSYA programs analyzed is its peace keeping initiative. In 1999 in the Kakauma Refugee Camp in northwest Kenya there were serious ethnic and religious tensions leading to injury and even death among the over 60,000 residents from eight neighboring countries. In response, MYSA partnered with UNHCR, and World Lutheran Federation – a global communion of Christian churches from over seventy nine countries around the world – to send youth leaders to the camp to implement programs that combined youth sports and community development. This program led to a dramatic reduction in tension, conflicts, and serious incidents in the camp (MYSA). One of the main objectives of this program was to train youth living in the camp to run the programs themselves so they could be continued in MYSA’s absence and so these youth could set up similar programs in their home communities with some support from MYSA. Again, this is an example of how MYSA effectively implements community building by putting much of the control of the organization in the hands of locals. In 2004, MYSA received the Prince Claus Award which they used along with funds from new donors, to support other peacekeeping processes in southern Sudan.

Girl's Empowerment. The second MYSA program that works towards community-building goals is the girls' football program. Customarily, most girls in Mathare spend much of their time doing domestic work for their families and have little to do in their free time. It is common for girls to think that they can not play football and the idea of them playing is rarely recognized by their parents or boys their age. The MYSA girls' football program, started in 1992, seeks to change these dynamics. In order to get the program off the ground, MYSA staff spoke directly with parents, the greatest barrier to girls' participation in football, to convince them of the benefits of their daughters' involvement with MYSA. Additionally, the staff launched a project demonstrating basic football skills to encourage girls themselves to get involved. The response young women had to these training clinics was enthusiastic and they saw the opportunity to play football as a chance to explore their interest in the sport as well as an opportunity to get fit.

In 1996, the Girls Under 14 team was featured in the Norway Cup and girls watching the tournament were inspired by their peers to get involved in football. This interest sparked an overall morale boost for the girls playing. In turn, boys started to recognize girls' talent, families of female players started to loosen up, and eventually the negative view communities has about females playing football had been changed. This change is important to community building because acceptance of girls' talents on the football field can transfer to acceptance of girls' talents in school and in certain professions typically reserved for males.

Currently, over 3,500 girls in Mathare are playing on 250 teams in about forty girls leagues. The idea of girls playing football has caught on and other leagues have

been started by other East African organizations including the KFF Nairobi Branch, Stromme Foundation, and the Laureus Sports for Good Foundation. From MYSA youth programs, the first professional women's team was formed—Mathare United Women FC. All players on the team are originally from Mathare and are graduates of the MYSA self-help youth sports and community service program which will be addressed later in this section. In addition, all of these women were “youth leaders” during their time at MYSA and were all trained in AIDS awareness and prevention. The players wear anti-AIDS logos on their track suits which promote their knowledge about the disease and normalize its recognition as a problem in their communities. This recognition is an important step towards community goals of fostering discussions and changing behaviors around HIV/AIDS. Each player on Mathare United Women FC perform sixty hours of community service per month including coaching, refereeing, assisting with slum clean-up projects and doing AIDS prevention fieldwork—each activity providing further benefit to their communities.

Health Projects. MYSA also implements projects focused on various aspects of health which are relevant to community members. The association provides life skills training and courses for top MYSA youth leaders, coaches, and players which teaches skills such as counseling and movement games related to HIV/AIDS, drug use and abuse, reproductive health, and other health related issues. Peer health educators are involved in meetings, exchange programs, and visits to children's homes to practice the skills they learned in training. They provide schools and communities in MYSA zones with health information through school and community awareness campaigns. By using peer

education, MYSA is once again meeting criteria for effective community building by putting project implementation in the hands of local youth. MYSA also has a facilitating Youth Resource Center for education, to refer students to health resources in the area, and for counseling. The Association makes sure to document best practices, success stories, and different approaches and methodologies used in sports and community development as an advocacy tool for youth participation. This documentation falls under the fifth criteria for effective community building—ongoing project evaluation. By documenting best practices, MYSA is able to modify their projects to better meet community-building goals. Additionally, these resources are used to develop information, education, and communication materials as well as for fundraising and income generation for the program in order to ensure its sustainability

Environmental Cleanup. The Mathare Youth Sports Organization has a firm commitment to environmental cleanup in the Mathare area. Through MYSA, youth participate in weekly cleanups in each of the sixteen MYSA zones of operation, and each team is required to complete at least two community service programs. The main activities include garbage collection, fixing open drainage, and planting trees on public lands and school grounds. Teams that complete the cleanup activities have six points added to their league standings, and individual players get two points for every project completed. Overall, there are about forty eight environmental cleanups each year, and the objective of such projects is to teach youth responsibility for their environment. Again, since it is local youth that are the hub of these activities, MYSA is controlled largely by local people who can best serve the needs of the community because, as

community members themselves,, they encounter common needs everyday.

Furthermore, the environmental project meets the first criteria for effective community building by benefiting the broad context of the community rather than an isolated population. Although MYSA works mostly with young, impoverished people, this program benefits that population while also bettering the environment for the rest of the community.

Jail Kid. As explained previously, the Mathare area is made up mostly of single mothers supporting children. These parents cannot afford to send their kids to school so children are often left unattended during the day while their mothers work to support the family.

As a result, many children wandering the streets during the day are arrested and taken to juvenile remand homes. However, much of the time parents do not know that their children have been arrested and never show up to claim them. In response to this problem, the MYSA developed the “Jail Kid” Program with the objective of getting children released from remand homes and reunited with their families. In the process, MYSA works to provide arrested children with food, refurbish Kabete – a local remand home – and improve sanitary facilities in the court and at Kabete. Other actions taken by this organization under the Jail Kid program include installing computers in remand homes, teaching kids how to use them, and improving treatment and preventable actions against common contagious infections such as scabies, ringworms, and other skin related diseases.

While carrying out these projects, MYSA collects useful data about the children such as their place of residence and the cause of their arrest in order to improve the

children's chances of being released. In addition to obtaining this information, MYSA employees trace jailed children's families in order to reunite them, but the Association's work does not end after the rendezvous is complete. MYSA schedules follow-up visits with the children and their families in order to prevent kids from returning to the courts and ending up in remand homes again.

Although much of the Jail Kid program is not primarily football-based, it does incorporate the sports on some level. The primary goal that MYSA has in conjunction with youth crime is to provide children with an alternative to wandering the streets through scholarship programs and through the chance to play football with their peers. MYSA initiates football programs at approved schools and remand homes including Kabete and the Association awards scholarships when it can to provide rescued kids with an opportunity to go back to school where they are more likely to have access to football programs. The implementation of the Jail Kid program fits with the third criteria for effective community building because it targets exact needs of the community. Due to the demographics in Mathare and the high number of jailed youth, MYSA identified a problem specific to the community at hand and is taking action to fix it.

Some notable achievements of the Jail Kid program include feeding a total of 31,539 arrested children (an average of 457 children per month), reuniting over 1,235 children with their families within the Mathare slums and outskirts, repatriating 824 children back to their localities outside of Nairobi, and initiating sporting activities at a local remand home which allowed 559 boys and 291 girls to train in football, netball, and volleyball. The fact that these accomplishments could not have been achieved without the support of MYSA serves as a testament to the effectiveness of the organization.

MYSA also linked over 421 poor mothers from the Mathare community with the Jamii Bora Trust micro-financing organization with the aim of helping them start small-scale businesses. The idea is that if these women are able to support themselves and their families through small-scale businesses, they are more likely to be able to afford school fees. As more children have the opportunity to attend schools, fewer will be forced to spend the day on the streets in search of food or income. Furthermore, through the Jail Kid program, MSYA has created a good working relationship with the local Children's Department, the police and other local authorities, the Mathare community, and the jailed children thereby establishing a network among these groups and MYSA staff that collectively works towards management of the problem of jailed youth.

Mathare Youth Sports Association also identifies concrete future goals of the Jail Kid program. MYSA hopes to procure a project van to facilitate easy reunions and follow-up visits of children released from jail, renovate toilets and showers at the Kabete remand home, ensure professional medical checkups for jailed youth who need them, provide families with assistance to buy uniforms and textbooks so children can go to school and stay off the streets, teach more children how to use computers so they can communicate with peers outside of their home, and provide more jailed youth with information on AIDS, drugs, and other life skills. These future goals relate to the fourth criteria for effective community building—project selection is driven by mission rather than opportunity. In this context, MYSA has identified the most pressing needs of the community including the need for more effective transportation, for children to be able to pay school fees, for the better facilities at the remand home, etc. These needs are largely dependent on funding that is, in some ways, out MYSA's control, yet the organization

does not abandon these goals in pursuit of those that are more easily attainable. By evaluating programs to identify future goals, the organization meets the fifth criteria for effective community building, and meets the fourth by setting its sights on alleviating these inadequacies despite potential barriers to doing so.

Community Leadership Academy. Among MYSA programs, there is the Community Leadership Academy. This academy teaches courses on football coaching, training skills and drills; physical fitness training and diet; rules and fair play; personal health challenges and choices; community development fieldtrips; and leadership skills and options for action. The various courses taught at the Academy fall under the third criteria for effective community building by targeting specific needs of the community and taking action to meet those needs. Through work at the Community Leadership Academy, Mathare youth have made crucial connections between environmental repatriation, football, and community development. Over a thousand young people have been reached during the course of this program which works to foster leadership skills through coaching and referee trainings; improve participant's fitness, training, diet, and performance; increase their knowledge and skill in coaching and refereeing so they can train others; promote understanding and better coping mechanisms in relation to personal health and adolescent life challenges in their peer groups; and expand their organizational and leadership skills for helping other youth in their schools and communities. In addition, the Community Leadership Academy encourages volunteer coaching and refereeing through a point accumulation system that allows youth to qualify for bursaries and scholarships so they can pursue their professional options. Once again, the

Community Leadership academy demonstrates how MYSA is putting community-building program control in the hands of locals by using peer education practices.

Successes. Outside of specific program areas, MYSA has been successful in achieving a wide variety of goals related to both football and community building. The Association has the first Kenyan team in the Norway Cup—an international youth football tournament allowing young people from Mathare to connect with children their age from other parts of the world. MYSA also started the Mathare United semi-professional team as the first team to promote HIV/AIDS awareness among its players. The programs developed by MYSA serve as a model for similar organizations in Africa and MYSA provides consultation on initiating football-based community-development programs and training coaches and referees in Tanzania, Uganda, Botswana, Sudan, Zambia, and South Africa.

Many of the most notable successes of the organization have been related to HIV/AIDS awareness. The HIV/AIDS programs have elicited eager participation from most youth and have provided effective voluntary counseling. As a result of the counseling option, six students are now attending counseling sessions at the MYSA Counseling and Resource Center. In addition to the effect programs have had on youth, teachers and parents have demonstrated a positive response to how children express themselves openly on reproductive health issues. The end of each session is followed by the distribution of informative, educative, and communicative materials relating to HIV/AIDS, thereby meeting the broad needs of the community.

Based on MYSA programs, it can be concluded that the organization meets many of the criteria for effective community building. The organization is largely controlled by locals through peer education programs, targets specific needs of the community through a wide variety of programs, pursues projects that fit with its mission even if the opportunity to meet goals is not ideal, and performs project evaluation and modification as is seen with the jail kid and health programs. However, despite many successes, MYSA faces challenges as well.

Challenges. First of all, MYSA does not own their own fields and must rely on cooperation of schools for access to local fields. Second, the program struggles with a lack of sponsorship, so many MYSA programs, particularly the HIV/AIDS program, suffer from inadequate funds. Furthermore, there organization must overcome time constraints, lack of collaboration and cooperation from some local schools, irregular attendance, and lack of space. Yet, even in the face of such challenges the Mathare Youth Sports Association continues to look forward by setting goals for their organization.

Future Goals. The MYSA hopes that in the future it will have its own fields, obtain enough equipment to fully equip all teams, to expand the program to areas beyond Kenya,⁵ to include sports for the disabled, to have its own stadium, to host an international youth football exchange tournament comparable to the Norway Cup, to decentralize and implement offices in all sixteen MYSA zones, and to incorporate sports

⁵ Although it was noted previously that the MYSA has been a key player in implementing football programs in countries besides Kenya, this goal refers to the expansion of MYSA in particular instead of football based community building programs in general.

other than football into their programs.

Conclusion. One can see that the Mathare Youth Sports Association is not without its challenges, yet the organization has many notable successes. Based on the criteria identified in Chapter 1 that evaluate effectiveness of football-based NGOs in meeting community-building goals,⁶ MYSA is, overall, an effective organization. The way that the successes and challenges as well as the use of football relate to community-building goals will continue to be addressed in the following chapter.

EMIMA⁷

The EMIMA football organization works towards community development in poor areas of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Of the three organizations studied, the least amount of information was available regarding EMIMA, so the evaluation of the effectiveness of the organization is based only on the limited obtainable information.

Founded in 2001, EMIMA consists of boys and girls football teams in two of the poorest communities in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The organization has eight centers in Dar es Salaam, two centers outside of Dar es Salaam in Arusha and Moshi, and hopes to soon have another one running in Pemba. These centers do most of their work based out of schools and EMIMA programs occur after school hours and on weekends. These

⁶ Initiatives taken are beneficial to the broader context of the community, the organization is controlled largely by local people, specific needs of the community are targeted, project selection is driven by mission instead of opportunity, and there is ongoing project and program evaluation (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn).

⁷ Unless cited otherwise, all of the following information is from the EMIMA website:
<http://www.emima.org/>

programs provide a range of activities in addition to football including basketball, netball,⁸ volleyball, dance, drama, music, and arts & crafts.

EMIMA covers a vast array of issues relevant to community building in East Africa including networking, peer leadership and responsibility, education support, international networking, English language lessons, girl's empowerment, AIDS awareness, and peer coaching projects. The number of areas addressed by EMIMA reflects how the organization targets specific needs of the community, thereby meeting the third criteria for effective community building.

Tournament Involvement. This organization has been involved in two noteworthy football tournaments—the East Africa Cup in 2007 and the Pemba Cup in 2008. Each of these events has been an opportunity for EMIMA staff and players to coordinate with, interact with, and play with other football organizations and clubs including MYSA, many of which are also using football as a tool for development. The East African Cup (EAC) brings together youth from Kenya, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. The EAC is an annual youth football tournament held in Moshi, Kilimanjaro, Tanzania for children age 12-16 (EAC). It is organized, in part by Mathare Youth Sports Association along with four other football organizations. The objectives of the EAC are to empower youth through sports by giving them health information regarding HIV/AIDS, first aid, and drug abuse; creating awareness about and engagement with environmental issues;

⁸ Netball is a popular game in Africa in which “each team must attempt to score goals by throwing the ball through the nets at the end of the opponent’s side of the court. The team which has scored the most goals by the end of the game wins. The court is divided into thirds. Each player has a responsibility on court, and they must remain in their own third of the court, according to which position they play. Netball is played by two teams of seven players. Netball players must be skilled in both attack and defense in order to be an efficient player, as the game moves quickly. Ideally, netball is played on a sprung wooden floor, but is often played on grass or concrete” (Netball South Africa).

training youth on leadership and administration; increasing the awareness and competence around sports related issues like sports medicine, coaching, and refereeing; helping youth develop moral values through workshops and seminars; addressing gender issues; strengthening the partnerships among related organizations; and observing the FIFA Fair Play rule⁹ (EAC). EMIMA entered four teams into the EAC comprised of the best players from each of the ten centers to play on one of two girls' and two boys' teams. EMIMA staff and volunteers played a huge role in putting together the East African Cup in 2007 and were featured in diverse areas and positions.

In 2008, EMIMA also participated in the Pemba Cup held at the Utaani School in Pemba, Tanzania. EMIMA collaborated with the Jadjaf Foundation in order to make the Pemba Cup possible and successful. The goals of the tournament were to empower youth through sports by encouraging development, peace, unity, and fun. Overall there were 450 participants in 2008.

Paper Balls. Paper balls is another project unique to EMIMA. This program, first initiated in 2001, developed based on the importance of having many footballs at training sessions and activities and the lack of availability of footballs. Attaining equipment (footballs) is associated with ensuring the sustainability of the organization, but modern balls are expensive and EMIMA cannot afford enough to equip all of their players. As a solution, EMIMA children make balls out of papers. These balls are affordable and sustainable because they can be made out of paper that can be found on the street. In addition, this program teaches youth responsibility because they are in charge of keeping

⁹ The FIFA Fair Play rule refers to the generic concept of embracing the positive benefits of “playing by the rules; using common sense; and respecting fellow players, referees, opponents, and fans” (FIFA).

the balls in the club house. Currently, EMIMA has over forty paper balls. The paper ball project meets the fourth criteria for effective community building—selecting projects based on mission rather than opportunity. Part of EMIMA’s mission is to give young people the opportunity to play football, but lack of funding to provide equipment inhibited the organization from meeting that goal. Instead of changing directions or giving up, EMIMA used local resources to overcome this challenge and meet other goals, like teaching responsibility, at the same time.

Green Project. Green, started in March 2003, seeks to keep the community green through cleaning up the environment and planting trees. The program began with twenty trees planted in the Mtoni-Kambuma area of Tanzania. Each peer coach is responsible for taking care of one tree. The objectives of the project are to teach responsibility to EMIMA youth, provide the community with shade, keep the area green, and protect the environment. EMIMA hopes to expand the project to more areas in the Dar es Salaam region. Through the green project, EMIMA takes initiatives to meet the needs of the boarder context of the community. Like MYSA, EMIMA works mostly with young, impoverished people, but this program benefits that population while extending benefits like shade and a clean environment to other community members.

Kicking AIDS Out. EMIMA is also part of the Kicking AIDS Out network and has taken on HIV/AIDS awareness projects as a member. This project, which takes place at all EMIMA centers and is managed by Kicking AIDS Out project coordinators, seeks to integrate sports skills and messages about the HIV/AIDS epidemic into football

programs. Most of the participants are peer coaches and the program activities include games, role play, poem, and traditional dance in addition to football. Through the use of these activities, the Kicking AIDS Out coordinators take on challenging community-building issues such as health and the environment, early pregnancy, and sexually transmitted infections. These issues areas are of urgent concern in Mtoni and other areas where EMIMA works, and by addressing them, the organization again meets the third criteria for effective community development by targeting specific needs of the community. In order to disseminate information for this project, EMIMA relies on banners, fliers, t-shirts, and – perhaps most importantly – the EMIMA Club House.

Club Houses. The Club House project was started at the Mtoni Center, but EMIMA staff hope that other centers will have club houses of their own in the near future. The club house at the Mtoni center accommodates forty children at a time and is a place for children to come together, build community, and exchange ideas. It was built as a gathering spot for, recreation, entertainment, playing cards, listening to music, and having conversations. It serves as a meeting place for players, parents, and friends to hold internal seminars and workshops. This location is particularly good for meeting these goals and for having educational lessons like KAO because of the amount of people it can accommodate and resources it houses, like a TV. In addition, the clubhouse provides a place for youth to come in the evenings instead of spending their time on the street, and serves as a counseling center for young people. As of 2006, plans were in place for establishing a new clubhouse in the Buguruni center.

English Classes. The teaching of English courses is another program unique to EMIMA.

Not only do children learn to expand their knowledge of the language, they learn general communication skills and expand their possibilities for communicating with people outside of their usual social group.¹⁰ Most of the volunteers who work with EMIMA come from English speaking parts of the world, are fluent in the language, and are willing to teach it to EMIMA youth. The program began with five peer coaches teaching English courses to younger players. Now ,many English courses are taught by international volunteers, and peer coaches teach volunteers Swahili in return.

Orphan Outreach. In addition to working with EMIMA youth, this organization reaches out to local orphans. There are some orphans who are also consistent EMIMA players, but EMIMA also collaborates closely non-member residents of five local orphanages. This collaboration seeks to disseminate educative messages and skills, build community, and reduce stimulation. EMIMA supports these orphans by assisting in the provision of clothing, school fees, school materials, bus fares, etc. These areas of assistance demonstrate EMIMA's ability to effectively meet community-building goals by targeting exact needs of the community. There happen to be a large number of orphans in areas where EMIMA works so the organization developed a program to meet the particular needs of that group. Moreover, by reaching out to local orphans, EMIMA focuses on the broad needs of the community outside of the young people it works with on a daily basis. These two elements of the structure of EMIMA emphasize its

¹⁰ This information was not taken from the EMIMA website, but was simply the author's conclusion given the structure of the program.

effectiveness as a community-building organization. EMIMA also encourages relationship building among youth by holding activities at the orphanages, which include the orphans and other EMIMA players. This builds a feeling of community and reduces stigmatization of orphans. Furthermore, EMIMA seeks to broaden this sense of community by promoting girls empowerment every year through a “tucheze na watoto yatima” or “community girls sport health bonanza.”

Successes. To summarize the success of EMIMA, the organization has a well-established training structure for Peer Coaches to deliver Kicking AIDS Out curriculum, and trained a significant number of boys and girls as peer leaders, coaches, and referees. Like MYSA, the peer education format of EMIMA puts some control of the organization in the hands of community members thereby increasing its effectiveness in terms of community building. The organization has taught many youth about HIV/AIDS, registered over 800 children on their teams, and given vocational and educational training to thirty youth. The organization has addressed gender issues through employment of women in senior leadership positions and as peer leaders and by establishing girl’s teams. Participation in sports gives girls a chance to be leaders and gives them access to new opportunities to become more engaged in school and community life (UN, 15). By showing communities that girls can have a powerful presence on the football field and play at the same level as boys, girls feel empowered and are inclined to pursue education, jobs, and community roles usually reserved for boys and men. Similarly, boys begin to see girls as equals and recognize their skills. As a result, boys are less resistant to girls

stepping out of traditional roles and girls have a greater ability for advancement and empowerment in the community as well as on the football field.

The Club House project has been successful in disseminating information about HIV/AIDS to young people and their families through lectures and seminars, bringing together community members to instill a sense of cohesion, and providing community members with access to resources like a television that they would not otherwise have.

Through the Green project, EMIMA successfully planted twenty trees in the first year of implementation and has expanded the project sense then. This project benefits the community as a whole protecting the environment, providing shade, and teaching young people the value of responsibility.

By recruiting boys and girls from local neighborhoods where children have little opportunity to play organized sports, receive HIV/AIDS education, or engage with their community through recreation or environmental projects, EMIMA center coordinators have successfully reached out to young people who may be in need of direction (Tackle Africa). Securing long term funding and undertaking research on sports for development, and facilitating discussions at the club house are other noteworthy successes of EMIMA.

The organization's projects are effective community-building strategies in a variety of ways. Through the use of peer education, young people get to be active participants in program implementation, the projects taken on often benefit the community as a whole through environmental reparation and teaching young people the value of responsibility, and pursuing goals based on necessity rather than opportunity. Overall, EMIMA has made progress in a variety of areas but the organization is not without its challenges.

Challenges. EMIMA does not specifically indicate its program implementation challenges, yet some can be inferred based on the structure of the organization and implementation styles of the program. For example, EMIMA depends schools as program locations. It is likely that this dependence introduces many time and space constraints and limits the availability of the programs to children who live in areas where schools are not close and to children who cannot afford to pay for transportation to access them. There are also the typical logistical challenges that almost any NGO faces that are relevant to EMIMA. This includes logistics of implementation, reaching marginalized populations, and securing reliable funding. Furthermore, indications of ongoing program evaluation are absent from the available literature on EMIMA. Unlike MYSA which identifies various challenges and promotes modification of programs found to be inadequate, nowhere on EMIMA's website were such challenges or program inadequacies specifically identified.

Future Goals. The goals identified on the EMIMA website are expansion of the Green and Club House projects. For both projects, the organization wants to extend initiatives to areas of Dar es Salaam other than its current location in Mtoni-Kabuma. In sum, the future goals of EMIMA center on expanding the organizations influence and positive impact.

The EMIMA organization is one of the least known football organizations doing work in community building in East Africa. However, even with limited literature on the organization, the information available outlines many of the positive and negative aspects of using football as a tool for community building.

Grassroot Soccer¹¹

Grassroot Soccer (GRS), established in 2002, is a football for development organization based in South Africa. The organization's mission is to use the power of football to "educate, inspire, and mobilize communities to stop the spread of HIV."

Although GRS is based in South Africa, it has been involved in projects or partnered with other organizations in other parts of the continent, including East Africa. The three main countries of focus are South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. However, GRS also does work outside of these countries to provide technical assistance to partner organizations who are also delivering "Skillz interventions" which will be explained in depth later in this section. Regardless of location, the organization serves as an example of how football can be used to face challenges common to many countries in Africa.

Grassroot Soccer seeks to improve its HIV prevention and life-skills curriculum, to share its program with young people in South Africa and partnering areas, and to use the popularity of football to increase its impact. GRS uses three main tactics for program implementation. The first is continual improvement of culturally sensitive "Skillz Curriculum" (which will be addressed later in this section). In this regard, "continual improvement" implies ongoing program evaluation and making associated modifications. Ongoing program evaluation is the fifth criteria for effective community building. The second tactic used by GRS is sharing its curriculum and concepts with local partners in order to expand the organization's impact through the use of local capacity and infrastructure. The third tactic is empowering local community role models including

¹¹ Unless otherwise cited, all information in this section is from the Grassroot Soccer website: <http://www.grassrootsoccer.org/>

processional footballers, youth sport coaches, teachers, peer educators, etc, with tools to educate youth in their same community. This last tactic demonstrates how GRS works with local people and local resources, thereby meeting another criteria for effective community building.

Unlike many other NGOs working in development, Grassroot Soccer has some particular features that allow it to carry out a wide range of programs. This includes an annual budget of \$4.2 million, making it the highest funded organization of the three examined in this research. Also, the group has sixty one employees and over 300 volunteers in South Africa, and a well-developed curriculum catered to children ages twelve to eighteen. GRS's activities have an impact at both local and global levels and the organization's efforts have earned it a reputation of being a successful organization and secured long-term support from various funders

Throughout Africa, GRS focuses on developing their curriculum, evaluating programs which is essential to community building, implementing strategic development programs, and assisting in financial management. Grassroot Soccer has a global team which works to identify partners who it feels are capable of implementing and sustaining football-based HIV prevention programs. GRS then works with these partners to match them with funders, provide on-going in-country training and technical assistance, and assist in other capacity building measures of these organizations. As a result, the organization works with hundred of "role model educators." Role-model educators coaches, teacher, and peer educators who work with GRS on a part time or volunteer basis. Like MYSA and EMIMA, Grassroot Soccer's use of peer educators is a testament

to the fact that it meets the second criteria for community building by having community members play a prominent role in program implementation.

For activities implemented in South Africa, GRS and partner programs work with local teams to meet GRS's mission and to satisfy funders' programmatic and financial needs. As a result of these efforts, Grassroot Soccer pulls in a lot of long-term funding from three major sources: individuals, corporations, and foundations. Among others, some of GRS's main funders include USAID, PEPFAR, Game Changers, the Bill & Melinda Gates foundation, and the Elton John AIDS Foundation. GRS also receives funds from groups or organizations that host "INSPI(RED) Soccer Tournaments." GRS exemplifies transparency by providing an explanation on its website of how funds raised through INSPI(RED) Soccer Tournaments are used in order to encourage continued donations and partnering. It explains that for every \$2,500 raised, 100 youth in Africa will participate in a Skillz Tournament—a day of soccer and access to HIV education, testing and treatment for youth. Cumulatively, donor funding results in providing Grassroot Soccer with an annual budget of \$4.2 million.

Issue Areas. Grassroot Soccer, through the Skillz Curriculum, program activities, and research and development, covers a wide variety of topics including conflict management, girls' empowerment, infectious disease, and nutrition. The primary issue that Grassroot Soccer's activities are centered around is HIV/AIDS. This is a central issue for the organization, given the prominence of HIV in South Africa and throughout the world. According to UNAIDS reports from 2008, there are thirty three million men, women, and children are infected with HIV throughout the world. In 2007 it was

estimated that 2.7 million people became newly infected--this amounts to about 7,400 people per day (UNAIDS). Forty three percent, almost half, of all new infections occur among youth and young adults ages fifteen to twenty four (UNAIDS). Throughout the world, less than forty percent of young people have a comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS). Perhaps most astonishingly, sixty seven percent of people living with HIV reside in sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS). By focusing on this issue, GRS practices effective community building by targeting the specific needs of the community and addressing based on its mission, not convenience. Grassroot Soccer has a powerful mission statement and the HIV education programs are one of the primary ways it pursues that mission. HIV has been a pressing topic particularly in South Africa and ongoing attempts to address the issue have left some communities jaded and unwilling to talk about it. However, GRS continues to promote HIV/AIDS awareness even when the opportunity to do so is not ideal.

Skillz Curriculum. The backbone to the effectiveness of Grassroot Soccer is the “Skillz” curriculum. This program seeks to build basic life skills and help young boys and girls learn healthy behaviors that will help them live risk free. It seeks to disseminate simple yet powerful messages about the connections between football and life skills. The curriculum goals are achieved through interactive activities and discussions which allow players to gain a realistic understanding of HIV/AIDS and give them the opportunity to practice the skills they learn. As a result, children develop the skills necessary for sustainable behavior change regarding HIV/AIDS health practices. Some of the most important topics covered include healthy decision making, risk avoidance, the importance

of support networks, stigma and discrimination reduction, testing and treatment, assessing values, and addressing gender issues. Grassroot Soccer considers the Skillz curriculum to be more than just a tool used by educators to teach youth about HIV/AIDS. It is also considered a culture and a mindset in that it stimulates important discussions about life among African youth. It allows children to take small steps to achieve their goals, demonstrate resilience when faced with challenges, and learn effective ways to protect themselves and others from HIV/AIDS. In many ways, the Skillz Curriculum in particular and GRS's HIV/AIDS focus in general are effective community-building techniques because they address broad issues of the community rather than those of an isolated population. HIV and AIDS is not a problem specific to youth, it is one important to the whole community and by educating young people and encouraging discussions about the disease, the needs of the community at large are addressed.

The Skillz Curriculum consists of eight forty-five minute sessions delivering HIV prevention and life skills education. These sessions are activities-based and connected to football. For example, in one of the activities, known as Risk Field, players navigate cones while dribbling a football. The cones represent HIV-related risks including having multiple partners, using drugs and alcohol, having "sugar daddies," etc. and if a player hits a cone, his or her whole team must perform pushups. Having a consequence for the whole team rather than just the player who hit the cone demonstrates how one person's risky behavior effects him, his friends, his family, and his community. This tactic also addresses the broader needs of the community by using community impact as a deterrent for risky behavior.

The interventions outlined under the Skillz curriculum are delivered by coaches who have been trained by Grassroot Soccer and are considered “community role models.” These role models include soccer stars, coaches, teachers, and peer educators who have been trained in a five-day Training of Coaches workshop. The targets of the intervention presentations are children both in-school and out-of-school between the ages of ten and eighteen years old. There are four main types of interventions implemented by coaches. They are: in-school and after-school curriculum delivery, Skillz Street--a girls-targeted intervention described below, Skills Tournaments--voluntary counseling and testing tournaments linked to Skillz activities, HIV testing, and local treatment services, and Skillz Holiday--week-long camps that combine the Skills curriculum with soccer games and tournaments. Additionally, Skillz coaches and teachers challenge youth to educate other people in their communities about HIV/AIDS thereby addressing broad community needs by using the tagline “Make Your Move.”

Skillz Coaches Guide. An important tool for “Community Role Models” and for Grassroot Soccer in general is the Skillz Coaches Guide to facilitation practices for coaches and teachers. Topics covered in this guide include HIV basics, peer pressure, stigma and discrimination, risk awareness, partner reduction, gender awareness, voluntary counseling and testing, social support, and positive living strategies. The Skillz Coaches Guide teaches coaches how to promote increased understanding of HIV/AIDS and how to encourage dialogue about the disease.

Skillz Magazine. A final component of the Skillz program is the Skillz Magazine. This publication connects readers to local health care services, encourages health seeking behaviors, and reiterates messages that children learn through the Skillz curriculum. The magazine also contains a “Coaches Corner” section which highlights new ideas for activities that meet the goals of the Skillz curriculum. Initially, there were twelve editions planned for publication between 2009 and 2011 focusing on HIV/AIDS topics including number of partners, gender-based violence, HIV testing and treatment, relationships, and changing gender norms.¹² In the production process, Grassroot Soccer has collaborated with research experts for each edition in order to identify the most relevant topics. In addition to public distribution, Skillz Coaches and teachers use the magazine as a resource when delivering activities to youth. The availability of this resource allows coaches to improve upon their program content and implementation thereby allowing youth to understand better and more actively engage with material in the curriculum. As a result, the impact of the education and changed behavior of the youth is even greater and needs of the community are better served.

Girl’s Empowerment. In a program separate from, yet related to the HIV-focused Skillz curriculum are the Grassroot Soccer efforts for gender equality through girls’ empowerment. According to a 2008 report produced by the International Working Group for Sport for Development and Peace, “research on sport, gender and development indicates that sport can benefit girls and women by: enhancing health and well-being; fostering self-esteem and empowerment; facilitating social inclusion and integration;

¹² There has not been an update on the Grassroot Soccer website as to whether or not all 12 planned editions were published, but the June 2010 issue is available on its website at <http://www.grassrootsoccer.org/what-we-do/skillz/>

challenging gender norms; and providing opportunities for leadership and achievement” (GRS). Girls’ empowerment is important in community building because it breaks down gender norms and changes the way both girls and boys see the opportunities available to young women.

Promoting gender equality has been a goal of Grassroot Soccer since its establishment. In 2011, GRS plans on having roughly 25,000 girls graduate from their programs (Friedrich, 2011). However, in 2010, the organization recognized that it needed to take a specifically girls-targeted approach to better address gender specific challenges in the fight against HIV and AIDS. This modification reflects two effective community-building techniques. The first is ongoing program evaluation. When current programs were not sufficiently meeting girls’ needs, program evaluation led the organization to conclude that it needed to take a girls-targeted approach. Second, taking a girls-targeted approach promotes effective community building by implementing projects based on mission rather than opportunity. When traditional programs were not as successful as GRS had hoped, instead of abandoning the program, they chose to modify it to better serve the needs of the community by taking a gender specific approach. This decision was based on the fact that young women face unique risk factors which a football-based program has the potential to address.

Skillz Street. In response to these risk factors, GRS created two Skillz intervention products designed especially to keep young women HIV-free. They are called Skillz Street and Generation Skillz. Skillz Street was launched in 2010, Skillz Street is a girls-targeted program combining an HIV prevention and life skills curriculum with fair play football and peer-led outreach activities. There are currently about 150 participants in the

Skillz Street program (Friedrich, 2011). This program is led by Skillz Coaches and works to create a space where adolescent girls feel safe to play noncompetitive football, take action in their community, and engage in discussions about HIV/AIDS. The feeling of safety is created through providing young females with access to community role models and peers who are playing football, talking about HIV, and engaging with their community. Furthermore, in June 2010, shortly after the Skillz Street program was started, Grassroot Soccer was awarded the South Africa Regional Prize for Ashoka's "Changing Lives through Football" competition due to its work with the Skillz Street intervention. Changed gender norms can be seen in the number of girls playing for GRS and the success of GRS girls' teams. Girls would not break away from societal expectations that reinforce the idea that football is only for boys unless they felt safe doing so. As mentioned in Chapter 1, NGO effectiveness in community building is based largely on the ability of an organization to make changes in the community that would not have taken place in the absence of the organization and the majority of girls currently playing on GRS teams would not be playing organized football if not for the efforts of GRS.

Generation Skillz. Like other GRS programs, Generation Skillz seeks to enhance players' skills, knowledge, and self-efficacy regarding HIV/AIDS. However, this program, involving both girls and boys ages fifteen to nineteen, challenges underlying social norms which fuel the HIV/AIDS epidemic—particularly gender norms. This program uses mass media to reinforce community level intervention and meet curriculum objectives. These objectives are:

1. To reduce sexual risk behavior, and thereby reduce HIV incidence among township

adolescents, focusing specifically on reducing the number of females with age-disparate partners and the number of males with more than one partner in the last 12 months

2. To increase the uptake of HIV Counseling and Testing among township adolescents
3. To reduce sexual and gender-based violence by changing male-dominant gender norms and attitudes, focusing on reducing the percentage of girls in low-power? relationships and the percentage of girls reporting intimate partner violence
4. To build the capacity of young community role models to deliver and monitor effective HIV prevention and life skills education.

In order to evaluate this intervention strategy, GRS is collaborating with the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. This collaboration is yet another example of ongoing program evaluation implemented by GRS and example of how Grassroot Soccer is meeting criteria for effective community building.

Research and Development. In addition to programs focused on HIV intervention, appropriate coaching techniques, and girl's empowerment, Grassroot Soccer also has a well established research and development team whose projects address even more issues associated with community building and expand the organization's geographic influence. These projects include 11 for Health, Sports for Peace and Life, Red Cards, a Resiliency program, Skillz 4 Life, and Kick4Life.

The first project, 11 for Health, is based in Zimbabwe. For this project GRS worked with the FIFA Medical Assessment Research Center (F-MARC) to create an innovative sports-based curriculum that educates young people about relevant community health issues like malaria, hygiene, and nutrition. According to the most recent report,

seventy six mentors and been trained and the program had reached 1,187 youth.

Evaluation of this program showed that participants had sustained improvements in most health issues over a three month post-intervention period.

Sports for Peace and Life is a program for which GRS works with Mercy Corps in southern Sudan to design HIV prevention and conflict management programs. During the nine-month program, 366 facilitators were trained and over 5,500 youth graduated from the program. Red Cards, a program near the Grassroot Soccer headquarters in South Africa, is a one-hour drama-based HIV education program. This intervention studies the impact and cost-effectiveness of this innovative type of mass-media campaign. GRS hopes the program will be particularly effective due to the low time constraints of coaches and students, and the inexpensive cost of training, materials, and implementation. The Resiliency program, taking place in Zambia and South Africa, assists children who face emotional stress and trauma due to severe hardships associated with AIDS. This program seeks to help these students develop resiliency. After a six-week pilot program with 670 youth, results showed that the program did have an effect on the decision-making and resilience building strategies of the participants.

In Namibia, Grassroot Soccer modified its traditional Skillz Curriculum with the help of Special Olympic Namibia to create Skillz 4 Life—the first known sports-based health education program for African youth with disabilities. Outreach to this population is particularly important because people with disabilities are at a higher risk for sexual abuse, often excluded from health education programs, and, as a result, are more susceptible to HIV infection. GRS is the only organization of the three case studies to have used football to address the needs of disabled community members.

Finally, Kick4Life is a research program in Lesotho. Through this project, Grassroot Soccer sought cutting-edge research on how to change behaviors around the HIV epidemic and incorporated their findings into the development of a program for children ages twelve to eighteen across Lesotho. Data were gathered through a three-day Curriculum Development Workshop where attendees engaged with a visual representation of the connection between HIV related concepts to identify the driving factors of the HIV epidemic in their community. As a result, the process identified cultural challenges to HIV education, troubleshoot ways to overcome these challenges, and gained support from locals interested in implementing the curriculum. These efforts related to the fourth criteria for effective community building: project selection is driven by mission instead of opportunity. In the case of Kick4Life, GRS recognized barriers to current implementation methods and, instead of waiting for these methods to subside, sought to overcome them through program modification. Furthermore, the efforts of all of these research and development projects reflect the fifth criteria for effective community building by taking on ongoing program evaluation and making necessary modification.

Successes. Grassroot Soccer is one of the most reputable football-based development programs in Africa. In addition to the accomplishments that have already been identified in this paper, Grassroot Soccer has a number of other noteworthy successes. Due to stable funding and a decent budget, GRS is able to hold regular trainings for staff and volunteers to keep them up to date on newly developed information and approaches. The organization has also received a plethora of awards for the work they have done in the

field of development through football. Out of 382 organization entered from sixty nine countries, Grassroot Soccer was chosen as a winner of the 2008 Nike/Ashoka Sports for a Better World Collaborative Competition. By receiving this award, Grassroot Soccer was identified as one of the three most innovative, effective, and sustainable organizations in the Sports for Development Field. Other awards presented to Grassroot Soccer include Myspace Impact Awards, the Dartmouth Martin Luther Kind Jr. Social Justice Award, the Nkosi Johnson Award from the International Association of Physicians in AIDS Care, and an award from the Draper Richards foundation. In addition, GRS has been featured on CNN Newsnight, the CBS Early Show, Regis and Kely, and in a documentary called “A Closer Walk.” This accumulation of awards and recognitions indicates that Grassroot Soccer has developed an international reputation for the work it has.

Moreover, through its vast array of projects, GRS has hit on all of the criteria for effective community building. The organization seeks to meet broad needs of the community by addressing HIV/AIDS, puts control in the hands of locals by using peer education, targets specific needs of the community like health promotion and girls’ empowerment, selects and implements projects that meet its mission statement rather than projects that are easily carried out, and performs ongoing program evaluation as is evident in its research and development efforts.

Challenges. Although Grassroot Soccer has been widely recognized for its work, the organization is not free from struggles. Unfortunately, the GRS website does not identify specific challenges faced by the organization, but some can be inferred from the information that is available. One of the most common problems for NGOs is obtaining

funding and remaining transparent to funders in order to sustain financial support over the long term. Given GRS's growth, extensive financial partners, and on-going projects, it is evident that this is not as much of a problem for Grassroot Soccer as it has been for MYSA or EMIMA. However, given that GRS deemed the Red Cards Program a success due to its ability to overcome time constraints of coaches and students, and the cost of training, materials, and implementation, one can deduce that availability of time and money are also challenges for GRS.¹³

Conclusion. Grassroot Soccer is, internationally, one of the most widely recognized organizations in the football and community-building field. This organization has received kudos for its accomplishments and successes, yet it is not without its own challenges. Although GRS is not based in East Africa, there is still much to be learned about the effectiveness of football as a tool for community building from this organization. GRS is addressing issues that are imperative to communities in East Africa including HIV/AIDS education, and girls' empowerment. In addition, the organization has developed superior techniques for disseminating information through the Kick4Life program that can be used as examples for programs in other countries including those in East Africa.

¹³ I had hoped to speak with a representative from Grassroot Soccer during my research process in order to identify the future goals of the organization, but due to time constraints, the busy schedule of GRS staff, and limited access to international communication devices, this was not a possibility. There was little information available on the Grassroots Website that suggested what these goals might be, so I felt it was best to refrain from making inferences in this area.

Chapter 3

The purpose of this paper is to determine if football-based organizations are effective tools for community building in East Africa. In their report on MYSA programs, Martha Brandy and Arjmand Banu Kahn assert that “effective programs are built upon good ideas and a solid understanding of the prevailing norms and beliefs in the communities in which the program operates” (25). In this chapter, it will be made clear that the three organizations studied are, in fact, effectively meeting community-building goals through the use of football and are representative of the potential for other football-based programs to do the same. These organizations do not function flawlessly or without challenges, but their ability to overcome many of these barriers and work towards the best interest of the community surpasses the problems they face. This conclusion is based on an assessment of how well these organizations meet and exceed the criteria for effective community building identified in Chapter 1. Effective community building involves taking initiatives to benefit the broad context of the community, putting organization control largely in the hands of local people, targeting specific needs of the community, selecting projects based on mission rather than opportunity, and performing ongoing program evaluation (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn). It should also be noted that effectiveness of the organizations studied is also based on their ability to

promote positive changes their communities that could not be achieved in the absence of the program (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn).

This section briefly summarizes the benefits introduced in Chapter 1 of using football as a medium in East Africa. Next, given the limited availability of outside evaluations of programs run by EMIMA and Grassroot Soccer, in this section Mathare Youth Sports Association will serve as a representative case study for these football-based programs. Although there is less direct analysis of EMIMA and Grassroot Soccer, the similarities these programs have to Mathare Youth Sports Association make it clear that they share many, if not all of the challenges faced by MYSA.

Why Football? Football is played everywhere in Africa, especially among youth. Steve Bloomfield traveled all over the continent while writing his book *Africa United*, and reports, “Everywhere I’ve traveled—from the beaches of Freetown to the streets of Mogadishu—young boys and teenagers have been playing soccer. They don’t even need a proper soccer ball; a bundle of plastic bags and rags tied together into a roughly spherical shape is enough” (Bloomfield, b, 15). If children in Africa want to play football they will find a way to do so, which is why this sport is so effective in meeting community-building goals in East Africa. Programs using football have instant appeal to the large number of young players.

The appeal of programs like Mathare Youth Sports Association, EMIMA, and Grassroot Soccer is that they provide opportunities to young players. It is unlikely that a child living in the slums of Nariobi, or a poor area of Dar es Salaam will have the means to buy a football or football shoes, or have access to a clean, grassy field to play on. Not

only do these organizations supply equipment, they also provide a structured environment where children can play, compete, win, advance, and learn more about the sport they love. And once children are engaged in these organizations, “football can be an incredibly strong tool for communities” (Bloomfield, c). It teaches youth valuable life skills using a sport they love. Values developed through football that will be important throughout the lives of children include cooperation, fair play, communication, sharing, respect for rules, self-esteem, problem solving techniques, trust, understanding, honesty, connection with others, self-respect, leadership, tolerance, respect for others, resilience, value of effort, teamwork, how to win, how to lose, discipline, confidence, and how to manage competition (UN, 8).

The Case against Football. The dominant argument against the use of football to achieve community-building objectives is that football, because it is a sport, inherently teaches players negative values. These include violence, corruption, discrimination, hooliganism, excessive nationalism, cheating and drug abuse, as well as competitiveness, distrust, feelings of inadequacy, and anxiety (UN, 2/Kohn, 79, 96). From a psychological perspective, experiencing failure can be devastating and disheartening to children playing sports (Roberts, 388). However, by looking at the case of MYSA graduate Moses Mutuli, one can see that situations that have the potential to teach negative life skills can have a very positive impact instead.

Moses Mutuli, now thirty-three years old, is a graduate of Oxford University who spent much of his childhood in the Mathare slum in Nairobi, Kenya. After excelling at a Kenyan high school and University, Mutuli worked for a Kenyan insurance company and

eventually received a scholarship to Oxford along with a job at an international accounting and consulting firm (Oliver, 2). Mutuli claims that much of his success can be attributed to the Mathare Youth Sports Association (Oliver, 1). *Guardian* journalist, Brian Oliver, describes MSYA as “a remarkable organization that has been so successful since its inception twenty three years ago that it has twice been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, in 2003 and 2004” (1). These nominations are evidence of MYSA’s ability to demonstrate its successes to the international world.

Team dynamics played a significant role in teaching Mutuli life skills like leadership, self-esteem, resilience, and self-determination. The positive effects of team dynamics seen in kids in MYSA programs contradict the theory presented by Kohn that sports are dominated by competitiveness, distrust, feelings of inadequacy, etc (Kohn, 79/96). In MYSA programs “every team is a mobilized youth group run by their own elected leaders” (Oliver, 2). This structure teaches players about leadership, responsibility, and accountability. Team leaders, like Mutuli are responsible for encouraging their peers to attend school, combating drug abuse and diseases like HIV/AIDS, instigating exploration of artistic talent, and helping to reunite jailed children with their families and provide them with resources to keep them out of jail in the future (Oliver, 2). If a player wants to get elected as a team leader, he or she must not only develop the qualities necessary to fulfill this role, they must prove to their peers that they have these traits.

According to Kohn, the psychological consequences of playing sports could lead to decreased self-esteem. However, in Mutuli’s experience, this was not at all the case. Because life in Mathare is largely focused on survival and obtaining the essentials, there

is a big problem with self-esteem (Oliver, 2). For Mutuli, football gave him the self-esteem he needed to meet his life goals. Mutuli states, “being captain of my team gave me confidence and self-esteem I wouldn’t otherwise have” (Oliver, 2). According to Mutuli, football also taught him critical life skills and which were determining factors in his career path (Oliver, 2).

Although rejection and failure are proposed by Kohn as negative side effects of competition, Mutuli claims that his experience at MSYA taught him how to cope with these things. After not being selected to attend either of the two big international tournaments, Mutuli had to face his rejection (Oliver 2). He claims he “cried and cried” but eventually came to terms with the fact that, if traveling abroad was a goal for him, he had to find other means to achieve it—he chose academics (Oliver, 2). It should be noted, that this is not the response that all youth will have in the face of adversary. In many cases, Kohn is correct that such an experience could be discouraging, evoke feelings of failure, and lead to quitting. However, this example shows that negative responses are not always the result of participation in sports even when failure is present. Such challenging experiences can have a positive effect as well.

Mutuli stands firmly by the belief that he would not have had the confidence to achieve his goals if it had not been for football (Oliver, 2). Mutuli’s experience at MYSA is likely similar to that of most participants. During his time at MYSA, he learned to cope with failure, he was able to identify what was important to him, he learned how to be a leader, he boosted his self-esteem, and he took the action necessary to achieve his goals. One of MYSA’s major sponsors, the Laureus Foundation, supports the claim that

football encourages cooperation, and raises self-esteem as it did in the case of Mutuli (Laureus Foundation, 1).

MYSA as a Model. Mathare Youth Sports Association is the “largest self-help sports and community organization in Africa” and the benefits MYSA’s work are equal in magnitude (Oliver, 2). Other football –based development programs are cropping up in many countries in Africa and in other parts of the world based off of successful programs such as MYSA. According to *Guardian* journalist, Brian Oliver,

“if other projects can come anywhere near MYSA, which has been going for more than twenty years and has done outstanding work in training, education, raising AIDS awareness and so much more, not to mention creating a football team who won the Kenyan national championship, they will have a lasting effect” (Oliver, 2).

Of the three organizations studied, the efforts of MYSA have been the most effective. This is why MYSA will be used in this chapter as an example of a successful and effective program against which effectiveness of the other programs can be compared.

Success in Program Goals. One area where MYSA has done an outstanding job is in the promotion of gender equality. Its work in this area serves as an example of the effectiveness with which MYSA establishes and modifies its programs. After initial implementation of equality-focused programs, there was some evidence that MYSA actions were breaking down gender norms in some areas yet reinforcing them in others. Upon recognizing this, MYSA made necessary modifications to see to it that its program met the needs of the community at hand. This ongoing program evaluation and modification is crucial to effectively meeting community-building goals.

Traditionally, gender dynamics in East Africa have put girls and women at a severe disadvantage to boys. When MYSA started, these dynamics were present in the

program as well. In some instances, power abuse from MYSA coaches led to verbal, physical, and sexual harassment (Brandy, Banu Khan 20). MYSA coaching programs worked to avoid these issues by including training on how to identify and combat harassment (Brandy, Banu Khan, 20). MYSA now not only protects girls from discrimination, it gives them the tools to increase their power and influence in their communities by showing them that can participate in the same activities and do the same things as boys their age and liberates them from gender norms. For example, when the environmental cleanup program started, only boys drove the garbage trucks while girls took care of younger siblings of MYSA players. Over time, this dynamic shifted—girls and boys drove the trucks and child-care responsibilities were shared as well. This program serves as an example of how football can be used to slowly shift the attitudes of society and work to promote community goals like gender equality. Instilling the value of equality in young people increases the likelihood that they will hold onto these values into adulthood, thereby carrying social change into the next generation.

Furthermore, a leadership program is in place at MYSA that develops leadership skills for all members. The aim of this program is to train boys and girls to become leaders and organizers of the girls' football program. The leadership program teaches members about communication, decision making, group dynamics, and conflict resolution (Brandy, Banu Khan, 25). As a result of this program, several girls have risen up in the MYSA community to be coaches, referees, and even project managers. In addition, the first female coordinator to lead the girls' football program was hired in 2002, ten years after MYSA's implementation (Brandy, Banu Khan, 25). According to Brandy and Banu Khan, "this is a significant achievement" (25).

Overall, the girls' empowerment program challenges gender norms. In response to the changes about the perception of girls playing football, players see the potential to change other aspects of their lives, and are more confident in their pursuit of these changes. MYSA has participated in a gender leadership project as a way to enhance awareness of gender issues, and breakdown popular gender stereotypes—both of these goals were target the specific needs of the community as a whole and therefore represent effective community-building techniques (Brandy, Banu Khan, 25). For example, one outcome of the program was a reconstruction of the division of labor in the organization. Laundry duties at MYSA, which were typically carried out by girls, are now the responsibility of both boys and girls (Brandy, Banu Khan, 25). As mentioned previously, girls can now be seen driving garbage clean up trucks, which was traditionally thought of as a boy's job, and childcare of younger MYSA siblings was restructured to promote gender equality (Brandy, Banu Khan, 25). These achievements demonstrate the ways MYSA is meeting community-building goals through the use of football.

Similarities in the other organizations studied in the way of having girls' teams, encouraging girls' involvement, and providing trainings for coaches, referees, and peer educators implies that all three organizations have the capacity to meet community-building goals. Furthermore, each of these case studies applies techniques necessary to promote effective community building. This is evident through programs that address broad needs of the community, using a peer education format that gives locals some measure of control in the organization, targeting specific needs of their communities, taking proactive measure to meet their goals, and performing ongoing program evaluation (Litwin, Lansberry, Slotnik, Vaughn).

Program Modification. A key feature of MYSA is its resilience and sustainable practices. One such notable practice is to modify programs when faced with challenges. This modification initially requires program evaluation, which is one of the criteria for effective community building. MYSA programs, particularly those focused on gender equality and girls' empowerment, do not always meet the intended goals. In some instances, these programs even reinforce gender inequality.

Although cultural assumptions of male superiority are broken down in some ways, in practices, girls who were asked if they preferred a male or female coach overwhelming said they preferred a male coach (Brandy, Banu Khan, 20). On some level, this reflects the fact that males historically have more experience and knowledge regarding football due to their long-term involvement in the sport (Brandy, Banu Khan). On the other hand, this preference for male coaches is partly attributable to deference to male authority. Some girls even claimed that they would not respect a female coach (Brandy, Banu Khan, 21). These attitudes go to show that, at least as of 2002 when Brandy and Banu Khan's report was written, gender norms still had a strong presence in the minds of both male and female players. In community projects, boys were often the drivers of garbage trucks while girls took care of MYSA players' younger siblings. In this sense gender norms and expectations typically found in the home had transferred to MYSA (Brandy, Banu Kahn, 22).

Another problem of MYSA program implementation is that of player discouragement. In Brandy and Banu Kahn's research of the MYSA Girls Program, they discovered that in some cases, girls were eager to play football mainly so they could be chosen to play in the Norway Cup (Brandy, Banu Khan, 20). However, the selection

process can be very discouraging for those that are not picked. Some of the players who are not selected “cry for a week and then quit” (Brandy, Banu Khan, 20). This example reinforces Khon’s claim that competition, particularly in sports, can do more harm than good for those involved. These challenges also present young people with the option to explore other talents and develop their problems solving skills. Unfortunately, the power to determine what sort of response these conditions will evoke is largely out of the hands of MYSA and depends on the individual engaged in the experience. It is impossible to avoid all negative consequences when using football, yet, Mutuli’s case demonstrates that dealing with failure in football can be a way to develop skills like resilience and self-determination which better prepare children to face similar struggles off the field.

MYSA also demonstrates its commitment to encouraging local participation in the program by allowing members to have influence not only as peer coaches, but as active participants in program modification. Moreover, although girls are not always valued in decision-making processes in East Africa, MYSA makes sure to include them, as community members, in this process. For example, MYSA has a sports council, community service council, and executive council to oversee various projects. When MYSA was founded, these councils were made up entirely of boys, but MYSA has made a conscious effort to provide more gender balance. Now, at least one girl must be on each council (Brandy, Kanu Khan, 24). As of 2002, the community service council which oversees garbage clean up was run almost entirely by girls with the exception of one boy (Brandy, Kanu Khan, 24).

Furthermore, when MYSA was created in 1999, it established a Girls’ Task Force. The task force focused on investigating a decline in girls’ enrollment in older age

groups and reports of harassment of females inside and outside of MSYA (Brandy, Banu Khan, 24). Unfortunately, the Girls' Task Force was not a permanent body and is no longer part of MYSA. However, during its establishment the Task force issued a report to bring the challenges that girls were facing to the attention of MYSA's leadership (Brandy, Banu Khan, 24).. According to Brandy and Banu Khan, "the fact the MYSA set up a task force at all is an indication of their commitment to girls' involvement" (24).

The establishment of such a task force also shows MYSA's commitment to the criteria for effective community building. By including women, MYSA meets needs of the community outside of its membership. By establishing three youth councils to oversee projects, the organization is controlled largely by local people. MYSA targets specific needs of the community by focusing on gender equality, and pursues these needs even in the face of hardship. When it was evident that gender expectations had filtered into the program, the organization provided additional trainings to combat these challenges. Finally, MYSA has performed ongoing program evaluation that has, in several cases mentioned above, lead to beneficial program modifications.

Effective practices of all organizations. According to Bamber, Owens, Schonfeld, and Ghate, what has emerged in the past as constituting effective or ineffective methods in community building is closely tied to an organization's ability to serve areas of community provision. This includes girls' empowerment, health, networking and partnerships, unemployment, crime, the environment, and conflict. Considering these specific areas of community building, all three of these organizations meet community-

building needs by using football. The following categories help make an assessment clearer, and conclusions possible.

Girls Programs. All three of these organizations are focused on girls' empowerment in some way and, as a result, work towards community building. Giving girls the chance to be leaders and giving them access to new opportunities has many positive effects in regards to community building. The case studies show that these goals can be met through the use of football. Leadership opportunities improve girls' confidence and self-esteem. (UN, 9). If girls believe that they can play on teams just as boys do, and (in the case of MYSA) carry out the same jobs and responsibilities as boys, then they can transfer these attitudes to other areas of the community thereby building opportunities for equality. As the girls themselves, their parents, and boys their age see that girls can achieve on the same level as boys there is more freedom for these girls to become more engaged in their schools and communities (UN, 9).

Health. The issue area that is most effectively addressed by football-based organizations in East Africa is HIV/AIDS awareness. All three organizations work in areas where HIV and AIDS effect a large portion of the population and all three organizations seek to address the issue in some way. Grassroot Soccer does so through drills where cones represent risk factors and hitting a cone affects a player's entire team. Furthermore, by addressing this topic, these organizations are catering to the needs of the community at large, involving peer educators and coaches thereby involving locals in project implementation, targeting a specific need of the communities where they work, and pursuing this goal as part of their missions rather than only when the opportunity is

present. All of these criteria are ways in which community-building goals are effectively reached.

Additionally, the programs implemented by MYSA, EMIMA, and Grassroot Soccer give access to health education to young people who might not have it otherwise in an engaging format. In their book, *Football in Africa*, Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti assert that “health disasters in Africa have their main roots in poverty and political marginalization” (5). This is largely because, in East Africa, almost all sexual health and communicable disease education takes place in schools. Because families in the areas where these organizations work are living in extreme poverty, they do not have the means to attend public schools. As a result, the children in these families miss out on the chance to receive information about sexual health and related diseases like HIV/AIDS. Most children, including those who do attend public schools, would not attend sexual health education programs outside of school due to time constraints, cultural taboos around the subject matter, prior obligations to their family, and general disinterest.

However, when driven by the appeal of football, children use the time they have available for recreation to willingly participate in these organizations. As a result, they are exposed to sexual and health information that they are missing out on in schools. In addition, scholarships provided by MYSA give children a chance to go to school where they are exposed to sexual and health education that they would not have benefited from had it not been for MYSA.

The case of Grassroots Soccer is slightly different. Because much of the work done by GRS is based out of schools, the problem is not access to information as much as

how information is delivered (Friedrich, 2011). GRS has noticed a reduction in HIV incidence in the communities where it works, and a change in sexual health behaviors (Friedrich, 2011). A behavioral study from 2008 found that two to five years after graduating from GRS intervention programs, former GRS players in Zimbabwe were almost six times less likely than their peers to report their first sexual behavior between ages twelve and fifteen, were four times less likely to report sexual activity within the last year, and were eight times less likely to report having multiple sexual partners (Friedrich, 2011).

Networking and Partnerships. All three organizations experience the benefits of partnerships and networking. Building partnerships and networking with similar organizations is essential to community building because such collaboration helps participants develop an integrated approach that incorporates the best practices of each party involved (UN, 11). For example, MYSA admits to having difficulties with funding and fully equipping all teams while EMIMA has developed the Paperball program as a cost-effective way to provide teams with supplies. Although these two organizations are not partners, a potential partnership between them could lead to MYSA's incorporation of a Paperball program or similar approach as a way to save money while still meeting the equipment needs of their members.

Although the MYSA-EMIMA partnership is hypothetical, both of these organizations participate in regional and international tournaments that create the opportunity for such collaboration to take place. MYSA sends teams to the Norway Cup, the East African Cup, and hopes to host their own international tournament in the future, which would bring organizations with resources, experience, and knowledge into Kenya.

EMIMA has also participated in the East African Cup as well as the Pemba Cup. Grassroot Soccer does not participate directly in these types of tournaments, yet the organization has an extensive list of partners. As a “technical assistance partner,” GRS has helped design and launch sustainable projects in eight African countries including Kenya, and Tanzania (GRS). The work that GRS carries out with these partners helps other organizations adapt and deliver GRS’s Skillz curriculum model and then evaluate the model in their constituencies. GRS has a strong history of partnership building which has allowed it to launch collaborative efforts with over thirty government agencies, corporations, nongovernmental organizations, CBOs¹⁴ and FBOs¹⁵ throughout the world. These partnerships, along with flagship programs have enabled GRS to provide education on HIV and life skills to over 270,000 youth throughout sub-Saharan Africa (GRS).

Likewise, MYSA has twelve government partners, ten sports associated organizational partners, nineteen private sector partners, and five international sports and development partners. This broad network of partnerships gives MYSA access to various levels of power and influence, policy implementation, and overall connections in both private and global arenas. Similar to GRS partnerships, MYSA partnerships allow the organization to collaborate on what is being done well in other football-based development organizations and which of their tactics can be incorporated into MYSA’s programs.

Joining pre-established networks provides the opportunity for collaboration as well. MYSA and EMIMA are both members Kicking Aids Out, a network that brings

¹⁴ Although the meaning of CBO is not specified by Grassroot Soccer, it is assumed that CBO stands for ‘congressional budget office’ in this context.

¹⁵ It is assumed that FBO stand for ‘Faith Based Organizations’ in this context.

together football-based organizations that are using the sport as a tool for promoting HIV/AIDS education.

Expanding Labor Force and Job Opportunities. According to the United Nations Inter-agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace, sports can be used to improve the labor force (UN, 11). Research shows that MYSA, EMIMA, and Grassroot Soccer all have taken steps to meet this goal.

The Paperballs program at EMIMA teaches children creativity, responsibility, problem solving, and how to take initiative—important skills at any job. Although there is a general understanding of how to make paper balls (out of paper found on the street) it is up to children to go find the paper, and piece it together to make a ball. In this sense, they identify a need – a football – and creatively meet that need. These skills are important in the workplace and the lessons youth learn from this program make them more eligible to find jobs. In addition, as more children pass through this program, more high-qualified youth are able to obtain jobs. Not only does the Paperball program increase the likelihood that young people can get jobs, it also improves the overall labor force and productivity of the community.

Furthermore, the sport of football in itself develops even more qualities and life skills that make players more qualified for employment including learning the value of effort and how to work as a team (UN, 11). Fortunately, any child involved in football can experience these benefits. By providing fields, equipment, and scheduled matches, MYSA, EMIMA, and Grassroot Soccer all enhance the likelihood that youth in the communities where they work will play football, will learn these life skills, and will be eligible employees.

Crime. The absence of positive role models, a lack of self discipline, and boredom rank among the leading reason for high youth crime rates in the slums off East Africa and other impoverished areas of the world. (UN, 12). Football-based community-building programs, especially MYSA's Jail Kid program, directly address all three of these concerns, as well as others. Many MYSA, EMIMA, and Grassroot Football programs are led by trained peer coaches, educators, and referees. These youth leaders are positive role models for other players involved in the program and are examples of an alternative lifestyle to one riddled with crime and drug use so common in the slums of East Africa.

In addition, in order to improve at football, a person must practice his or her skills, attend team practices, show commitment to improvement, and identify his or her weaknesses.

Learning and practicing these things teach children self-discipline, a life skill that can be used to resist the opportunity to turn to crime in place of more constructive activities.

Finally, it is easy to see how all three organizations combat boredom. Because these organizations are football based, they provide a constructive and fun use of time where children can interact with their peers as an alternative to boredom or crime.

MYSA stands out from the other two organizations in regards to crime intervention due to the Jail Kid program. This program goes far beyond instilling values and providing role models for at risk youth. Although football is not the direct tool of implementation for this program, the initiatives taken are important to the community. The jail kid program shows a way that MYSA effectively focuses on mission rather than opportunity—criteria four for effective community building. It seeks to meet the needs of the community even if those needs do not fit precisely with the football-based implementation methods previously established. In addition to keeping kids out of jail,

MYSA assists youth who are already in jail. MYSA uses its resources to reach out to and reunite jailed children with their families and goes a step further by following up with these children and providing them scholarships when possible. Through this program, MYSA not only works to prevent crime, it works to rectify criminal situations involving youth and keep the recidivism rate low.

Environmental Programs. It is difficult to find a grassy football field in the poorest part of East Africa. In some areas, chemical pollution creates unsafe spaces for informal football and in others fields are covered with trash (Armstrong, Giulianotti, 13). In the case studies addressed in this paper, the sense of responsibility for one's environment is instilled on the field and extends to the community. These organizations provide young people with safe and clean fields (sometimes borrowed from local schools) on which they can play the sport they love. Having this type of space for football is rare, and it would follow that it is a valuable asset to these children. Furthermore, learning to maintain the space where they play transfers to maintaining the space where they live and contributes to community upkeep. Similarly, these football programs connect youth action on the field to environmental clean-up programs in the community. MYSA players earn points for the environmental clean up they do, and EMIMA players plant trees as well as do community clean up (MYSA, EMIMA). These programs benefit the players by teaching responsibility, and better the environment at the same time. By bettering the environment, these programs also address the first criteria for effective community building by focusing on the broad needs of the community rather than just the needs of involved youth.

Creating Peaceful Communities. Football has tremendous potential for instilling peace in East African communities. First of all, children in these programs play on teams where they develop a sense of comradery and community with their teammates. When referring to work carried out by MYSA, Steve Bloomfield claims that football programs in Africa are “not just about playing football, [they’re] about building a sense of togetherness, a sense of community” (Bloomfield, c). Teammates learn how to trust one another and how to work together to meet common goals. Football in Africa teaches players the values of respect, communication, honesty, empathy, cooperation, and rule adherence” (UN, 3). All of these values contribute to a better understanding and more harmonious acceptance of difference.

Second, the need to get along does not stop once children step off the field. These children are working together to meet goals of their community even when they’re not playing football. At MYSA, youth are still earning team points for community service and environmental cleanup when they’re not on the field, so it is to their benefit to take both individual and collective action for the good of the group. A similar dynamic exists for EMIMA players. The emphasis EMIMA puts on community service encourages participants to work with players, including those who are not on their teams, to clean up trash and perform other community services. These types of programs bring together people with different cultures, classes, ethnicities, and lifestyles and teach them to work together. This can be seen in EMIMA’s orphan program and MYSA’s peace building program. In the orphan program, current EMIMA participants work closely with local orphans whom they would not otherwise have interacted with or considered as equals. Violence in refugee camps was reduced with the introduction of football, which brought

people of difference together through a common interest. Throughout these processes, there are many chances to see that people of difference have similar goals, and the difference that was initially evident is not as great as it once seemed. These examples show how the use of football in Africa helps cross boundaries, break down barriers, and initiate contact between antagonistic groups (UN, 3).

MYSA has implemented specific peace-keeping focused programs in Kenya which serve as evidence for the power of football to promote peace. In the Kakauma Refugee Camp in northwest Kenya, violence and conflict was frequent considering there were 60,000 residents from eight different countries (MYSA). MYSA sent youth leaders to the camp to implement programs that involved youth in sports and community development. After the implementation of this program, there was a dramatic reduction in violence, tension, and serious incidents that had been occurring (MYSA).

Areas for Improvement. It should be recognized that even though these organizations have had many measurable successes, they are not flawless, do not meet *all* community-building goals, and do not implement all aspects of effective community building to the fullest extent possible. One area crucial to community building, according to the United Nations Inter-agency Task Force for Development and Peace which was not fully addressed by any of the case studies was sports involvement for certain marginalized groups in the community—specifically disabled persons and refugees. Although Grassroot Soccer has started a sports program for the disabled as part of their research and development projects, working with the disabled or elderly is not a primary goal for any of the organizations studied. The Task Force claims that “giving young people with disabilities the opportunity to participate in physical education programs at school and

through community clubs is crucial given the additional benefits they receive from sport and physical activity” (UN, 9). Also, by not including elderly or disabled people in the football programs, the organizations’ initiatives are not fully benefitting the broadest sense of community and, therefore, are not fully meeting the first criteria for community building. None of these three organizations clearly and fully meet the second criteria for effective community building because the organizations are not identified as being controlled mostly by locals. Although many of these programs are peer led and self-help oriented, there is no evidence that upper management is comprised of locals. It follows that it is possible that international professionals come into the areas, propose their ideas, and have their plans implemented by locals without fully collaborating with community members regarding community needs and effective implementation strategies.

Additionally, although sports do encourage positive values and life skills, these are sometimes paired with not-so-valuable lessons as well. In certain circumstances, depending on the program and the individual at hand, football-based programs can instill a sense of competitiveness, aggression, distrust, inadequacy, anxiety, etc (UN, 2). When considering these organizations as a whole, however, it is easy to see that the positive aspects of the programs easily outweigh potential negative side effects.

Conclusions

When beginning research for this study, it was evident that what was missing from current literature on football-based organizations was evaluation of their application under specific circumstances: for community building in East Africa. This paper addresses this specificity and contributes to the current literature in three main ways. First, it draws upon detailed information on three football-based organizations in East Africa that are working for community development. It provides information on what programs are being implemented, what strategies are being used for implementation, what the goals are being identified, and how the organizations are both meeting and falling short of these goals. Second, this paper draws on literature about effective community-building strategies, challenges and benefits of sports-based programs, and the development needs in East Africa as a paradigm to forge an argument regarding the overall effectiveness of the organizations identified. Third, the findings in this paper indicate that there is still more research to be done. What is still largely missing is

extensive statistical evidence that supports the efforts of these organizations and field work that analyzes the programs on a more direct level than was possible for the purpose of this paper. This includes information about the community before and after program implementation regarding the number of girls involved in football, changes in HIV/AIDS infection rates, changes in unemployment, the number of trees planted in these areas, the amount of garbage picked up, the number of children awarded scholarships, the number of children attending school, etc. However, although more research is needed, some conclusions can be drawn about the use of football-based organizations to meet community-building goals in East Africa.

After an evaluation of Mathare Youth Sports Association, EMIMA, and Grassroot Soccer, it can be concluded that all three of these organizations use football to effectively meet community-building goals in East Africa. There is much overlap in issues addressed and implementation styles in these case studies including the areas of fostering life skills, educating youth about health issues, promoting gender equality, encouraging environmental clean up, inspiring involvement in the community, and implementing sustainable programs. All of these issues are important goals for community building which, as described above, are met either fully or partially by the organizations studied in this paper through the medium of football.

Some of the less prominent issues that are addressed by one or two of the organizations studied include crime, peace and conflict resolution, orphan care, and community service. The differences in issue areas addressed by each organization show the adaptability of football-based programs and how each organization is catering to the needs of their community. Children are initially compelled to participate in one of these

programs due to their love of football. However, once they are committed members, the goals achieved by the program can be adapted to meet the needs of the community at hand. Football, therefore, provides hope for many in East Africa and allows young people to play for their future—to play for change.

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