

International and Intra-State Conflicts, Peace and Sport Triangle: Conflict Analysis, Peace Studies and Sport Management Approaches

Sezai ÖZÇELİK

Abstract: There has been a close relationship between conflict, peace, development and sport. The use of sports for international and intra-state conflict analysis and peacebuilding proposes has become an important study subject in the 21st century. Sport can be associated with intolerance, nationalistic sentiments, and, most of time, violence. It is also true that international sport events may cause conflicts, violence, aggression and controversies (Öğretir-Özçelik, 2017). According to sport and olympic ideology, the main function of international sport is to promote international peace and development. It can be also used for a tool for societal change and social transformation. Since the ancient time, sport activities has related to the simulation of struggle between two conflicting parties and the civilized war. This study aims to analyze the link between international and intra-state conflicts, peace and sports. The objective of this paper is to examine the role of sports both conceptually and practically in conflict analysis and peace building. The first part is to present a conceptual framework in the study of sports, conflict resolution, and peace building. Second, it highlights some case studies where sports have an important role in international conflict and a tool for peace and reconciliation. Third, it focuses on the international use of sport and physical activity to attain the culture of peace and development objectives such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Keywords: Sport, Conflict Resolution, Peace Studies.

Introduction

When World War II ended, the Moscow Dynamo football team has taken a post-war tour of Britain in 1945. George Orwell has written a widely known essay, *This Sporting Spirit*, that described his dystopian experience of sports and games at Eton School in

Sezai ÖZÇELİK

Department of International Relations,
Çankırı Karatekin University, Çankırı, Türkiye
E-mail: sezaiozcelik@gmail.com

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which he was an athletic underachiever. He had been bullied, brutalized, and dominated by muscular sports captains. In his essay, he wrote:

"I am always amazed when I hear people saying that sport creates goodwill between the nations and that if only the common peoples of the world could meet one another at football or cricket, they would have no inclination to meet on the battlefield. Even if one didn't know from concrete examples (the 1936 Olympics Games, for instance) that international sporting contests lead to orgies of hatred, one could deduce it from general principles. At the highest-level sport is frankly 'mimic warfare'. Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words, it is war minus the shooting. Instead of blah-blahing about the clean, healthy rivalry of the football field and the great part played by the Olympics Games in bringing the nations together, it is more useful to inquire how and why this modern cult of sport arose. Most of the games we now play are of ancient origin, but sport does not seem to have been taken very seriously (until) the nineteenth century.... If you wanted to add to the vast fund of ill will existing in the world at this moment, you could hardly do it better than through a series of football matches between Jews and Arabs, Germans and Czechs, Indians and British, Russians and Poles, and Italians and Jugoslavs (sic.), each match to be watched by a mixed audience of 100,000 spectators." (Orwell, 1945).

His "war minus the shooting" phrase is considering sport as a kind of warfare without weapons. We have been told many times that sport is not political. But since the time of ancient Greece when the first Olympic Games were presented in the honor of Zeus, sport has been used as a tool for diplomacy, international politics, and conflict. The ancient Greek tradition of the *ekecheiria* or *Olympic Truce* was born at that time. After the International Olympic Committee called upon all nations to observe the Truce in 1992, the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution of 48/11 of October 1993 and urged to implement the Olympic Truce before the seventh day of the Olympics opening and the seventh day after the closing of each Olympic Games (UN, 2022).

The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted two resolutions regarding sport and peace in October 2009. First, it acknowledged that the 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver produce an opportunity to build a peaceful and better world through sport and the Olympic ideal and to uphold support as a sector of the society concerned with, and active in, the promotion of peace, inclusivity particularly among the Aboriginal peoples of Canada and sustainable legacies for future generations (UNGA, 2009a). The second resolution recognized the 2010 Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup held in South Africa for its historical, social, and developmental importance for the African continent and the world (UNGA, 2009b). These resolutions

have emphasized the social dimensions of sport by bridging and overcoming the social divides and challenges in international development. Sport has brought the different stakeholders in places where ethnic conflict, post-war reconciliation, gender inequality, income differences, and religious strife exist.

Sport, as it relates to conflict and peace, is a double-edged sword. It can cause both conflict and/or peace or reduce them. The divisive influence that sport represents in international and intra-state conflicts has been widely documented. Sport also contributes to nonviolent social change from the grassroots to international levels. In many international and ethnic conflicts, sport has been a complicating factor for the most part rather than an underlying deep-rooted cause of conflict. Most real conflicts have risen from economic competition, tangible material interests, and rising expectations. The most intractable sources of conflict are identity-based, non-material and perceived psychological differences. Religion and nationalism are important forces that have the leverage of the conflict process.

Sport has the positive potential and offers opportunities for preventing or resolving conflict. When the researchers treat the subject of conflict resolution and peace studies in a sports context, it becomes important to consider nationalism and culture as well. The Olympic Games are usually viewed as the elements of unit and cooperation in athletics. The official slogan of the Olympic games stressed the rapprochement of nations: "Sport, in its many forms, is the largest human activity on the planet that unites the people of the world".

Sport is arguably the most important and shared cultural event in the world. Professional sport produces significant revenues and has a profound impact on the lives of billions of people worldwide. It has continued to commercialize and increase its market share in the competitive business environment (Sandu, 2015). International sporting events have sometimes caused trigger event of international conflict. They have also contributed to better international relations. Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany played friendly football matches with England in the 1930s. The German and English players exhibited fair play and goodwill during their matches and even English players have given the Nazi salute during the opening of the football game. In the early 1930s, American baseball players, such as New York Yankees' greats Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig, attended baseball tours in Japan. The tours aimed to create an atmosphere for the "diplomats in pinstripes" in the Japanese militarized government. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union and the United States both used sporting events as in George Orwell's words, "wars minus shooting". At the 1972 Munich Olympics, the Soviets won the gold medal in basketball which is America's most important sporting activity. Similarly, the Americans have beaten the Soviet ice hockey team at the 1980 Lake Placid Winter Olympics Games (Anderson *et al.*, 2022, p. 434).

This article surveys the relationship between sport, conflict, and peace. Sport is almost everywhere in our social, national, and international life. It has a powerful role in identity formation in a domestic and international context. It presents a theoretical framework to analyze how sport becomes a catalyst factor in many different types of conflicts at different levels of analysis. Sport can be viewed from cultural effects on conflict and peace research. Culture is power and sport is power too. Sport has an effect on three areas: language, identity, and values. It affects how a state sees itself and the ways in which it relates to other states, how it defines national security, and how it comes to understanding its interests and objectives. Sports contacts have significantly shaped both self and others' perceptions. For example, Brazil can not be understood without its international reputation in football. The rise of women's sports in international competitions should focus on the status of gender in conflict, peace, and international relations. For the sake of coherence and length, this article covers only explicitly sports events in relation to conflict and peace. It makes no attempt to present all sports, all regions of the world, and all aspects of conflict and peace. Instead, it presents major historical events during the Cold War and post-Cold War era. In a political-ideological conflict like the Cold War, sports may be seen as a cultural battleground like other cultural exchanges-ballet, art, music, film, and literature. The competition between the two blocs played an important role in cultural infiltration for the Soviet collapse. Globalization has a significant effect on the flow of people, ideas, and information. Sports tourism and watching sports on TV have shown ties between sports, commerce, media, perceptions, and cultural flows. Sport has become a major element of global culture and cultural globalization. Also, the role of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) can present the sport's role via the International Olympic Committee and international sports federations such as FIFA. It is obvious that sport is everywhere and always politicized. As a result, sports must take its proper place alongside other significant topics in conflict and peace studies.

This study aims to analyze the link between international and intra-state conflicts, peace, and sports. The objective of this paper is to examine the role of sports both conceptually and practically in conflict analysis and peacebuilding. The first part is to present a conceptual framework in the study of sports, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding. Second, it highlights some case studies where sports have an important role in international conflict and is a tool for peace and reconciliation. Third, it focuses on the international use of sport and physical activity to attain a culture of peace and development objectives such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Theoretical Framework

Academic research in the area of sports and international and intra-state conflicts has been neglected for a long time. The analysis of sport in social sciences has mostly focused on international political economy, neo-liberal economics, cultural globalization,

the media, national identity formation, the sociology of sport, and diplomacy. Many people may have thought that sports and international relations have little in common only international sporting events. For most ordinary people, there has been a linkage between politics and sports, Although there has been a lack of studies on sports and international and intra-state conflicts, conflict analysis and resolution specialists and practitioners may contribute a comprehensive analysis of the impact of sports on global issues and society. Sport and IR may play a major role in conflict resolution, security studies, and IR paradigms with soft power emphasis.

Global politics may have an effect on sports and sports may, most of the time, become a catalyst or intervening variable in international relations research. The modern sport and mega-sporting events may be related to the IR's neoliberal paradigm specifically Nye's soft power. The traditional realist IR theory has tended to view the international sphere of analysis between nation-states. The high politics and state-centrism view of IR have excluded the low politics and other actors in IR. The issues of military, power, diplomacy and security have excluded the economics, globalization, environment, migration, cultural, and sport nature of IR. In IR theory, defensive realists have applied "structural modifiers" or "the fine-grained structure of power" (Lowell, 2010).

Neoliberalism, constructivism, and the English School provide alternative views for our understanding of real-world events, especially low politics issues. Unlike realism theories which view sovereign states as the sole actors in IR, neoliberalism and constructivism aim to incorporate the role of domestic actors and other IR actors. Moreover, domestic-level variables such as political culture, public opinion, state-society relations, and domestic political institutions are important factors to formulate the foreign policy analysis. Even individuals and global sports organizations may be seen as fundamental actors in international politics. The English School stresses the importance of rules, institutions, norms, and decision-making procedures to obtain shared interests among states. The concept of world society places the non-state actors and the global population at the center of IR analysis. In IR theory, social construction assumes that world politics is created through an interactive process between, on the one hand, individuals, states, and non-state actors and the structural factors in global system. The interaction process is shaped by ideational factors such as ideas, beliefs, norms, values, and identities. In international and intra-state conflicts, we can view low politics issues as constructive modifiers that I borrow from defensive realists' "structural modifiers" (Taliaferro, 2000).

Like structural modifiers, constructive modifiers have a greater influence on the likelihood of international and intra-state conflicts or cooperation than the structure of the international system and the gross distribution of power such as polarity. Constructive modifiers may be viewed as mediating factors in international and intra-state conflicts. They are defined as external and internal constraints and opportunities the conflicting

parties face. They may dominate the conflict process but they do not determine the conflict outcomes. Constructive modifiers can be dominant but not completely determinative.

In conflict analysis and resolution (CAR) research, we aim to identify and understand key factors that are thought to be related to conflict causes, processes, and outcomes. The researchers evaluate, analyze or investigate the factors and their relations to each other. In order to explain and understand any type and level of conflict, we need to develop a hypothesis with clearly and fully specifying its component factors and relations. The variables and their relationship must be defined, understood, and used by others in precisely the way the researcher wants them to be defined, understood, and used. In CAR research, we need to develop a conceptualization of the terms or variables we use. Later we must clarify an even more operational and specific definition of empirical referents. A CAR hypothesis comprises four elements: An independent variable, a dependent variable, an intervening or mediation variable, and a statement about the relationship between the variables.

In CAR research, an independent variable is a factor assumed to affect, influence, or cause variation in conflict. It always comes before the conflict behavior and outcome (the dependent variable). We hypothesize that conflict behavior and outcome depend upon or are caused by variations in the conflict cause (the independent variable). The relation between these two variables is often affected by an intervening variable. An intervening variable has a moderator variable that influences the relation between two others and thus produces an interaction effect. Or it has a mediating variable that transmits the effects of the independent variable to the dependent variable.

The fine-grained construct of ideational factors may increase or decrease the likelihood of conflict. Internal and external factors can be constructive modifiers. Individual factors, religion, mission, leadership style, international civil society, history, media, culture, human rights, ethnic identity, domestic politics, state-society relations, interest groups, perception, socio-psychological processes, and sport may be categorized as constructive modifiers. The actions of actors in international and intra-state conflicts can be explained by the intervening variables or constructive modifiers. Any effects to be exerted on the international and intergroup conflict systems may come from an intervening factor. The causes of international and intergroup conflicts interact with the conflict system through a process. In international and intra-state conflicts, the conflict causes influence the external conflict behavior of conflicting parties. The conflict process can be labeled as an intervening variable.

Early researchers in the CAR field have rarely treated sport as one of the many variables that give shape conflict. In the later research, thus, sport is seen as mediating and moderating the effects of other conflict variables such as culture, gender, or orientation on conflict management. As a mediator variable, sport affects conflict outcomes by

altering conflict parties, conflict issues, conflict objectives, conflict means, conflict resolution orientation and environment. As a moderator variable, sports change conflict outcomes by structuring conflict and determining the conflict resolution tactics that the conflict interveners and third parties used (Sandole, 1998). Without mediating and the moderator's variables acting as a conduit, the independent variable would not affect the dependent variable. The question we address is: what effects does sport have on international, intra-state, and intergroup conflicts?

Sport can be one of the constructive modifiers or catalysts. It operates as the antecedent condition in which conflict occurs. Thus, sport influences conflict outcomes directly. In the area of intergroup conflict, sports may increase hostility and anxiety in highly diverse groups. It has also the potential to improve the relationships between conflict parties by mitigating differences. Studies of conflict styles also treat sport as an intervening variable that shapes conflict predispositions in particular ways. Sport is treated as a conflict communication and culture system that is dynamic and multifunctional. It performs particular conflict management functions. CAR researchers might code sports activities as threats, putdowns, confrontation, and hostility or as performing the roles of concession-making, procedural messages, or problem-solving. Sport, as an interaction variable, may be linked to conflict goals and outcomes. If sport is viewed as a distributive or win-lose approach, it forces the conflicting parties for unilateral concessions.

Sport is usually viewed as a cooperation tool among nation-states. But it can be considered a contested social interaction. It may strengthen hostility and antagonism between conflict-ridden countries. The historical events in international conflict have taught us that sport can have the social functions that differences, social discrimination, and social exclusion are generated and/or reinforced with respect to nationality, physical ability, gender, social class, ethnic origin, race, and /or sexual orientation. Sports events mostly focus on connecting hostile groups but they seldom aim to deal with the deep-rooted causes of the conflict such as racism, relative deprivation, and ethnic rivalry. In daily life, ethnic differences can be strengthened through sporting events rather than by building connections between conflicting parties. Sport and conflict studies scholars argue that recreational and professional sports may also encourage nationalism, sexism, racism, homophobia, and xenophobia. They can produce conflict behaviors that led to conflict escalation where ethnic tensions are experienced, demonstrated, and performed.

Competitive international sporting events may cause fluctuations of nationalist sentiments. They consolidate national identities and national unity and increase animosity toward other nations and countries. Although international sports have been considered out of political life, but they are catalyst factors to surge nationalism. They mostly ignite conflict fire between ethnic groups. Sometimes sporting events directly cause military or political conflict between nations and countries. For example, the 1969 Football War

(El Salvador–Honduras), the 2009 Egypt–Algeria World Cup Conflict, and the 2014 Serbia–Albania Drone Conflict.

International and Intra-State Conflicts and Sport

In all international and intra-state conflicts, there are three types of causes of war: deep-rooted causes, mid-term causes, and ignition causes. Imagine a bonfire. Deep-rooted causes are the logs in the bonfire. Firewoods and papers are mid-term causes in the bonfire. The lighter or the match is accelerating cause. The assassination of the Austrian archduke and his wife by Serbian terrorist, Gavrilo Princip, was an ignition cause in August 1914 when World War I started. Deep-rooted causes of World War I are militarism, alliance systems, imperialism, and nationalism (MAIN). Mid-term causes are the Balkan Wars (1912–13), Libya invasion by Italy (1911), Bosnia Herzegovina annexation by Austria–Hungary (1908), and the Russo–Japanese War (1904–1905).

The deep-rooted causes of the Football War or the 100-Hour War can be taken back to the beginning of the 20th century. The reason for the conflict is more complex and deep-rooted than the given name implies. Like many post-colonial Latin American countries, the two Central American countries – El Salvador and Honduras – have had border disputes even though they have signed numerous demarcation treaties. In the early 19th century, two countries signed the Bonilla–Velasco agreement that was never ratified by both states. The second important factor is the trade imbalance between the two countries. The Central American Common Market (CACM) has given significant advantages to El Salvador because it is more industrialized than Honduras (Tillema, 1991).

The immigration from El Salvador to Honduras and the land reform in Honduras were mid-term causes. El Salvador is more densely populated than Honduras. For many years, the Salvadorian peasants have been migrating to Honduras to live and work. In 1968, Oswaldo Lopez Arellano was in office and confronted an economic crisis, widespread strikes, and political unrest in Honduras. The Honduran Government has put the blame on 300,000 illegal Salvadoran immigrants in Honduras. In order to regulate the border between Honduras and El Salvador, there was the 1967 Bilateral Treaty on Immigration with El Salvador. The Honduran Administration not only refused to renew the treaty but also began to expel Salvadorians even if they live and reside legally (Lugo, 2011, p. 37).

The ignition cause was the second North American qualifying round for the 1970 World Cup soccer match that was held in Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras, on June 8, 1969. Honduras won the match 1 to 0. When an 18-year-old Salvadorian girl shot herself because she was upset about the defeat, both countries' fans fought. The series' second game was taken place on June 15, 1969, in San Salvador which was a win by El Salvador 3–0. There was violence against Salvadorian citizens in Honduras with an unknown number of Salvadorans killed and tens of thousands started fleeing the country. When the third football match was held on June 26 in Mexico City, the results were decided

over time by the winner of El Salvador 3–2. With the rising nationalist ties after the football match, El Salvador cut its diplomatic ties with Honduras. El Salvador accused Honduras of genocidal land reforms against Salvadorians by displacing them without any compensation. The full-scale war started on July 14 when Salvadorian Army crossed into the Honduran territory (MHN, 2019).

The Salvadoran Air Force has launched the targets inside Honduras. The Salvadoran Army attacked the Honduran islands in the Fonseca Gulf and crossed the border for the offensive push toward the main road connecting the two nations. Because it is larger and better equipped, the Salvadoran Army captured the city of Nueva Ocotepeque and entered over eight kilometers into the Honduran territory. The Honduran Air Force assaulted El Salvador's fuel and ammunition facilities (Nauright & Parrish, 2012, p. 107).

Another example of how soccer match has involved conflict and international politics is the soccer riot in 1990 in former Yugoslavia. It happened in Maksimir Stadium in the Croatian capital of Zagreb between two teams: The Croatian Dinamo Zagreb and the Serbian Belgrade Red Star. Unlike soccer hooliganism, sports violence in Croatia has been categorized as political violence. There were two fan groups which were almost paramilitary organizations of these two teams: the Bad Boy Blues from Croatia and the Serbian Delije fan groups. Before the match, both fan groups had clashed in the Zagreb streets. When both fan groups entered the stadium, the Red Star fans began singing Serbian nationalistic songs and shouted verbal abuse at the Croatian fans such as *we will kill Tudjman*. Two weeks before the match, Franco Tudjman was elected as the President of Croatia. The Croatian fans, the Bad Boy Blues, have gotten angry because of the Serbian fans' verbal abuse and attacked them. The Serb-dominated police in the stadium intervened with force. As a result, the violence erupted with many injuries and the match was canceled. Since World War II, Serbs, and Croatians have had ethno-religious and political differences which is the Ustasha-Partisan conflict. This soccer match is important for Croatians because it they celebrated their nationalism and gained international legitimacy. Following the Maksimir soccer riot, the Croatian government under Tudjman created an escalating conflict between Serbs and Croatians in Croatia. He declared Croatia as the homeland of the Croatians and eliminated the national minority status of the Serbians and other minority groups. Croatian became the national language and the Serbs were purged from the court system, the police, and the civil service. One of the precipitating factors of the Balkan conflict was the Maksimir soccer riot (Sack & Suster, 2000).

Up until Tito's death, both Red Star and Dinamo Zagreb followed the Yugoslavian socialist ideology. The collapse of Yugoslavia has also related to the above-mentioned match on 13 May 1990. Both Croatian and Serbian nationalism has become an absolute ideology of both the two soccer clubs as well as two states: Serbia and Croatia. There were two Serbian soccer clubs that had different approaches to Serbian nationalism and

the Balkan conflict. The Red Star has had a closer relationship with the Arkan's Tiger paramilitary group and ultra-nationalist war criminals such as Slobodan Milosevic, Ratko Mladic, and Radovan Karadzic. The most famous slogan of the Red Star fans was: "Kosovo is the heart of Serbia", "Kill the faggot", or "Kill a Croat, so Albanian loses a brother" (Dordevic, 2016, p. 117). On the other hand, another Serbian soccer club is FC Partisan which represented the diverse nature of Yugoslavia by emphasizing not only ethnic Serbs but also Muslim Bosnians and Albanians. It is interesting to note that the Serbian Red Star's eternal rival is one of the most diverse clubs in ethnic Yugoslavia: Partizan FC which shows the supranational understanding of Yugoslav nationalism. With the death of Tito on May 4, 1980, Yugoslavia gradually turned into the effect of Serbian super nationalism. In different sporting events during the dissolution of Yugoslavia, we have seen that emotional components of nationalism and psycho-dynamic processes such as us versus them, resentment and anger toward others and an emphasis on in-group similarities and outgroup differences, dehumanization, scapegoating, and a strong sense of superiority (Ogretir & Ozcelik, 2008). The upper identity of Yugoslav has been replaced by sub-identities such as Orthodox Serbian, Catholic Croatian, and Muslim Bosnians and Albanians (Develi, 2022).

The relationship between Kosovo and Serbia has been tense. The top Serbian political parties, the Progressives, Socialists, and Radicals, all played a part in the Milosevic regime. The current President of Serbia, Aleksandar Vucic, has regularly negotiated with Kosovo in order to normalize relations. The current position of Belgrade about Kosovo is "agree to disagree" with the EU and the United States. The Serbian government has given a priority to negotiating less intractable issues. There is a lack of large-scale manifestations of aggressive Serbian nationalism. But sporting events have increased tensions between Serbia and Kosovo. In October 2014, Albania and Serbia has played a football match at Belgrade's Partizan Stadium. A mysterious drone have flown over the stadium and carried an Albanian flag with a banner showing Kosovo as part of Greater Albania. During the UEFA (Union of European Football Associations) 2016 qualifying football game between Serbia and Albania in 1967, the drone got close to the playing ground, and a Serbian defender, Stefan Mitrovic, grabbed and ripped the Albanian flag off. As a result, a fight between both teams and their fans occurred. The football match was abandoned. The tensions between the Serbian and Albanian governments have escalated and intensified. Because of the incident, Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama postponed his visit to Serbia on October 20, the first official visit by an Albanian leader for nearly 70 years (Mitchell, 2014). The Albanian national football team was fined 100,000 Euros by UEFA because the Albanian fans flew a drone. The Football Association of Serbia was subject to a three-point deduction and a 100,000 Euros fine because its supporters made brutal chants, threw rocks, chairs, flares, and other dangerous objects from the stands, confronted Albanian players, invaded the playing field, attacked the Albanian players and interrupted the football match.

The 1986 World Cup quarterfinals football match between Argentina and England was significant both for sport and conflict studies. Since the Falkland War in 1982, both nation-states faced each other for the first time. Football is a national obsession in Argentina that was interestingly first introduced by British sailors who arrived in the late 19th century. English diplomats, railway workers, and citizens formed the first local Argentine teams. For the Argentines, their 2–1 victory over England is a revenge for the insulting loss they faced in the Falkland/Malvinas War. The root causes of the War can be traced back to the 1966 World Cup match between Argentina and England. The English football manager Alf Ramsey has made the infamous remark about the Argentine team playing like “animals”. Sport and politics were intertwined when the British government refused to transfer the sovereignty of the Falklands/Malvinas. The British media defined Argentina’s public imagination by stating that Argentina did not play by the rules. The negotiations between the two countries have failed to prevent the 1982 Argentine invasion (Dodds, 2003, p. 183). In the 1986 World Cup, Argentine team captain and star player, Diego Maradona, had his first goal by using his hand rather than his head. He famously said “the Hand of God” had sent the ball into the net. In 2005, he accepted on an Argentine television program that he deliberately used his fist to score the goal. He felt that he was only stealing from a thief because in his view, the English had stolen the Malvinas/Falkland Islands from the Argentines. “We said we shouldn’t mix football and politics, but that was a lie. I got hold of the ball to take revenge on the English who had got hold of the Falklands”. For Maradona, “it was as if

Table 1: Conflicts With Sport Dimension

1	1936 Berlin Olympics
2	1972 Munich Olympics
3	1969 Football War El Salvador–Honduras
4	1986 Argentina UK Football Match
5	13 May 1990 Dinamo Zagreb–Red Star Football Match
6	20 August 1990 Yugoslavia–USSR Basketball Match
7	November 2009 Egypt–Algeria World Cup Violence
8	14 October 2014 Serbia–Albania UEFA Cup Drone Conflict
9	1934 Italian World Cup
10	1932–33 Bodyline Ashes Series Britain Australia Cricket
11	02 December 1998 Galatasaray–Juventus Football Match
12	1980 Moscow Summer Olympics
13	1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympics
14	22 June 1994 USA Columbia Football Match
15	02 July 1995 Yugoslavia Lithuania Basketball Match
16	1967 Muhammed Ali Vietnam War

Source: Güzelipek (2017).

we had beaten a country, not just a football team. So this match was revenge". His second goal was declared by the Federation Internationale Football Association (FIFA) as the greatest goal ever in World Cup competition, the Goal of the Century in 2002 (Goal, 2016). Although Maradona followed the official Argentine statement declaring that the match was purely football, he later claimed the victory as revenge for the Argentinian lives lost in the Falkland/Malvinas conflict (Maradona, 2005, p. 130).

Peace Catalyst: Sport

Recreational sport is viewed as a tool for peace and reconciliation as a cultural practice to enhance interethnic contact and social cohesion. When divided conflict-ridden societies have suffered from armed conflicts and civil wars, cultural conflict intervention and issues of interethnic tolerance have become the center of conflict resolution and peace initiatives. Sport is usually considered to improve inter-community interaction and encourage mutual respect and intercultural understanding between divided communities. The Conference on the Contribution of Sport to Intercultural Dialogue in Istanbul on 9–10 September 2004, organized by the Council of Europe Sports Departments in cooperation with the Directorate for Youth and Sport of Turkey and the Economic Research Foundation of Istanbul, has underlined that "properly promoted and delivered, sport can constitute a first step in the efforts to achieve inter-cultural dialogue by bringing together different nationalities and cultures in a common game with common rules" (Dorokhina, Hosta, & Sterkenburg, 2011, p. 11). United Nations also recognized the social value of sport and decided to use the social power of sport in the UN's Human Rights agenda. In 2005, the Secretary General of the UN Kofi Annan declared the International Year of Sport and Physical Education and stated that: "Sport is a universal language. At its best sport can bring people together, no matter what their origin, background, religious beliefs, or economic status. And when young people participate in sports or have access to physical education, they can experience real exhilaration even as they learn the ideals of teamwork and tolerance. Sports can bridge difficulties. Sports can bridge conflicts. Sport is the best school of life. We need desperately this international year... to spread the message that sport offers values to the younger generation" (Annan, 2004).

Sport, specifically football, has always been able to bring people and unite people together. The Olympics is held every four years to bring people from all over the world with different races, gender, age, ethnicity, color, and social background. The Football World Cup, Rugby World Cup, and other international sporting events have done the same thing by making participants put aside their political opinion and come together for the love of the game. They compete against each other as fellow human beings and do not consider race, religion, skin color, and ethnic origin as issues that divide them (Paul & Ocheng' Ong'ondo, 2018).

Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) has become a worldwide known conflict intervention process for deep-rooted conflicts. In the conflict-torn societies in the developing

and less developed world, SDP has been used to combat conflict and poverty. Football, the world's most popular sport, has been used as a catalyst for conflict resolution, peace, social inclusion, and sustainable development. Sport has a huge capability to stimulate tolerance and friendship and unite different conflicting parties around a common sports activity. When German and English troops declared a ceasefire by silencing weapons during World War I to play a game of football and give each other gifts at the famous Christmas Truce of 1914 (Crocker, 2015, p. 51).

Table 2: Peace With Sport Dimension

1	2006 World Cup Ivory Coast and Drogba
2	06 September 2008 Armenia-Türkiye Football Diplomacy
3	1972 Hockey Diplomacy Canada-USSR
4	10 April 1971 Ping Pong Diplomacy USA-China
5	22 March 2016 USA Cuba Baseball Game Havana, Cuba
6	1995 Rugby World Cup - South Africa
7	21 June 1998 USA Iran Football Match
8	1958 Football World Cup Pele effect
9	1968 Mexico Olympics Black Power Salute
10	2013 FC Barcelona Peace Tour

Sources: Güzelipek (2017).

Beginning in the 1950s, South Africa had been the subject of international condemnation because of apartheid. After many African states have become independent during the 1960s, they put pressure on the United Nations and international sports organizations to ban South African participation in international sporting events. As a result, South Africa and Rhodesia became the first country formally expelled from the Olympic Games in 1968 because the apartheid is against Section 3 of the Olympic Charter which forbids discrimination on the basis of race. Similarly, the United Nations General Assembly call for all its members to suspend sporting links with South Africa (Toohey & Veal, 2007, p. 99).

The 1995 Rugby World Cup in South Africa was used by Nelson Mandela to combat post-apartheid racial tensions and unite South Africa. After the dissolution of the apartheid regime, Nelson Mandela was elected the first black president of South Africa in 1994. However, racial tensions have threatened to submerge into civil war and spread into race conflict. The black majority mostly played and watched football. The White Afrikaner minority has followed rugby, specifically the Springboks that is associated with apartheid by black, Indian, and colored South Africans. In 1995, South Africa was chosen to host the 1995 Rught World Cup. In order to unite the black population behind the rugby team, President Mandela visited the white Springboks captain François Pienaar.

The Springboks had the World Cup final match against the heavily favored New Zealand All Blacks. President Mandela just walked on the pitch wearing a Springbok cap and number 6 shirt – the rugby captain’s shirt. He wished each player well and symbolized the birth of a new nation: 43 million South Africans. When Mandela presented the championship trophy to all TV audiences in the world, it produced a moment of pride and unity by promoting the “rainbow nation” and racial harmony. The team walked around the stadium with “Shoshalosa” (literally meaning pushing or running), the Zulu work song playing over the speakers, and holding the World Cup (Jaksa, 2011, p. 40; Steenveld & Strelitz, 1998).

Ivory Coast or Cote d’Ivoire has been known for cocoa, coffee, and football. In 2002, the country has been affected by a civil war that was divided between North and South as a result of religious, political, and ethnic differences. The Northern part of the country is mostly Muslim, and the southern part of the Ivory Coast is mostly Christian. The conflict is similar to many other African conflicts such as Sudan and Sierra Leone where citizens live in their ethnic majority regions. It is usually almost impossible to cross from one side to the other in the same country because there is an unofficial border that separates both ethnic groups. Many Ivory Coast players have played in the world’s top professional leagues. The civil war created a danger to split the country in two. The country football stars were on different sides of the conflict. Drogba is a Christian from the southern part of the country and his wife is Muslim. He was playing London’s Chelsea team and was the captain of the Ivory Coast team, the Elephants. Two brothers’ football stars, Kolo Toure and Yaya Toure, are Muslims from the north. Although the Ivorian national team comes from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, they represented the entire Ivory Coast as Drogba said, “In the national team, we are all brothers”. In 2005, the team captain Drogba decided to use football to unite the country by qualifying for the 2006 World Cup. Excitement was high when the World Cup qualification started. The national colors (orange, white and green) were omnipresent. In the rebel area and Bouake, the matches were shown on a big screen. In their group match, Ivory Coast finished ahead of African football powerhouse: Egypt and Cameroon. On October 8, 2005, the Ivory Coast won their final game and Cameroon lost its final game. Drogba made a speech in the changing room with a TV camera urging “The one country in Africa with so many riches must not descend into war. Please lay down your weapons and hold elections”. He said that the national team had just proved that Ivorians could cohabit and play together to reach a common goal. He then made the players kneel and called for an end to the conflict (McDougall, 2012, pp. 4–14). As a result, Ivory Coast qualified for the first time World Cup. The President praised Drogba who was selected the African Player of the Year 2006, as a symbol of national unity that put his country on the international media. He took his award to Bouake and renewed his call for peace. To use football to unite the country, Drogba had another idea. For the 2007 African Nations Cup qualifying game, Drogba announced that the game would be played in Bouake, the rebel capital

of the Muslim North of the country and Ivory Coast's second-largest city, and not in Abidjan as scheduled. This region is off-limits not only to people from the South but also to government security forces. Drogba hoped to encourage the national team and all Ivory Coast citizens to cross this physical, political, and ideological border by playing a football game there to bring the country together again after the 2006 World Cup. The game was played on 3 June 2007 with 25,000 spectators including soldiers from both camps, the Ivorian team beat Madagascar 5-0 with the final goal scored by Drogba. He became known as the footballer who stopped a civil war. Ivory Coast newspaper headline explained all: "Five goals to erase five years of war" (Hummel, 2012). Many scholars believe that football qualification matches were able to unify people across political, ethnic, and religious lines. Football victories made it possible to enable the manifestation of a national collectivity. When the Ivory Team won the 2006 World Cup qualification, it has shown that glorious successes can be achieved when political and ethnic differences are set aside. There are also skeptical voices such as the Ivorian Minister for National Reconciliation, Sebastien Dano Djedje stated in the BBC interview: "Football and the World Cup can be a major fact in bringing us together... But we shouldn't have too many illusions – we have deep problems here and football cannot solve all of these" (Künzler, 2018, p. 394).

Conclusion

Sport no longer exists in the margins of conflict and peace studies. Although some scholars still argue that sport is not related to politics and poses no interesting questions for the student of politics and society. But it has been realized that sport plays in the lives of untold millions across the globe, poor and rich alike. Because low political issues in IR have become an important subject, the transnational nature of the sport has led to the study of emotion, pleasure, and the sense of identity that is taken from sporting activities. The analysis of the relationship between sport and conflict is one of the most neglected issues in the field of both conflict and sports studies. Research has focused more on the historical analysis of sporting events in terms of international relations. We know that sport, conflict, and peace are intertwined and related to each other. The relationship between conflict and sport has existed on both the horizontal and vertical levels from intergroup to international conflicts. Conflict is more than just a single incident. It is a process and should also be examined as the sources of conflict. Sport is an important intervening variable in the conflict process.

The hosting of mega-sporting events such as the current FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 has been an important tool for the host country to increase its international status and image. Sport can be associated with Nye's concept of soft power to explain the importance of conflict, peace, and rapprochement in hostile environments. In addition to states, important sports individuals, non-governmental sporting organizations (NGOs) and domestic sporting actors may play important roles emphasizing the importance of

norms, rules, and institutions for shared win-win interests among states. The English School's concept of world society can be associated with sport and world society in which individuals, non-state actors, and the global population. Sports may both play escalators and de-escalatory roles in deep-rooted and protracted conflicts. Sports give information about personal norms and ideational attributes that carry conflict forward. Apart from sport's negative aspects such as driving forces for aggression and competition among nations, performance-enhancing drugs, corruption, and match-fixing, "sport has the power to unite, to build bridges between divided communities and to motivate marginalized young people" (Woodhouse, 2016). The Olympic Games and the Olympic Truce has both become an important political process for peace. The Olympic Games such as Berlin 1936, Barcelona 1992, Lillehammer 1994 Winter Games, Sydney 2000, Athens 2004, Torino 2006 Winter Games, Beijing 2008, London 2012, and Rio 2016 has all shown the power of the modern Olympic Games for dialogue, understanding, inspiration, and opportunity for the conflict resolution and peace. However, the Russian aggression against Ukraine during the 2022 Winter Beijing Olympics has been strongly condemned by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as a breach of the Olympic Truce because the Russian government has acted against the UN resolution on 2 December 2021 adopted by consensus of all 193 UN Member States stating that the Olympic Truce began seven days before the start of the Olympic Games, on 4 February 2022, and ends seven days after the closing of the Paralympic Games on March 13, 2022 (Olympics, 2022).

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